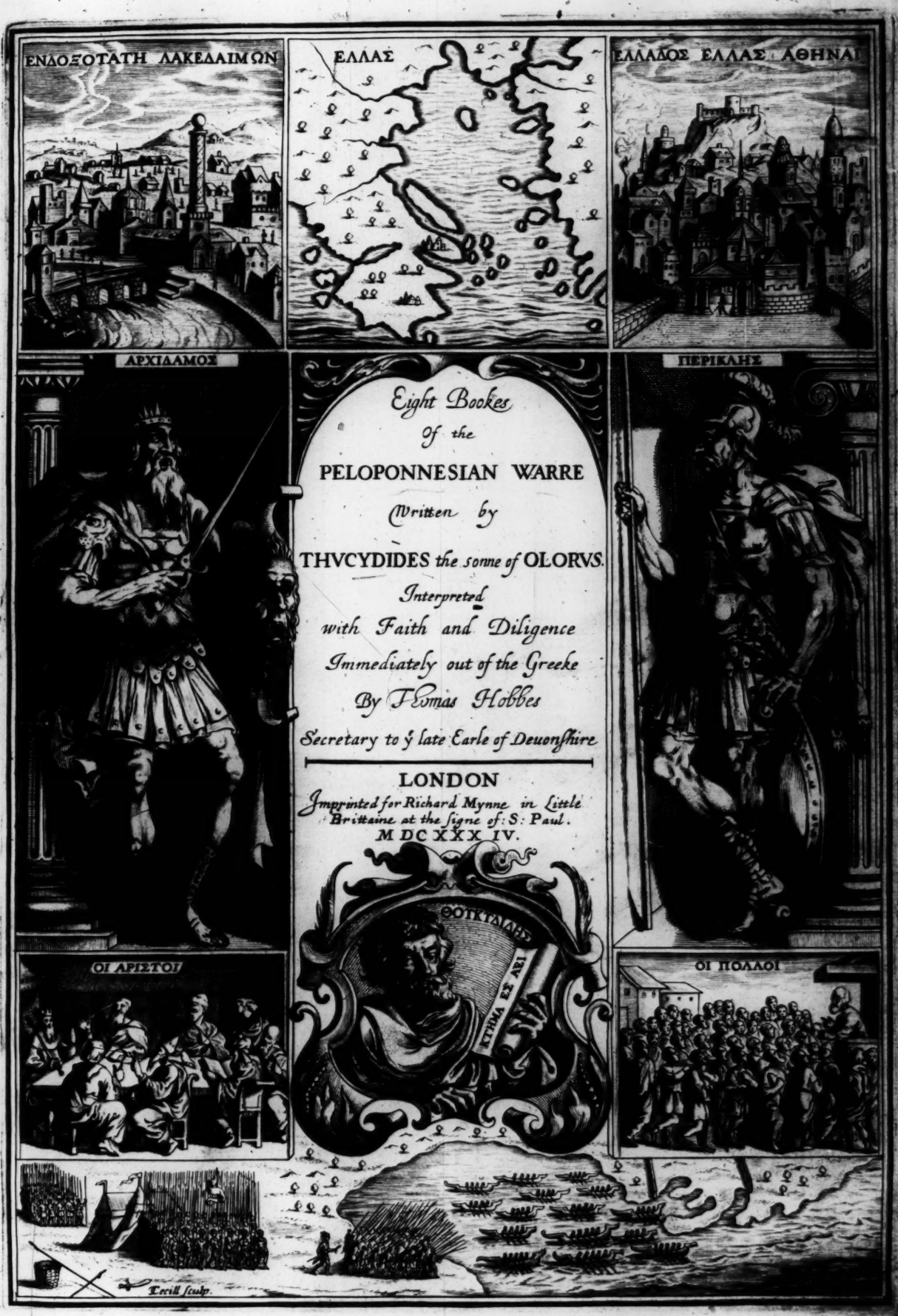

Eight Bookes
Of the
PELOPONNESIAN WARRE
Written by
THVCYDIDES *the sonne of* OLORVS.
Interpreted
with Faith and Diligence
Immediately out of the Greeke
By Thomas Hobbes
Secretary to ỹ late Earle of Deuonshire

LONDON
Imprinted for Richard Mynne in Little Brittaine at the signe of S: Paul.
M DC XXX IV.

TO THE RIGHT HONOVRABLE, SIR

WILLIAM CAVENDYSSHE, Knight of the BATH, Baron of HARDWICKE, and Earle of DEVONSHIRE.

Right Honourable,

I Take confidence from your Lordships goodneſſe, in the very entrance of this Epiſtle, to profeſſe, with Simplicitie, and according to the faith I owe my Maſter now in Heauen, That it is not vnto your ſelfe, but to your Lordſhips Father, that I Dedicate this my Labour, ſuch as it is. For neither am I at liberty to make choice of one, to whom I may preſent it as a voluntary Oblation, being bound in duty to bring it in as an Account, to him, by whoſe Indulgence, I had both the time, and Ammunition to performe it: Nor if ſuch Obligation were remoued, know I any to whom I ought to Dedicate it rather. For by the experience of many yeeres I had the honour to ſerue him, I know this, There was not any, who more really, and leſſe for Glories ſake, fauoured thoſe that ſtudied the *Liberall Arts* liberally, then My Lord,

your Father did; nor in whose house a man should lesse need the Vniuersity, then in his. For his own studie, it was bestowed, for the most part, in that kind of Learning, which best deserueth the paines and houres of Great Persons, *History*, and *Ciuill knowledge*, and directed not to the Ostentation of his reading, but to the Gouernment of his Life, and the Publike good. For he so read, that the Learning he tooke in by study, by iudgement he digested, and conuerted into Wisdome, and ability to benefit his Countrey; to which also hee applyed himselfe with Zeale, but such as tooke no fire, either from *Faction* or *Ambition*. And as he was a most able man, for soundnesse of aduice, and cleere expression of himselfe, in matters of difficulty and consequence, both in publike and priuate; so also was he one, whom no man was able either to draw, or iustle out of the straight path of Iustice: Of which vertue I know not whether hee deserued more, by his seuerity, in imposing it (as he did, to his last breath) on himselfe, or by his Magnanimity in not exacting it to himselfe from others. No man better discerned of *Men*; and therefore was he constant in his Friendships, because he regarded not the *Fortune*, nor *Adhærence*, but the *Men*; with whom also he conuersed with an openesse of heart, that had no other guard then his owne Integrity, and that *Nil Conscire*. To his *Equalles* hee carried himselfe equally; and to his inferiours familiarly; but maintaining his Respect fully, and onely, with the native splendour of his worth. In summe, hee was one in whom might plainely bee perceiued, that *Honour* and *Honesty* are but the same thing, in

the

the different degrees of perſons. To *him* therefore, and to the memory of *his* worth, be conſecrated this, though vnworthy Offering.

And now, imitating in this *Ciuill Worſhip*, the *Religious worſhip* of the Gentiles, who when they Dedicated any thing to their Gods, brought and preſented the ſame to their Images; I bring & preſent this Guift of mine, *the Hiſtory of* THVCYDIDES tranſlated into Engliſh, with much more diligence then elegance, to your Lordſhip, who are the Image of your Father, (for neuer was a man more exactly coppied out, then he in you,) and who haue in you the ſeeds of his vertues already ſpringing vp. Humbly intreating your Lordſhip to eſteeme it amongſt the Goods that deſcend vpon you, and in your due time to read it. I could recommend the Author vnto you, not impertinently, for that he had in his veynes the blood of Kings; but I chuſe rather to recommend him for his writings, as hauing in them profitable inſtruction for Noblemen, and ſuch as may come to haue the mannaging of great and waighty actions. For I may confidently ſay, that notwithſtanding the excellent both Examples and Precepts of Heroique Vertue you haue at home, this Booke will conferre not a little to your inſtitution; eſpecially, when you come to the yeeres, to frame your life by your owne Obſeruation. For in *Hiſtory*, actions of *honour* and *diſhonour* doe appeare plainely and diſtinctly, which are which; but in the preſent Age they are ſo diſguiſed, that few there bee, and thoſe very carefull, that bee not groſſely miſtaken in them. But this, I doubt not, is ſuperfluouſly ſpoken by mee to your Lordſhip: Therefore I end with

this prayer, That it will please God to giue you Vertues sutable to the faire dwelling he hath prepared for them, and the happinesse that such Vertues leade vnto, both in, and after this world.

Your Lordships most humble Seruant,

THO. HOBBES.

TO THE READERS.

THough this Translation haue already paſt the Cenſure of ſome, whoſe Iudgements I very much eſteeme; yet, becauſe there is ſomething, I know not what, in the cenſure of a Multitude, more terrible then any ſingle Iudgement, how ſeuere or exact ſoeuer, I haue thought it diſcretion in all men, that haue to doe with ſo many, and to me, in my want of perfection, neceſſary, to beſpeake your Candor. Which that I may vpon the better reaſon hope for, I am willing to acquaint you briefly, vpon what grounds I vndertooke this Worke at firſt; and haue ſince, by publiſhing it, put my ſelfe vpon the hazard of your cenſure, with ſo ſmall hope of glory, as from a thing of this nature can be expected. For I know, that meere Tranſlations, haue in them this property, that they may much diſgrace, if not well done; but if well, not much commend the doer.

It hath beene noted by diuers, that Homer in Poeſie, Ariſtotle in Philoſophy, Demoſthenes in Eloquence, and others of the Ancients, in other knowledge, doe ſtill maintaine their Primacy; none of them exceeded, ſome not approached, by any, in theſe later Ages. And in the number of theſe, is iuſtly ranked alſo our Thucydides; a Workeman no leſſe perfect in his worke, then any of the former; and in whom (I beleeue with many others) the Faculty of writing Hiſtory is at the higheſt. For the principall and proper worke of Hiſtory, being to inſtruct, and enable men, by the knowledge of Actions paſt, to beare themſelues prudently in the preſent, and prouidently towards the Future, there is not extant any other (meerely humane) that doth more fully, and naturally performe it, then this of my Author. It is true, that there be many excellent and profitable Hiſtories written ſince; and in ſome of them, there be inſerted very wiſe diſcourſes, both of Manners and Policie. But being diſcourſes inſerted, and not of the contexture of the Narration, they indeed commend the knowledge of the Writer, but not the Hiſtory it ſelfe; the nature whereof, is meerely narratiue. In others, there bee ſubtile coniectures, at the ſecret aymes, and inward cogitations of ſuch as fall vnder their Penne; which is alſo none of the leaſt vertues in a Hiſtory,

where

where the coniecture is throughly grounded, not forced to serue the purpose of the Writer, in adorning his stile, or manifesting his subtilty in coniecturing. But these coniectures cannot often be certaine, vnlesse withall so euident, that the narration it selfe may be sufficient to suggest the same also to the Reader. But Thucydides is one, who, though he neuer digresse to reade a Lecture, Morall or Politicall, vpon his owne Text, nor enter into mens hearts further then the actions themselues euidently guide him, is yet accounted the most Politique Historiographer that euer writ. The reason whereof I take to bee this: He filleth his Narrations with that choice of matter, and ordereth them with that Iudgement, and with such perspicuity and efficacy expresseth himselfe, that, as Plutarch saith, he maketh his Auditor a Spectator. For he setteth his Reader in the Assemblies of the People, and in the Senates, at their debating; in the Streets, at their Seditions; and in the Field at their Battels. So that looke how much a man of vnderstanding, might haue added to his experience, if he had then liued, a beholder of their proceedings, and familiar with the men, and businesse of the time; so much almost may he profit now, by attentiue reading of the same here written. He may from the narrations draw out lessons to himselfe, and of himselfe be able, to trace the drifts and counsailes of the Actors to their seate.

These Vertues of my Author did so take my affection, that they begat in me a desire to communicate him further; which was the first occasion that moued mee to translate him. For it is an errour we easily fall into, to beleeue, that whatsoeuer pleaseth vs, will be, in like manner and degree, acceptable to all; and to esteeme of one anothers Iudgement, as we agree in the liking, or dislike of the same things. And in this errour peraduenture was I, when I thought, that as many of the more iudicious, as I should communicate him to, would affect him as much as I my selfe did. I considered also, that he was exceedingly esteemed of the Italians and French in their owne Tongues; notwithstanding that he bee not very much beholding for it to his Interpreters. Of whom (to speake no more then becomes a Candidate of your good opinion in the same kinde) I may say this, That whereas the Author himselfe, so carrieth with him his owne light throughout, that the Reader may continually see his way before him, and by that which goeth before, expect what is to follow, I found it not so in them. The cause whereof, and their excuse may bee this: They followed the Latine of Laurentius Valla, which was not without some errours, and he a Greeke Copie, not so correct as now is extant. Out of French hee was done into English, (for I neede not dissemble to haue seene him in English) in the time of King Edward the sixth; but so, as by multiplication of errour, hee became at length

traduced,

traduced, rather then translated into our Language. Hereupon I resolued to take him immediately from the Greeke, according to the Edition of Æmilius Porta, not refusing, or neglecting any version, Comment, or other helpe I could come by. Knowing that when with Diligence and Leasure I should haue done it, though some error might remaine, yet they would be errors but of one descent, of which neuertheless I can discouer none, and hope they bee not many. After I had finished it, it lay long by mee, and other reasons taking place, my desire to communicate it ceased.

For I saw, that, for the greatest part, men came to the reading of History, with an affection much like that of the People, in Rome, who came to the spectacle of the Gladiators, with more delight to behold their bloud, then their skill in Fencing. For they be farre more in number, that loue to read of great Armies, bloudy Battels, and many thousands slaine at once, then that minde the Art, by which, the Affaires, both of Armies, and Cities, be conducted to their ends. I obserued likewise, that there were not many, whose eares were well accustomed to the names of the places they shall meet with in this Histroy; without the knowledge whereof, it can neither patiently be read ouer, perfectly vnderstood, nor easily remembred; Especially being many, as heere it falleth out; because in that Age, almost euery City, both in Greece and Sicily, the two maine scenes of this Warre, was a distinct Common-wealth by it selfe, and a party in the Quarrell.

Neuertheless I haue thought since, that the former of these considerations ought not to be of any weight at all, to him that can content himselfe with the Few and better sort of Readers; who, as they onley iudge, so is their approbation onely considerable. And for the difficulty arising from the ignorance of places, I thought it not so insuperable, but that with conuenient pictures of the Countries it might be remoued. To which purpose, I saw there would be necessary, especially two; a Generall Mappe of Greece, and a Generall Mappe of Sicily. The latter of these, I found already extant, exactly done, by Philip Cluuerius; which I haue caused to be cut, and you haue it at the beginning of the Sixth Booke. But for Mappes of Greece, sufficient for this purpose, I could light on none. For neither are the Tables of Ptolomie, and descriptions of those that follow him, accommodate to the time of Thucydides; and therefore few of the Places by him mentioned, therein described: nor are those that bee, agreeing alwayes with the truth of History. Wherefore I was constrained to draw one (as well as I could) my selfe. Which to doe, I was to rely, for the maine Figure of the Countrey, on the moderne description now in reputation; and in that to set downe those Places especially (as many as the Volume was capable of) which occurre in the

reading

To the Readers.

reading of this Author, and to assigne them that situation, which, by travell in Strabo, Pausanias, Herodotus, *and some other good Authors, I saw belonged vnto them, and to shew you that I haue not played the Mountibanke in it, putting downe exactly some few of the Principall, and the rest at aduenture, without care, and without reason, I haue ioyned with the Mappe an* Index, *that pointeth to the Authors which will iustifie me, where I differ from others. With these Mappes, and these few briefe notes in the Margine, vpon such passages, as I thought most required them, I supposed the History might be read with very much benefit, by all men of good Iudgement and Education, (for whom also it was intended from the beginning by* Thucydides) *and haue therefore at length made my Labour publike, not without hope to haue it accepted. Which if I obtaine, though no otherwise then in vertue of the Authors excellent matter, it is sufficient.*

T. H.

These errours of the Presse, I desire the Reader to correct with his Penne, thus.

	Error.	*Correct.*
Pag. 32. l. 5.	*Maydonia,*	*Mygdonia,*
39. l. 5.	their,	other.
54. l. 33. 34.	*Cyrus,*	*Cyprus.*
71. l. 28.	from,	to.
85. l. 41.	affessed,	affessed.
129. l. 36.	of *Cyllene,*	to *Cyllene.*
131. l. 19.	as,	art,
133. l. 9.	amazed,	amused.
138. l. 21.	*Oenia,*	*Oenias.*
151. l. 36.	likneſſe,	ſickneſſe.
205. l. 31.	encounter,	encounter them.
245. l. 12.	neceſſities,	neceſſaries.
250. l. 35.	firſt	forth.
254. l. 14.	*Phanois,*	*Phanois.*
256. l. 1.	*Theſalonians,*	*Theſſalians.*
268. l. 40.	this,	his.
278. l. 12.	*Geraſtian,*	the month *Geraſtij.*
282. l. 2.	*Arribeans,*	*Arribeans.*
l. 26.	this for power.	this power.
l. 27.	and as theſe.	and as for theſe.

	Error,	*Correct.*
P. 314. l. 4	which,	with.
334. l. 5.	but,	yet.
416. l. 24.	in,	into.
457. l. 4.	whole,	the whole.
488. l. 40.	*Tiſſaphques,*	*Thiramenes.*

In the Margine.

P. 14.	Now the Gulfe of *Venice,* called ſo from *Ibra* an *Illyrian.*	So called from *Ibra* an *Illyrian.* Now the Gulfe of *Venice.*
117.	went,	ſent.
364.	deſire,	deterre.

In the Life of the Author.

5. l. 34.	affection,	affections.

To the Readers.

reading of this Author, and to assigne them that

OF THE LIFE AND HISTORY OF THVCYDIDES.

WEe reade of diuers men that beare the name of *Thucydides*. There is *Thucydides* a *Pharsalian*, mentioned in the eighth Booke of this History; who was publike Hoste of the *Athenians*, in *Pharsalus*, and chancing to be at *Athens*, at the time that the gouernment of the 400 began to goe downe, by his interposition, and perswasion, kept asunder the *Factions* then arming themselues, that they fought not in the City to the ruine of the Common-wealth. There is *Thucydides* the son of *Milesias*, an *Athenian*, of the towne of *Alope*, of whom *Plutarch* speaketh in the Life of *Pericles*; and the same in all probabilitie, that in the first Booke of this History, is said to haue had the charge of 40 Gallies, sent against *Samos*, about 24 yeeres before the beginning of this Warre. Another *Thucydides* the sonne of *Ariston*, an *Athenian* also, of the Towne of *Acherdus*, was a Poet, though of his verses there be nothing extant. But *Thucydides* the writer of this History, an *Athenian*, of the Towne of *Halimus*, was the sonne of *Olorus*, (or *Orolus*) and *Hegesipyle*. His Fathers name is commonly written *Olorus*, though in the Inscription on his Tombe, it was *Orolus*. Howsoeuer it be written, it is the same that was borne by diuers of the Kings of *Thrace*, and imposed on him, with respect vnto his descent from them. So that though our Author (as *Cicero* saith of him *Lib. 2. De Oratore*) had neuer written an History, yet had not his name not bin extant, in regard of his Honour and Nobility. And not onely *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Cimon*, but also almost all others that haue touched this point, affirme directly that he was descended from the *Thracian* Kings. Adducing this for proofe, that he was of the house of *Miltiades*, that famous Generall of the *Athenians*, against the *Persians* at *Marathon*; which they also proue by this, that his Tombe was a long time extant amongst the Monuments of that Family. For neere vnto the Gates of *Athens*, called *Melirides*, there was a place named *Coela*, and in it the Monuments called *Cimoniana*, belonging to the Family of *Miltiades*, in which, none but such as were of that Family, might be buried. And amongst those was the Monument of *Thucydides*, with this inscription, *Thucydides Orolo Halimusius*. Now *Miltiades* is confessed by all, to haue descended from *Olorus*, King of *Thrace*, whose daughter another *Miltiades*, Grandfather to this, married, and had children by. And *Miltiades*, that wonne the memorable victory at *Marathon*, was heire to goodly possessions, and Cities in the *Chersonesus* of *Thrace*, ouer which also hee raigned. In *Thrace* lay also the possessions of *Thucydides* and his wealthy Mines of Gold, as he himselfe professeth in his fourth Booke. And although those riches might come to him by a Wife (as is also by some affirmed) which he married in *Scapte-Hyle*, a City of *Thrace*, yet euen by that marriage, it appeareth, that his affaires had a relation to that Countrey, and that his Nobility was not there vnknowne. But in what degree of kindred *Miltiades*, and he approached each other, is not any where made manifest. Some also haue coniectured that hee was of the house of the *Pisistratides*; the ground of whose coniecture hath beene onely this, that he maketh honourable mention of the gouernment of *Pisistratus*, and his sonnes, and extenuateth the glory of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*; proouing that the freeing of the State of *Athens* from the tyranny of the *Pisistratides*, was falsly ascribed to their fact (which proceeded from priuate reuenge, in a quarrel of Loue) by which the tyranny ceased not, but grew heauier to the State, till it was at last put

downe by the *Lacedæmonians*. But this opinion, as it is not so well grounded, so neither is it so well receiued as the former.

Agreeable to his Nobility, was his institution in the study of *Eloquence*, and *Philosophy*. For in *Philosophy*, he was the Scholler (as also was *Pericles* and *Socrates*) of *Anaxagoras*, whose opinions, being of a straine aboue the apprehension of the vulgar, procured him the estimation of an *Atheist*, which name they bestowed vpon all men that thought not as they did, of their ridiculous Religion, and in the end, cost him his life. And *Socrates* after him for the like causes, vnder-went the like fortune. It is not therefore much to be regarded, if this other disciple of his, were by some reputed an *Atheist* to. For though he were none, yet it is not improbable, but by the light of naturall reason, he might see enough in the Religion of these Heathen, to make him thinke it vaine, and superstitious; which was enough to make him an *Atheist*, in the opinion of the People. In some places of his History, hee noteth the æquiuocation of the Oracles; and yet hee confirmeth an assertion of his owne, touching the time this Warre lasted, by the Oracles prediction. He taxeth *Nicias* for being to punctuall in the obseruation of the Ceremonies of their Religion, when he ouerthrew himselfe and his Army, and indeed the whole Dominion, and liberty of his Countrey by it. Yet he commendeth him in another place for his worshipping of the *Gods*, and saith in that respect, hee least of all men deserued to come to so great a degree of Calamity as he did. So that in his writings our Authour appeareth to be, on the one side not superstitious, on the other side, not an *Atheist*.

In *Rhetorique*, he was the Disciple of *Antiphon*, one (by his discription in the eighth Booke of this History) for power of speech almost a miracle, and feared by the *People*, for his eloquence. Insomuch as in his latter dayes he liued retyred, but so, as he gaue counsell to, and writ Orations for other men that resorted vnto him, to that purpose. It was he that contriued the deposing of the *People*, and the setting vp of the gouernment of the 400. For which also he was put to death, when the *People* againe recouered their authority, notwithstanding that he pleaded his owne cause, the best of any man to that day.

It need not be doubted, but from such a Master, *Thucydides* was sufficiently qualified, to haue become a great Demagogue, and of great authority with the *People*. But it seemeth he had no desire at all to meddle in the gouernment, because in those times it was impossible for any man to giue good and profitable counsell for the Common-wealth, and not incurre the displeasure of the *People*. For their opinion was such of their owne power, and of the facility of atchieuing whatsoeuer action they vndertooke, that such men onely swayed the Assemblies, and were esteemed wise and good Common-wealths men, as did put them vpon the most dangerous and desperate enterprizes. Whereas he that gaue them temperate, and discreet aduice, was thought a Coward, or not to vnderstand, or else to maligne their power. And no marueil; for much prosperity (to which they had now for many yeeres been accustomed) maketh men in loue with themselues; and it is hard for any man to loue that counsell which maketh him loue himselfe the lesse. And it holdeth much more in a Multitude, then in one Man; For a man that reasoneth with himselfe, will not be ashamed to admit of timerous suggestions in his businesse, that he may the stronglyer prouide; but in publique deliberations before a Multitude, Feare, (which for the most part aduiseth well, though it execute not so) seldome or neuer sheweth it selfe, or is admitted. By this meanes it came to passe amongst the *Athenians*, who thought they were able to doe any thing, that wicked men and flatterers draue them headlong into those actions that were to ruine them; and the good men either durst not oppose, or if they did, vndid themselues. *Thucydides* therefore, that he might not be either of them that committed, or of them that suffered euill, forbore to come into the Assemblies, and propounded to himselfe, a priuate life as farre as the eminency of so wealthy a person, and the writing of the History he had vndertaken, would permit.

For his opinion touching the gouernment of the State, it is manifest that he least of all liked the *Democracy*. And vpon diuers occasions, hee noteth the emulation and contention of the Demagogues, for reputation, and glory of wit; with their crossing of each others counsels to the dammage of the Publique; the inconstancy of

of Resolutions, caused by the diuersity of ends, and power of Rhetorique in the Orators; and the desperate actions vndertaken vpon the flattering aduice of such as desired to attaine, or to hold what they had attained of authority and sway amongst the common people. Nor doth it appeare, that he magnifieth any where the authority of the *Few*; amongst whom he saith euery one desireth to be chiefe, and they that are vndervalued, beare it with lesse patience then in a *Democracy*; whereupon sedition followeth, and dissolution of the gouernment. Hee prayseth the gouernment of *Athens*, when it was mixt of the *Few* and the *Many*; but more he commendeth it, both when *Pisistratus* raigned (sauing that it was an vsurped power) and when in the beginning of this Warre, it was *Democraticall* in name, but in effect *Monarchicall* vnder *Pericles*. So that it seemeth that as he was of Regall descent, so he best approued of the *Regall Gouernment*. It is therefore no maruell, if he meddled as little as he could in the businesse of the Common-wealth, but gaue himselfe rather to the obseruation and recording of what was done by those that had the managing thereof. Which also he was no lesse prompt diligent and faithfull by the disposition of his mind, then by his fortune, dignity, and wisedome, able to accomplish. How he was disposed to a worke of this nature, may be vnderstood by this, that when being a young man he heard *Herodotus* the Historiographer reciting his History in Publique, (for such was the fashion both of that, and many Ages after) he felt so great a sting of æmulation, that it drew teares from him, insomuch as *Herodotus* himselfe tooke notice how violently his mind was set on letters, and told his Father *Olorus*. When the *Peloponnesian* Warre began to breake out, he coniectured truely, that it would proone an Argument worthy his labour: and no sooner it began, then he began his History; pursuing the same, not in that perfect manner, in which we see it now, but by way of Commentary, or plaine Register of the Actions and passages thereof, as from time to time they fell out, and came to his knowledge. But such a Commentary it was, as might perhaps deserue to be preferr'd before a History written by another. For it is very probable that the eighth Booke is left the same it was when he first writ it, neither beautified with *Orations*, nor so well Cemented at the *Transitions*, as the former seuen Bookes are. And though he began to write as soone as euer the Warre was on foot, yet began he not to perfect and polish his History, till after he was banished.

For notwithstanding his retyred life vpon the Coast of *Thrace*, where his owne possessions lay, he could not auoyd a seruice of the State, which proued to him afterwards very vnfortunate. For whilest he resided in the Ile *Thasus*, it fell out that *Brasidas* the *Lacedæmonian*, besieged *Amphipolis*, a Citie belonging to the *Athenians*, on the Confines of *Thrace*, and *Macedony*; distant from *Thasus*, about halfe a dayes sayle. To relieue which, the Captaine thereof for the *Athenians*, sent to *Thucydides*, to leuy a power and make haste vnto him; (for *Thucydides* was one of the *Strategi*, that is, had authority to raise forces in those parts, for the seruice of the Common-wealth.) And he did accordingly. But he came thither one night too late, and found the City already yeelded vp. And for this he was afterwards banished, as if he had let slip his time through negligence, or purposely put it off, vpon feare of the Enemy. Neuertheless he put himselfe into the Citie of *Eion*, and preserued it to the *Athenians*, with the repulse of *Brasidas*, which came downe from *Amphipolis*, the next morning, and assaulted it. The author of his banishment is supposed to haue been *Cleon*, a most violent Sycophant in those times, and thereby also a most acceptable Speaker amongst the people. For where affaires succeed amisse, though there want neither prouidence, nor courage in the Conduction, yet with those that iudge onely vpon euents, the way to calumny is alwayes open, and *Enuy*, in the likenesse of *Zeale* to the Publique good, easily findeth credit for an accusation.

After his Banishment, he liued in *Scapte-Hyle*, a Citie of *Thrace*, before mentioned, as *Plutarch* writeth; but yet so, as he went abroad, and was present at the Actions of the rest of the Warre, as appeareth by his owne words in his fift Booke. Where he saith, that he was present at the Actions of both parts, and no lesse at those of the *Peloponnesians*, by reason of his exile, then those of the *Athenians*. During this time also, he perfected his History, so far as is now to be seene; nor doth

it appeare that after his exile, he euer againe enioyed his Countrey. It is not cleere in any Author, where, or when, or in what yeere of his owne Age, he dyed. Moſt agree that he dyed in Baniſhment; yet there be that haue written, that after the defeat in *Sicily*, the *Athenians* decreed a generall reuocation of all baniſhed perſons, except thoſe of the Family of *Piſiſtratus*; and that he then returned, and was afterwards put to death at *Athens*. But this is very vnlikely to be true, vnleſſe by *after* the defeat in *Sicily*, he meant *ſo long after*, that it was alſo after the end of the *Peloponneſian* Warre, becauſe *Thucydides* himſelfe maketh no mention of ſuch returne, though he out-liued the whole War, as is manifeſt by his words in the fift Booke. For he ſaith he liued in baniſhment twenty yeeres after his charge at *Amphipolis*; which happened in the eighth yeere of this Warre, which in the whole, laſted but 27 yeeres compleat. And in another place he maketh mention of the razing of the *Long-walles* betweene *Peiraeus*, and the Citie; which was the laſt ſtroke of this Warre. They that ſay he dyed at *Athens*, take their coniecture from his Monument which was there. But this is not a ſufficient Argument; for he might bee buried there ſecretly, (as ſome haue written he was) though he dyed abroad; or his Monument might be there, and (as others haue affirmed) he not buried in it. In this variety of coniecture there is nothing more probable then that which is written by *Pauſanias*, where he deſcribeth the Monuments of the *Athenian* Citie, and ſaith thus. *The worthy Act of* Oenobius, *in the behalfe of* Thucydides, *is not without honour* (meaning that he had a Statue.) *For* Oenobius *obtained to haue a Decree paſſed for his returne; who returning was ſlaine by treachery, and his Sepulchre is neere the Gates called* Melirides. He dyed, as ſaith *Marcellinus*, after the ſeuen and fiftieth yeere of his Age. And if it be true that is written by *A. Gellius*, of the Ages of *Hellanicus*, *Herodotus*, and *Thucydides*, then died he not before the ſixty eighth yeere. For if he were forty when the Warre began, and liued (as he did, certainly) to ſee it ended he might be more when he dyed, but not leſſe then ſixty eight yeeres of Age. What children he left, is not manifeſt. *Plato in Menone*, maketh mention of *Mileſias* and *Stephanus*, ſonnes of a *Thucydides*, of a very Noble Family; but it is cleere that they were of *Thucydides*, the Riuall of *Pericles*, both by the name *Mileſias*, and becauſe this *Thucydides* alſo, was of the Family of *Miltiades*, as *Plutarch* teſtifieth in the Life of *Cimon*. That he had a ſonne, is affirmed by *Marcellinus*, out of the authority of *Polemon*, but of his name there is no mention, ſaue that a learned man readeth there, in the place of θε... (which is in the imperfect Copie) *Timotheus*. Thus much of the perſon of *Thucydides*.

Now for his writings, two things are to bee conſidered in them, *Truth*, and *Eloquution*. For in *Truth* conſiſteth the *Soule*, and in *Eloquution* the *Body* of Hiſtory. The latter without the former, is but a picture of Hiſtory; and the former without the latter, vnapt to inſtruct. But let vs ſee how our Author hath acquitted himſelfe in both. For the Faith of this Hiſtory, I ſhall haue the leſſe to ſay, in reſpect that no man hath euer yet called it into queſtion. Nor indeed could any man iuſtly doubt of the truth of that Writer, in whom they had nothing at all to ſuſpect of thoſe things that could haue cauſed him either voluntarily to lie, or ignorantly to deliuer an vntruth. He ouertasked not himſelfe by vndertaking an Hiſtory of things done long before his time, and of which he was not able to informe himſelfe. He was a man that had as much meanes, in regard both of his dignity and wealth, to find the truth of what he relateth, as was needfull for a man to haue. He vſed as much diligence in ſearch of the truth, (noting euery thing whileſt it was freſh in memory, and laying out his wealth vpon intelligence,) as was poſsible for a man to vſe. He affected leaſt of any man the acclamations of Popular Auditories, and wrote not his Hiſtory to win preſent applauſe, as was the vſe of that Age, but for a Monument to inſtruct the Ages to come. Which he profeſſeth himſelfe, and Entitleth his Booke ΚΤΗΜΑ ΕΣ ΑΕΙ, *A Poſſeſſion for euerlaſting*. He was farre from the neceſsity of ſeruile Writers, either to feare or flatter. And whereas he may peraduenture be thought to haue beene malcuolent towards his Country, becauſe they deſerued to haue him ſo, yet hath he not written any thing that diſcouereth any ſuch paſsion. Nor is there any thing written of them that tendeth to their diſhonour, as *Athenians*, but onely as *People*; and that by the neceſsity of the narration, not by any ſought digreſsion. So that no word of his,

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In the *Eloquution* alſo; Two things are conſiderable, *Diſpoſition* or *Method*, and *Stile*. Of the *Diſpoſition* here vſed by *Thucydides*, it will be ſufficient in this place, briefly to obſerue onely this. That in his firſt Booke, firſt he hath by way of *Exordium*, deriued the State of *Greece* from the Cradle, to the vigorous ſtature it then was at, when he began to write; and next, declared the cauſes, both *reall* and *pretended* of the Warre hee was to write of. In the reſt, in which hee handleth the Warre it ſelfe, he followeth diſtinctly and purely the order of time throughout; relating what came to paſſe from yeere to yeere, and ſubdiuiding each yeere into a Summer and Winter. The grounds and motiues of euery action, he ſetteth down before the action it ſelfe, either Narratiuely, or elſe contriueth them into the forme of *Deliberatiue Orations*, in the perſons of ſuch as from time to time bare ſway in the Common-wealth. After the actions, when there is iuſt occaſion, he giueth his iudgement of them, ſhewing by what meanes the ſucceſſe came either to be furthered or hindered. Digreſsions for inſtructions cauſe, and other ſuch open conueyances of Precepts (which is the Philoſophers part) he neuer vſeth, as hauing ſo cleerely ſet before mens eyes, the wayes and euents, of good and euill counſels, that the Narration it ſelfe doth ſecretly inſtruct the Reader, and more effectually then poſsibly can be done by Precept.

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it appeare that after his exile, he euer againe enioyed his Countrey. It is not cleere in any Author, where, or when, or in what yeere of his owne Age, he dyed. Most agree that he dyed in Banishment; yet there be that haue written, that after the defeat in *Sicily*, the *Athenians* decreed a generall reuocation of all banished persons, except those of the Family of *Pisistratus*; and that he then returned, and was afterwards put to death at *Athens*. But this is very vnlikely to be true, vnlesse by *after* the defeat in *Sicily*, he meant *so long after*, that it was also after the end of the *Peloponnesian* Warre, because *Thucydides* himselfe maketh no mention of such returne, though he out-liued the whole War, as is manifest by his words in the fift Booke. For he saith he liued in banishment twenty yeeres after his charge at *Amphipolis*; which happened in the eighth yeere of this Warre, which in the whole, lasted but 27 yeeres compleat. And in another place he maketh mention of the razing of the *Long-walles* betweene *Peiræus*, and the Citie; which was the last stroke of this Warre. They that say he dyed at *Athens*, take their coniecture from his Monument which was there. But this is not a sufficient Argument; for he might bee buried there secretly, (as some haue written he was,) though he dyed abroad; or his Monument might be there, and (as others haue affirmed) he not buried in it. In this variety of coniecture there is nothing more probable then that which is written by *Pausanias*, where he describeth the Monuments of the *Athenian* Citie, and saith thus. *The worthy Act of* Oenobius, *in the behalfe of* Thucydides, *is not without honour* (meaning that he had a Statue.) *For* Oenobius *obtained to haue a Decree passed for his returne; who returning was slaine by treachery, and his Sepulchre is neere the Gates called* Melirides. He dyed, as saith *Marcellinus*, after the seuen and fiftieth yeere of his Age. And if it be true that is written by *A. Gellius*, of the Ages of *Hellanicus*, *Herodotus*, and *Thucydides*, then died he not before the sixty eighth yeere. For if he were forty when the Warre began, and liued (as he did, certainly) to see it ended, he might be more when he dyed, but not lesse then sixty eight yeeres of Age. What children he left, is not manifest. *Plato in Menone*, maketh mention of *Milesias* and *Stephanus*, sonnes of a *Thucydides*, of a very Noble Family; but it is cleere that they were of *Thucydides*, the Riuall of *Pericles*, both by the name *Milesias*, and because this *Thucydides* also, was of the Family of *Miltiades*, as *Plutarch* testifieth in the Life of *Cimon*. That he had a sonne, is affirmed by *Marcellinus*, out of the authority of *Polemon*, but of his name there is no mention, saue that a learned man readeth there, in the place of *Bio*... (which is in the imperfect Copie) *Timotheus*. Thus much of the person of *Thucydides*.

Now for his writings, two things are to bee considered in them, *Truth*, and *Eloquution*. For in *Truth* consisteth the *Soule*, and in *Eloquution* the *Body* of History. The latter without the former, is but a picture of History; and the former without the latter, vnapt to instruct. But let vs see how our Author hath acquitted himselfe in both. For the Faith of this History, I shall haue the lesse to say, in respect that no man hath euer yet called it into question. Nor indeed could any man iustly doubt of the truth of that Writer, in whom they had nothing at all to suspect of those things that could haue caused him either voluntarily to lie, or ignorantly to deliuer an vntruth. He ouertasked not himselfe by vndertaking an History of things done long before his time, and of which he was not able to informe himselfe. He was a man that had as much meanes, in regard both of his dignity and wealth, to find the truth of what he relateth, as was needfull for a man to haue. He vsed as much diligence in search of the truth, (noting euery thing whilest it was fresh in memory, and laying out his wealth vpon intelligence,) as was possible for a man to vse. He affected least of any man the acclamations of Popular Auditories, and wrote not his History to win present applause, as was the vse of that Age, but for a Monument to instruct the Ages to come. Which he professeth himselfe, and Entitleth his Booke ΚΤΗΜΑ ΕΣ ΑΒΙ, *A Possession for euerlasting*. He was farre from the necessity of seruile Writers, either to feare or flatter. And whereas he may peraduenture be thought to haue beene maleuolent towards his Countrey, because they deserued to haue him so, yet hath he not written any thing that discouereth any such passion. Nor is there any thing written of them that tendeth to their dishonour, as *Athenians*, but onely as *People*; and that by the necessity of the narration, not by any sought digression. So that no word of his,

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For his *Stile*, I referre it to the iudgement of diuers antient and competent Iudges. *Plutarch* in his Booke, *De gloria Athenienſium*, ſaith of him thus. Thucydides *aymeth alwayes at this, to make his Auditor a Spectator, and to caſt his Reader into the ſame paſſions that they were in, that were beholders. The manner how* Demoſthenes *aranged the* Athenians *on the rugged ſhore before* Pylus. *How* Braſidas *vrged the Steereſman to runne his Gally a ground; how he went to the Ladder, or place in the Gally for deſcent, how he was hurt, and ſwowned, and fell downe on the ledges of the Gally; how the* Spartans *fought after the manner of a Land-fight vpon the Sea, and the* Athenians *of a Sea-fight vpon Land. Againe, in the* Sicilian *Warre, how a battell was fought by Sea and Land, with equall fortune. Theſe things, I ſay, are ſo deſcribed, and ſo euidently ſet before our eyes, that the mind of the Reader is no leſſe affected therewith, then if hee had beene preſent in the Actions.* There is for his perſpecuity. *Cicero* in his Booke entituled *Orator*, ſpeaking of the affection of diuers *Greeke* Rhetoricians, ſaith thus. *And therefore* Herodotus *and* Thucydides *are the more admirable. For though they liued in the ſame Age with thoſe I haue before named, (meaning* Thraſymachus, Gorgius, *and* Theodorus) *yet were they farre from this kind of delicacy, or rather indeed fooliery. For the one without rubbe, gently glideth like a ſtill River, and the other (meaning* Thucydides) *runnes ſtronglier, and in matter of Warre, as it were, bloweth a trumpet of Warre. And in theſe two (as ſaith* Theophraſtus) *Hiſtory hath rowſed her ſelfe, and aduentured to ſpeake both more copiouſly, and with more ornament then in thoſe that were before them.* This commends the grauity, and the dignity of his language. Againe in his ſecond Booke, *De Oratore*, thus. Thucydides *in the Art of ſpeaking, hath in my opinion far exceeded them all. For he is ſo full of matter, that the number of his ſentences, doth almoſt reach to the number of his words; and in his words he is ſo apt, and ſo cloſe, that it is hard to ſay, whether his words do more illuſtrate his ſentences, or his ſentences his words.* There is for the pithineſſe and ſtrength of his Stile. Laſtly, for the purity, and propriety, I cite, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſus*, whoſe teſtimony is the ſtronger in this point, becauſe he was a *Greeke* Rhetorician for his faculty, and for his affection, one that would no further commend him, then of neceſsity he muſt. His words are theſe. *There is one vertue in Eloquence, the chiefeſt of all the reſt, and without which there is no other goodneſſe in ſpeech. What is that? That the language be pure, and retaine the propriety of the* Greeke *tongue. This they both obſerue diligently. For* Herodotus *is the beſt rule of the* Ionique, *and* Thucydides *of the* Attique *Dialect.* Theſe teſtimonies are not needfull to him that hath read the Hiſtory it ſelfe, nor at all, but that this ſame *Dionyſius* hath taken ſo much paines, and applyed ſo much of his faculty in Rhetorique to the extenuating of the worth thereof; Moreouer, I haue thought it neceſſary to take out the principall obiections he maketh againſt him, and without many words of mine owne, to leaue them to the conſi-

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deration of the Reader. And first *Dionysius* saith thus. *The principall, and most necessary office of any man that intendeth to write a History, is to chuse a Noble Argument, and gratefull to such as shall reade it. And this,* Herodotus, *in my opinion, hath done better then* Thucydides. *For* Herodotus *hath written the iovnt History, both of the* Greekes *and* Barbarians, *to saue from oblivion, &c. But* Thucydides *writeth one onely Warre, and that neither honourable, nor fortunate; which principally were to bee wished neuer to haue beene; and next, neuer to haue been remembred, nor knowne to posterity. And that he tooke an euill Argument in hand, he maketh it manifest in his proeme, saying,* That many Cities were in that Warre made desolate, and vtterly destroyed, partly by *Barbarians*, partly by the *Greekes* themselues: so many banishments, and so much slaughter of men, as neuer was the like before, &c. *So that the hearers will abhorre it, at the first propounding. Now by how much it is better to write of the wonderfull acts both of the* Barbarians, *and* Grecians, *then of the pittifull and horrible calamities of the* Grecians, *so much wiser is* Herodotus *in the choyce of his Argument, then* Thucydides.

Now let any man consider whether it be not more reasonable to say. *That the principall, & most necessary office of him that will write a History, is to take such an Argument, as is both within his power well to handle, and profitable to posterity that shall reade it. Which* Thucydides, *in the opinion of all men, hath done better then* Herodotus. *For* Herodotus *vndertooke to write of those things, of which it was impossible for him to know the truth; and which delight more the eare with fabulous Narrations, then satisfie the mind with truth. But* Thucydides *writeth one Warre, which, how it was carried from the beginning to the end, he was able certainely to informe himselfe. And by propounding in his Proeme, the miseries that happened in the same, he sheweth that it was a great Warre, and worthy to be knowne, and not to be concealed from posterity, for the calamities that then fell vpon the* Grecians; *but the rather to be truely deliuered vnto them, for that men profit more by looking on aduerse euents, then on prosperity. Therefore by how much mens miseries doe better instruct, then their good successe, by so much was* Thucydides *more happy in taking his Argument, then* Herodotus *was wise in chusing his.*

Dionysius againe, saith thus. *The next office of him that will write a History, is to know where to begin, and where to end. And in this point* Herodotus *seemeth to be farre more discreet then* Thucydides. *For in the first place he layeth downe the cause, for which the* Barbarians *began to iniure the* Grecians; *and going on, maketh an end at the punishment, and the reuenge taken on the* Barbarians. *But* Thucydides *begins at the good estate of the* Grecians, *which being a* Grecian, *and an* Athenian, *he ought not to haue done; nor ought he being of that dignity amongst the* Athenians, *so euidently to haue laid the fault of the Warre vpon his owne City, when there were other occasions enough to which he might haue imputed it. Nor ought he to haue begun with the businesse of the* Corcyræans, *but at the more Noble Acts of his Country, which they did immediately after the* Persian *Warre, (which afterward in conuenient place he mentioneth, but it is but cursorily, and not as he ought.) And when he had declared those, with much affection, as a louer of his Country, then he should haue brought in, how that the* Lacedæmonians, *through enuy and feare, but pretending other causes, began the Warre, and so haue descended to the* Corcyræan *businesse, and the Decree against the* Megareans, *or whatsoeuer else he had to put in. Then in the ending of his History, there be many errours committed. For though he professe he was present in the whole warre, and that he would write it all, yet he ends with the Nauall battell at* Cynossema, *which was fought in the 21 yeere of the warre; whereas it had beene better to haue gone through with it, and ended his History with that admirable, and gratefull returne of the banished* Athenians *from* Phile, *at which time the City recouered her liberty.*

To this I say. *That it was the duty of him that had vndertaken to write the History of the* Peloponnesian *VVarre, to begin his Narration no further of, then at the causes of the same, whether the* Grecians *were then in good, or in euill estate. And if the iniury, vpon which the warre arose, proceeded from the* Athenians, *then the writer, though an* Athenian, *and honoured in his Country, ought to declare the same, and not to seeke, nor take, though at hand, any other occasion to transferre the fault. And that the Acts done before the time comprehended in the warre he writ of, ought to haue been touched but cursorily, and no more then may serue for the enlightning of the History to follow, how Noble*

soeuer

ſoeuer thoſe Acts haue beene. Which when he had thus touched, without affection to either ſide, and not as a louer of his Countrey, but of truth, then to haue proceeded to the reſt, with the like indifferency, And to haue made an end of writing, where the Warre ended, which he vndertooke to write; not producing his Hiſtory beyond that period, though that which followed were neuer ſo admirable and acceptable. All this *Thucydides* hath obſerued.

Theſe two criminations, I haue therefore ſet downe at large, tranſlated almoſt *verbatim*, that the iudgement of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſius*, may the better appeare, concerning the mayne and principall vertues of a Hiſtory. I thinke there was neuer written ſo much abſurdity in ſo few lines. He is contrary to the opinion of all men that euer ſpake of this ſubiect beſides himſelfe, and to common ſenſe. For he makes the ſcope of Hiſtory not profit by writing truth, but delight of the hearer, as if it were a Song. And the Argument of Hiſtory, he would not by any meanes haue to containe the calamities and miſery of his Countrey, (theſe he would haue buried in ſilence) but onely their glorious and ſplendid actions. Amongſt the vertues of an Hiſtoriographer, hee reckons affection to his Countrey; ſtudy to pleaſe the hearer; to write of more then his Argument leades him to; and to conceale all actions that were not to the honour of his Countrey. Moſt manifeſt vices. He was a Rhetorician, and it ſeemeth he would haue nothing written, but that which was moſt capable of Rhetoricall ornament. Yet *Lucian*, a Rhetorician alſo, in a Treatiſe, entituled, *How a Hiſtory ought to be written*, ſaith thus. *That a writer of Hiſtory, ought in his writings, to be a forraigner, without Countrey, liuing vnder his owne Law onely, ſubiect to no King, nor caring what any man will like, or diſlike, but laying out the matter as it is.*

The third fault he finds, is this. That the method of his Hiſtory is gouerned by the time, rather then the periods of ſeuerall actions. For he declares in order what came to paſſe each Summer, and Winter, and is thereby forced ſometimes, to leaue the Narration of a ſiege, or ſedition, or a Warre, or other action, in the middeſt, and enter into a Relation of ſomewhat elſe, done at the ſame time, in another place, and to come to the former againe when the time requires it. This, ſaith hee, cauſeth confuſion in the mind of his hearer, ſo that he cannot comprehend diſtinctly the ſeuerall parts of the Hiſtory.

Dionyſius aymeth ſtill at the delight of the *preſent* hearer; though *Thucydides* himſelfe profeſſe that his ſcope is not that, but to leaue his worke for a *perpetuall poſſeſſion* to poſterity. And then haue men leaſure enough to comprehend him throughly. But indeed, whoſoeuer ſhall reade him once attentiuely, ſhall more diſtinctly conceiue of euery action this way, then the other; and the method is more naturall; for as much as his purpoſe being to write of one *Peloponneſian* Warre, this way he hath incorporated all the parts thereof into one body, ſo that there is vnity in the whole, and the ſeuerall Narrations are conceiued onely as parts of that; Whereas the other way, he had but ſowed together many little Hiſtories, and left the *Peloponneſian* Warre (which he tooke for his ſubiect) in a manner vnwritten; for neither any part, nor the whole, could iuſtly haue carryed ſuch a Title.

Fourthly, he accuſeth him for the method of his firſt Booke, in that he deriueth *Greece*, from the infancy thereof to his owne time; and in that he ſetteth downe the Narration of the quarrels about *Corcyra*, and *Potidea*, before he entreateth of the true cauſe of the Warre, which was the greatneſſe of the *Athenian* dominion, feared and enuyed by the *Lacedæmonians*.

For anſwer to this, I ſay thus. For the mentioning of the antient State of *Greece*, he doth it briefly, inſiſting no longer vpon it then is neceſſary for the well vnderſtanding of the following Hiſtory. For without ſome generall notions of theſe firſt times, many places of the Hiſtory are the leſſe eaſie to be vnderſtood, as depending vpon the knowledge of the originall of ſeuerall Cities and Cuſtomes, which could not be at all inſerted into the Hiſtory it ſelfe, but muſt be either ſuppoſed to be foreknowne by the reader, or elſe be deliuered to him in the beginning, as a neceſſary Preface. And for his putting firſt the Narration of the Publique, and auowed cauſe of this Warre, and after that, the true and inward motiue of the ſame, the reprehenſion is abſurd. For it is plaine that a cauſe of Warre, diuulged and auowed, how ſlight ſoeuer it be, comes within the taske of the Hiſtoriographer, no leſſe then the

the Warre it selfe: for without a pretext no Warre followes. This pretext is alwayes an injury receiued, or pretended to be receiued. Whereas the inward motiue to hostility is but coniecturall, and not of that euidence, that a Historiographer should be alwayes bound to take notice of it, as cause to the greatnesse of another State, or feare of an injury to come. Now let any man iudge, whether a good writer of History, ought to handle, as the principall cause of Warre, proclaimed injury, or concealed enuy. In a word, the image of the Method vsed by *Thucydides* in this point, is this. *The Quarrell about Corcyra, passed in this manner; and the Quarrell about Potidæa, on this manner;* (relating both at large) *and in both, the* Athenians *were accused to haue done the injury. Neuertheless the* Lacedæmonians *had not vpon this injury entred into a Warre against them; but when they* enuyed *the greatnesse of their* power, *and* feared *the consequence of their* ambition. I thinke a more cleare, and naturall order cannot possibly be deuised.

Againe he sayes, that he maketh a Funerall Oration (which was solemnely done on all occasions through the Warre) for 25. Horsemen onely, that were slaine at the Brookes called *Rheti*; and that for this reason onely, that he might make it in the person of *Pericles*, who was then liuing, but before another the like occasion happened, was dead.

The manner of the *Athenians* was, that they that were slaine the first, in any Warre, should haue a solemne Funerall, in the suburbs of the Citie. During this Warre, they had many occasions to put this custome in practise. Seeing therefore it was fit to haue that custome, & the forme of it knowne, and that once for all, the manner being euer the same, it was fittest to relate it on the first occasion, what number soeuer they were that were then buried; which neuertheless is not likely to haue been so few as *Dionysius* saith. For the Funerall was not celebrated till the Winter after they were slaine, so that many more were slaine before this solemnity, and may all be accounted amongst the first. And that *Pericles* performed the office of making their Funerall Oration, there is no reason alledged by him, why it should be doubted.

Another fault hee finds, is this; That he introduceth the *Athenian* Generals in a Dialogue, with the Inhabitants of the Ile of *Melos*, pretending openly, for the cause of their inuasion of that Ile, the power and will of the State of *Athens*, and reiecting vtterly, to enter into any disputation with them, concerning the equity of their cause; which he saith, was contrary to the dignity of the State.

To this may be answered; That the Proceeding of these Generals was not vnlike to diuers other Actions, that the people of *Athens* openly tooke vpon them; and therefore it is very likely they were allowed so to proceed. Howsoeuer, if the *Athenian People* gaue in charge to these their Captaines, to take in the Iland, by all meanes whatsoeuer, without power to report backe vnto them first, the equity of the Ilanders cause, as is most likely to be true, I see then no reason the Generals had to enter into disputation with them, whether they should performe their charge, or not, but onely whether they should doe it by faire, or foule meanes; which is the point treated of in this Dialogue. Other Cauils he hath, touching the matter, and order of this History, but not needfull to be answered.

Then for his phrase, he carpeth at it in infinite places, both for obscure and licentious. He that will see the particular places, he reprehendeth, let him read *Dionysius* himselfe, if he will; for the matter is too tedious for this place. It is true, that there be some Sentences in him, somewhat long, not obscure to one that is attentiue, and besides that, they are but few. Yet is this the most important fault he findeth. For the rest, the obscurity that is, proceedeth from the profoundnesse of the Sentences, containing contemplations of those humane passions, which either dissembled, or not commonly discoursed of, doe yet carry the greatest sway with men, in their priuate conuersation. If then one cannot penetrate into them without much meditation, we are not to suspect a man should vnderstand them at the first speaking. *Marcellinus* saith, he was obscure on purpose, that the Common people might not vnderstand him. And not vnlikely, for a wise man should so write (though in words vnderstood by all men) that wise men only should be able to commend him. But this obscurity is not to be in the Narrations of things done, nor in the descriptions of places, or of battels in all which, *Thucydides* is most perspicuous,

as

as *Plutarch* in the words before cited, hath teſtified of him. But in the Characters of mens humours and manners, and applying them to affaires of conſequence, it is impoſsible not to be obſcure to ordinary capacities, in what words ſoeuer a man deliuer his mind; If therefore *Thucydides* in his Orations, or in the Deſcription of a Sedition, or other thing of that kind, be not eaſily vnderſtood, it is of thoſe onely that cannot penetrate into the nature of ſuch things, and proceedeth not from any intricacy of expreſsion. *Dionyſius* further findeth fault with his vſing to ſet word againſt word, which the *Rhetoricians* call *Antitheta*. Which, as it is in ſome kind of ſpeech, a very great vice, ſo is it not vnproper in Characters; and of comparatiue diſcourſes, it is almoſt the onely Stile.

And whereas he further taxeth him for licentiouſneſſe in turning *Nownes* into *Verbes*, and *Verbes* into *Nownes*, and altering of *Genders*, *Caſes*, and *Numbers*, as hee doth ſometimes for the more efficacy of his Stile, & without *Solœciſme*, I leaue him to the anſwer of *Marcellinus*; who ſayes, *That* Dionyſius *findeth fault with this, as being ignorant* (yet he was a profeſſed *Rhetorician*) *that this was the moſt excellent, and perfect kind of ſpeaking.*

Some man may peraduenture deſire to know, what motiue *Dionyſius* might haue, to extenuate the worth of him, whom he himſelfe acknowledgeth to haue beene eſteemed by all men, for the beſt by farre of all Hiſtorians that euer writ, and to haue been taken by all the Antient *Orators*, and *Philoſophers*, for the meaſure and rule of writing Hiſtory. What motiue he had to it, I know not; but what glory he might expect by it, is eaſily knowne. For hauing firſt preferred *Herodotus*, his Countreyman, a *Halicarnaſſian*, before *Thucydides*, who was accounted the beſt, and then conceiuing that his owne Hiſtory might perhaps be thought not inferiour to that of *Herodotus*, by this computation he ſaw the honour of the beſt Hiſtoriographer falling on himſelfe; Wherin (in the opinion of all men) he hath miſreckoned. And thus much for the obiections of *Denis* of *Halicarnaſſe*.

It is written of *Demoſthenes*, the famous Orator, that he wrote ouer the Hiſtory of *Thucydides* with his owne hand, eight times. So much was this Worke eſteemed, euen for the eloquence. But yet was this his eloquence not at all fit for the barre, but proper for Hiſtory, and rather to be read, then heard. For words that paſſe away (as in publike Orations they muſt) without pauſe, ought to be vnderſtood with eaſe, and are loſt elſe; though words that remaine in writing, for the Reader to meditate on, ought rather to be pithy, and full. *Cicero* therefore doth iuſtly ſet him a part, from the ranke of Pleaders, but withall, he continually giueth him his due for Hiſtory. *Lib. 2. De Oratore. What great Rhetorician euer borrowed any thing of* Thucydides? *yet all men praiſe him, I confeſſe it, as a wiſe, ſeuere, graue Relator of things done. Not for a Pleader of Cauſes at the Barre, but a Reporter of Warre in Hiſtory. So that he was neuer reckoned an Orator, nor if he had neuer written a Hiſtory, had his name therefore not been extant, being a man of Honour and Nobility. Yet, none of them imitate the granity of his Words and Sentences; but when they haue vttered a kinde of lame and diſioynted ſtuffe, they preſently thinke themſelues brothers of* Thucydides. Againe, in his Booke, *De optimo Oratore*, he ſaith thus. *But here will ſtand vp* Thucydides; *For his eloquence is by ſome admired; and iuſtly. But this is nothing to the Orator wee ſeeke; for it is one thing to vnfold a matter by way of Narration; another thing to accuſe a man, or cleere him by Arguments. And in Narrations, one thing to ſtay the hearer; another to ſtirre him.* *Lucian*, in his Booke entituled, *How a Hiſtory ought to be written*, doth continually exemplifie the vertues which he requires in an Hiſtoriographer, by *Thucydides*. And if a man conſider well that whole Diſcourſe of his, he ſhall plainely perceiue, that the Image of this preſent Hiſtory, præconceiued in *Lucians* minde, ſuggeſted vnto him all the Precepts he there deliuereth. Laſtly, heare the moſt true and proper commendation of him, from *Iuſtus Lipſius*, in his Notes to his Booke, *De Doctrina Ciuili*, in theſe words. Thucydides, *who hath written, not many, nor very great matters, hath perhaps yet won the Garland from all that haue written of matters, both many and great. Euery where for Eloquution graue; ſhort and thicke with ſenſe; ſound in his iudgements; euery where ſecretly inſtructing, and directing a mans life and actions. In his Orations and Excurſions, almoſt Diuine. Whom the oftner you read, the more you ſhall carry away, yet neuer be diſmiſſed without appetite. Next to him is* Polybius, *&c.* And thus much concerning the *Life* and *Hiſtory* of *Thucydides*.

as [illegible] in the words before cited hath testified of him. For in the Characters of manners, humours and manners, and applying them to diuers occasions, it is impossible not to be obliuate to ordinary capacities, in what words soeuer a man deliuer his mind; If therefore Theophrastus in his Orations, or in the Description of a Section, or other thing of that kind, be not easily vnderstood, it is of those only that cannot penetrate into the nature of such things, and proceedeth not from any inficiency or expression. Demetrius further findeth fault with his vsing to set words against words, which the Rhetoricians call Antithesis. Which [illegible] is a very great vice, (so is it not vnproper in Characters, and of comparatiue description) it is almost the onely Stile.

And, whereas he further taxeth him for licentiousness in turning Nouns into Verbs, and Verbs into Nouns, and altering of Genders, Cases, and Numbers, as fitteth him best for the more efficacy of his Stile, & without Solecisme, I reade him to the admiration of Newcomers; who loues, That Dionysius should [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

The names of the places of *Greece* occurring in *Thucydides*, or in the Mappe of *Greece*, briefly noted out of diuers Authors, for the better manifesting of their Scituation, and enlightning of the Hiſtory.

A

Abae, a City of the *Locrians* of *Opus*, confining on *Hiampolis*, which is a City of *Phocis*. *Pauſanias in Phocicis.*

Abdera, a City ſcituate next beyond the Riuer *Neſtus*, towards the Eaſt. *Strab. Epitome lib.* 7. *Neſtus* a Riuer of the territory of *Abdera*. *Herodotus, lib.* 7.

Abydus, a City on the entrance of *Helleſpont*, betweene *Lampſacus* and *Ilium*, equally diſtant from both. In ſight of *Ilium*, and is diſtant from the mouth of the Riuer *Æſepus* by Sea 700 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Acanthus, a City neere to the *Iſthmus* of Mount *Athos*, and (as in the Epitome of *Strabos* ſeuenth Booke) in the Bay of *Singus*. But it appeareth by *Herodotus in his ſeuenth Booke*, that it lyeth on the other ſide, in the Bay of *Strymon*; where he ſaith, that the *Iſthmus* of Mount *Athos* is of twelue furlongs length, and reacheth from *Acanthus* to the Sea that lyeth before *Torone*. And in another place of the ſame Booke he ſaith, that the Fleete of *Xerxes* ſayled through the Ditch (which *Xerxes* had cauſed to bee made through the ſaid *Iſthmus*) from *Acanthus*, into the Bay, in which are theſe Cities, *Singus*, &c.

Acarnania, a region in *Greece*, diuided from *Epirus* by the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Pol. lib.* 4. it reacheth from *Ambracia* to the Riuer *Achelous*; and is diuided from the *Ætolians* by *Achelous*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Acheum, a City of *Troas*, oppoſite to the Ile *Tenedos*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Achaia, a Region of *Peloponneſus*, confining on *Elis*, *Arcadia*, and *Sicyonia*, bounded on one ſide with *Elis*, at the Promontory of *Araxus*, and on the other ſide with the Territory of *Sicyon*. *Strab. lib.* 8. It hath in it 12 Cities in this order, beginning at that part which confineth on *Sicyonia*. *Pellene*, *Ægira*, *Ægæ*, *Buta*, *Helice*, *Ægium*, *Rhypes*, *Patræ*, *Pharæ*, *Olenus*, *Dyme*, *Tritæa*. *Herodotus lib.* 1. *Strab. lib.* 9. It is alſo a part of *Theſſaly*, in which are the *Phthiotæ*. *Herod. lib.* 7. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Acharnæ, a Towne of *Attica*, diſtant from *Athens* about 60. Furlongs; *Thucyd. lib.* 2. and lyeth toward the North of it, as may be collected out of the narration of the iourney of *Archidamus* with his Armie, in the ſame Booke.

Achelous, a riuer that riſeth in the Mountaine *Pindus*, and running through the Territories of *Agræis*, and *Amphilochia*, and by the City of *Stratus*, deuideth the maritime parts of *Acarnania* from *Ætolia*. *Strabo lib.* 10. *Achelous* riſeth in *Pindus*, and runneth through *Dolopia*, *Agræis*, *Amphilochia*, by the City of *Stratus*, and by the City *Oeniadæ* into the Sea. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. in the later end.

Acheron, — } *Acheruſia* is a Lake which
Acheruſia, } iſſueth into the Sea, neere vnto *Cheimerium*, a Promontory of *Theſprotis*, and into this Lake falleth the Riuer *Acheron*. *Thuc. lib.* 1. *Acheron* commeth out of the Lake *Acheruſia*, into the Hauen *Glycys*. *Strab. lib.* 7. *Acheron* commeth out of *Moloſſis*, and falleth into the Lake *Acheruſia*, which *Liuy* calleth the Bay of *Theſprotis*: *Liuy, lib.* 8.

Acrie, a Citie of *Laconia*; betweene it and *Gythium* the riuer *Eurotas* goeth out into the Sea. *Strabo lib.* 8. From *Helos*, which is at the mouth of *Eurotas*, it is 30 furlongs diſtant, and from the Promontory of *Tænarus* 230 furlongs. *Pauſan. in Laconicis.*

Acritas, a Promontory ioyning to the Territory of *Methone*, and is the beginning of the Bay of *Meſſenia*. *Strabo, lib.* 8.

Acrothoi, — } *Acrothoi* are the People
Acrothos prom. } of a City in the Territo-
Acrotheon, — } rie of *Acte*, in which *Acte* is the Mountaine *Athos*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4. *Acrothos* is a Promontory of Mount *Athos*, towards the Bay of *Strymon*. And *Acrotheon* a City in the ſame. *Herodotus lib.* 7. In ſtead of this *Acrothos* and *Acrotheon*, *Ptolomie* hath *Athoſa*, a Citie and Promontory. *Acroton*, a Towne on the top of Mount *Athos*. *Pliny, lib* 4.

Acte is that Territory wherein ſtandeth the Mountaine *Athos*, diſioyned from the Continent by a Ditch made by the King of *Perſia*, and hath in it theſe Cities, *Sane*, *Dion*, *Thyſſus*, *Cleone*, *Acrothoi*, *Olophyxus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Actium, a Temple of *Apollo*, vpon the ſhore. It is ſcituate where the Bay of *Ambracia* is narroweſt. *Polybius. lib.* 4. In the mouth of the Bay of *Ambracia*; not farre from *Anablorium*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Adramyttium & ſinus Adramyttenus, } The Bay of *Adramyttium* (taken in the greateſt extent) beginneth at the Promontory of *Lectus*, and endeth at the Promontory of *Cane*, which is oppoſite to *Malea* of *Lesbos*. And the Bay of *Adramyttium* (properly ſo called) beginneth at the Promontory of *Gargara*, and endeth at the Promontory of *Pyrrha*. And the Citie of *Adramyttium* is within the Promontory of *Pyrrha*. *Strabo lib.* 13.

Ædepſa, a City of *Eubœa*, ouer againſt *Opus*, a City of the *Locrians*. *Strab, lib.* 9.

Ædeſſa, a City of *Macedonia*, in the way called by *Strabo*, *Ignatia*, from *Apollonia* and *Dyrrachium* (or *Epidamnus*) to *Theſſalonica* (or *Therme*,) and lyeth betweene *Theſſalonica* and the *Eordians*. *Strab, lib* 7.

Ægæ, a City of *Eubœa*, oppoſite to the mouth of the Riuer *Cephiſſus*. *Strab. libro* 9. It is alſo the name of a Citie of *Achaia* in *Peloponneſus*, betweene *Helice* and *Buta*. *Herodotus, lib.* 1. *Pauſan. in Achaicis.* It is the name alſo of another City in *Æolia*, lying vp from the Sea behinde the Territory of *Cyme*. *Strab, lib.* 13.

Ægina, an Iland ouer againſt *Epidaurus*, in the *Saronian* Bay. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Pauſan. in Cor.*

Ægiræ, a City of *Achaia*, betweene *Pellene* and *Ægæ*. *Herod. lib.* 1. *Strab. lib.* 9. Oppoſite to *Parnaſſus*. *Polyb. lib.* 4. Alſo a City of *Lesbos*, where the Iland is narroweſt betweene the Bay of *Pyrrha*, and the other Sea. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Ægitium, a Towne in *Ætolia*, amongſt the Hils, 80 furlongs diſtant from the Sea. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Ægium, a City of *Achaia*, betweene *Helice* and *Rhypes*. *Herodot. lib.* 1. *Strab. lib.* 9. diſtant from *Patræ* 160 Furlongs. *Pauſan. in Achaicis.*

Ægos potamos, a Riuer in the *Thracian Cherſonneſus*, diſtant from *Seſtos* 15 furlongs. *Xenophon. Græcorum* 2.

Æmathia, a Region of *Macedonia*, placed by *Ptolomie* betweene *Theſſaly* and the Riuer *Axius*.

Æmus, a Mountaine of *Thrace*, which diuideth it almoſt in the middeſt, and reacheth from the *Pannonian* Mountaines, to *Pontus Euxinus*. *Strab. lib.* 7.

Ænia, a City in the Bay of *Therme*, laſt in order from *Potidæa* towards *Therme*. *Herodotus lib.* 7. It is diſtant from *Theſſalonica*, (which is the ſame with *Therme*) 120 Furlongs, and oppoſite to *Pydna*. *Liuy, lib.* 44. in the beginning.

Ænus, a City between the Riuer *Hebrus* and the Bay of *Melas* (i. the *Blacke Bay*,) *Hesiod. lib. 7. Appian. lib. 4. Cimbrum.*

Æniane, a *Greeke* Nation, inhabiting in Mount *Oeta*, part of them aboue the *Ætolians*, (that is, so as the *Ætolians* are between them and the Sea) They border on the *Locri Epicnemides*, in such manner, as the *Ætolians* doe on the *Locri Ozole*, *Strab. l.* 9, 10.

Æolis, a *Greeke* Nation inhabiting by the Sea side in *Asia* from the Promontory of *Lectus* to the Riuer *Hermus*. *Strabo. lib.* 13.

Æsepus, a Riuer in *Troas*, rising out of Mount *Ida*, falling into *Propontis*, in that part which is neereſt to *Zeleia*, about ſeuen hundred furlongs from *Abydus* by Sea. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Ætbea, a City of *Laconia*, not farre from *Thurium*, as may be gathered out of *Thucydides. lib.* 1.

Ætolia, a Region diuided from the *Acarnanians*, on the parts toward the Sea, by the Riuer *Achelous*; confining on the East, with the *Locrians* called *Ozole*. On the North it hath the *Athamanes*, and part of the *Æmanes*. *Strab. lib.* 10. *Ætolia*, *Locris*, *Phocis*, and *Bœotia* are diuided from each other by paralell lines, drawne from the West Northwards. *Idem. lib.* 9.

Agora, a City neere to the *Thracian Cherſonneſus*. They that goe to it from *Seſtus*, leaue *Cardia* on the left hand. *Herod. lib.* 7. where he deſcribeth the way of the *Perſian* Army.

Agræi, a Region North of *Acarnania*. The riuer *Achelous* rising out of the Mountaine *Pindus*, paſſeth firſt through *Dolopia*, then through *Agræis*, and laſtly, through *Acarnania*, by the City of *Stratus*, and the City of *Oeneias*, into the Sea. *Strab. lib.* 10. *Thucydid. lib.* 3. in the later end.

Agrianes, a Nation dwelling at the head of the Riuer *Strymon*, in the Mountaine *Rhodope*. *Strab. in the Epitome of the end of his ſeuenth Booke*. *Thucydides in his ſecond Booke*, ſeemeth to place them alſo thereabouts.

Alalcomene, a City of *Macedonia* by the Riuer *Erigon*. *Strab. lib.* 7. Alſo a City of *Bœotia*, neere the Lake *Copais*.

Aliacmon, a Riuer of *Macedonia*. It riſeth out of the Mountaines called *Canaluui*, according to *Ptolomie*: *Liuy* hath *Elymæa*, a City by the Riuer *Aliacmon*, neere the Mountaines which hee calleth *Cambuny*, which are likely to bee the ſame. *Liu. lib.* 42. It mixeth waters with *Lydius*, the confluent of which two Riuers diuide *Bottia* from *Macedonia*. *Herodot. lib.* 7.

Almopia, a Region of *Macedonia*, of whoſe ſcituation I finde nothing, but in *Ptolomies* Tables, who putteth it betweene 46 and 47 Degrees of longitude, and betweene 41 and 42 of latitude. *Ptolomie* in his tenth Table of *Europe*.

Alonneſus, a little Iland lying before *Magneſia* of *Theſſaly*. *Strab. lib.* 9. Alſo a City in the *Cherſonneſus* of *Erythræa*, betwene *Caſtſtus* and the Promontory *Argenum*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Alope, a City of the *Locri Epicnemides*, diſtant from *Elatea* of *Phocis* 120 furlongs, from *Cynus* the Hauen of the *Opuntians*, 90 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Alpheus, a Riuer of *Peloponneſus*, riſing in the Territory of *Megalopolis*, neere vnto the Springs of *Eurotas*, *Strab. lib.* 8. deuideth *Laconia* from *Megalopolis*, and from *Tegea*. *Pauſanias in Arcadicis*. It runnes by *Herea*. *Idem ibidem*. and *Polybius*, *libro* 4. It goeth out into the Sea neere *Olympia*. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Pauſanias* ſaith it goeth out aboue *Cyllene*, the Hauen of the *Eleans*; but it is contrary to all other, both antient and moderne Geographers.

Alyzea, a City on the Sea-coaſt of *Acarnania*, betweene the City *Palyre*, and the Promontory *Crithota*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Ambracia, *& ſinus Ambracius*, } *Ambracia* is a City in the bottome of the *Ambracian* Bay, vpon the Riuer *Arathus*, a little remote from the Sea. *Strab. lib.* 7. The *Ambracian Bay* deuideth *Epirus* from *Acarnania*. *Polyb. lib.* 4.

Amorgos, an Iland, one of the *Sporades*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Ampelus, a Promontory of *Torone*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Amphilochia, a Region lying North of *Acarnania*, South of *Dolopia*, through it runneth the Riuer *Achelous*, *Strab. lib.* 10.

Amphipolis, Called formerly the *Nine-weyes*, a City ſcituate on the Riuer *Strymon*, the Riuer running on both ſides it: 25 furlongs from *Eion*. *Herod. lib.* 7. *Thuc. lib.* 4.

Amphiſſa, a City of the *Locrians* ealled *Ozole*, confining on the Territory of *Criſſa*. *Herodotus. lib.* 8. *Strab. lib.* 9. Diſtant from *Delphi* one hundred and twenty furlongs. *Paus. in Phocicis*.

Amycle, a Citie of *Laconia*, twenty furlongs from *Sparta* towards the Sea. *Pol. lib.* 4.

Anactorium, a City of *Acarnania*, within the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, forty furlongs from *Actium*. *Strab. lib.* 10. in the mouth of the *Ambracian* Bay. *Thucyd. lib.* 1.

Anea, a City in *Aſia*, by the Sea-ſide ouer against the Ile *Samos*. *Thucydid. lib.* 4.

Anapus a Riuer of *Acarnania*, mentioned by *Thucydides*, *lib.* 2. it ſhould ſeeme by the Hiſtory (that it runneth betweene *Stratus* and *Oeneias*. *Liuy* mentioneth a Riuer there about alſo called *Peletarus*. *lib.* 43. it may bee it is the ſame.

Anaphe, an Iland not farre from *Thera*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Andania, a City of *Meſſenia*, on the confines of *Arcadia*. *Paus. in Meſſen.*

Andros, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Strab. lib.* 10. *vide Cyclades*.

Antandrus, a City of *Troas*. *Herod. lib.* 5. in the Bay of *Adramyttium*, (properly ſo called.) *Strab. lib* 13. vnder Mount *Ida*. *Thucydid. lib.* 3.

Anthedon, a City of *Bœotia*, on the ſhore oppoſite to *Eubœa*, the vtmoſt on that ſhore towards *Locris*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Anthemus, a territory in *Macedonia*, not farre from *Greſtonia*, as may bee gathered out of *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Anthena, a City of the Territory of *Cynuria*. *Thucyd. lib.* 5. at the foot of the Hill *Parnethus*, *Paus. in Corinthiacis*.

Anticyra, a City of *Phocis* vpon the Sea-ſide, next after *Criſſa* towards *Bœotia*. *Strab. lib.* 9. Alſo a City of the *Meliats*, vpon the Riuer *Spercheius*. *Idem*.

Antirrhium, Which is called alſo *Rhium Molychricii*, is that Promontory which with the oppoſite Promontory of *Achaia*, called *Rhium*, comprehendeth the ſtreight of the *Criſſean* (or *Corinthian*) Bay, of 5 furlongs breadth, *Strab lib.* 8. It is neere to the City *Molycria*, *Strab. lib.* 9. and to the East of it. *Idem. lib.* 10.

Antiſſa, a City of *Lesbos*, betweene the Promontory of *Sigrium*, and the City *Methymna*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Antitanes, a Nation whom *Strabo* calleth *Atintanes*, and placeth in the Mountaines of *Epirus*. *Strab. lib.* 7. *Appianus* hath alſo *Atintanes*: and *Liuy*, *lib.* 45. maketh them as an addition to the fourth part of *Macedonia*, in the deuiſion of that Kingdome by *Paulus Æmilius*. So that it may bee gathered that the *Atintanes*, whom *Thucydides* calleth *Antitanes*, and numbreth amongſt *Epiroticall* Nations, are ſcituate on the confines of *Epirus* and *Macedonia*.

Aous, a Riuer of *Illyris*. After *Epidamnus* (ſaith *Strabo*, deſcribing the Sea-coaſt towards *Epirus*) are the Riuers *Apſus*, and *Aous*. *Strab. lib.* 7. Neere to it ſtandeth *Apollonia*. *Ibidem*. *Plutarch* hath *Anius* inſtead of it, in the life of *Cæſar*. In this Riuer it was that he tooke Boat to croſſe the *Ionian* Sea vnknowne, and was forced backe by Tempeſt.

Aphrodiſia, a Towne of *Laconia*, neere the Sea ſide. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Aphytis, a City in *Pallene*, *Herodot. lib.* 7. *Thucyd. lib.* 1. betweene *Potydea* and *Mende*. *Strab. in the Epitome of the end of his ſeuenth Booke*.

Apidanus, a Riuer of *Achaia* in *Theſſalie*. *Herodotus. lib.* 7. It falleth into *Peneus*. *Idem*. It runneth by *Pharſalus*. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Apodoti, a Nation, part of the *Ætolians*, neereſt to the Sea. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Apollonia, a City of *Illyris*, in the *Ionian* Gulfe, *Herodot. lib.* 9. vpon the Riuer *Aous*, threeſcore furlongs from the Sea. *Strab. lib.* 7. Alſo a City betweene *Therme* and *Amphipolis*. *Itinerar. Peutinger. Itiner. Antonini. A Chalcidique City Athen.* 8.

Apſus, a Riuer of *Illyris*, betweene *Epidamnus* and *Apollonia*. *Strab. lib.* 7.

Aracthus, a Riuer of *Epirus*, riſing out of the Hill *Stympha*, in the Territory of the *Parauæi*, (peraduenture the ſame with *Paraurei*) and running by the City of *Ambracia* into the *Ambracian* Bay. *Strab. lib.* 7.

Araxus, a Promontory in the confines of *Elis* and *Arcadia*. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Arcadia, a Region of *Peloponneſus*, in the middeſt of it; bounded with *Elis*, *Achaia*, *Argolica*, *Laconia* and *Meſſenia*, *Strab. lib.* 8.

Argenum, a Promontory of *Erythræa* in *Aſia*, lying out betweene *Alonneſus* and the *Aity Erythræ*, oppoſite to, and diſtant 60 furlongs from *Poſidium* a Promontory of *Chius*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Arginuſæ, are three Ilands lying neere to the Promontory of *Cane* in *Æolis*, oppoſite to *Malea*, a Promontory of *Lesbos*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Argilus, a City by the Sea-ſide, Weſt of the Riuer *Strymon*, *Herod. lib.* 7. not farre from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Argos, } *Argos* is a City of *Argia*, much
Argolica, } celebrated in Hiſtory; It ſtandeth from the Sea forty furlongs. *Pauſ. in Corinthiacis.* In all Mappes that I haue yet ſeene, it is placed vnreaſonably farre from the Sea; but it appeares by the beginning of the firſt Booke of *Herodotus*, where hee ſpeaketh of the women of *Argos*, that came downe to the Sea-ſide, to the Ships of the *Phœnicians*: and by *Thucydides*, *lib.* 9. where hee relateth, that the *Argiues* were building Walles to reach vnto the Sea from their City, that it cannot be farther from it then is by *Pauſanias* ſet downe. *Argolica* confineth on *Laconia*, *Arcadia*, *Iſthmus*. *Strab lib.* 8.

Argos Amphilochicum, a City of *Amhilochia*, vpon the ſide of the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Thuc. lib.* 2. 22 miles from *Ambracia*. *Liuy. lib.* 48.

Arne, a City of the *Chalcidians* neere *Acanthus*, as it ſeemeth by *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Arne, a City of *Theſſaly*, *Thucyd. lib.* 1. in that part of *Theſſaly* which is called *Eſtiotis*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Arrhiana, a place in the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, oppoſite to *Abydus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Arniſſa, a City of *Macedonia*, on the confines of *Lyncus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Artemiſium, a Temple of *Diana* by the Sea-ſide, in *Eubœa*, at the ſtreights of it, not farre from *Thermopile*, *Herodot. lib.* 7. Famous for a Battell by Sea, fought there betweene the *Grecian* and *Perſian* Fleet.

Aſine, a maritime City in *Argolica*, (or *Argia*) the firſt in the Bay of *Hermione*, *Strab. lib.* 8. Alſo a maritime City of *Meſſenia*, and the firſt in the Bay of *Meſſenia*, *Strab. lib.* 8. betweene the Promontory *Acritas*, and the City *Colonides*, forty furlongs from each. *Pauſan. in Meſſeniacis.* Alſo a City of *Laconia*, by the Sea-ſide, betweene *Tenarus* the Promontory, and *Gythium*. *Strab. lib.* 8. Alſo a City of *Laconia*, neere *Catdamyle*. *Herod. lib.* 8.

Aſopus, a Riuer running betweene *Platea* and *Thebes*, *Thucyd. lib.* 2. It diuideth the Territory of the *Plateans* from that of the *Thebans*, and runneth within tenne furlongs of *Thebes*. *Pauſan. in Bœoticis.* According to *Strabo*, it runneth into the Sea by *Tanagra*, *Strab. lib.* 9. But according to *Ptolomie*, *Cephiſus*, and *Aſopus*, and *Iſmenus* meete all in *Bœotia*, and *Aſopus* paſſing through *Attica*, entreth into the Sea by the Promontory *Cynoſura*. *Ptolom. Tab.* 10. It is alſo the name of a Riuer riſing about *Phlius* in *Peloponneſus*, and entring into the Sea neere *Corinth*. *Pauſanias in Corinthiacis.* It is alſo the name of a City in *Laconia*, by the Sea-ſide, diſtant from the Promontory *Onugnathos* two hundred furlongs, and from the City *Acria*, threeſcore furlongs. *Pauſanias in Laconicis.*

Aſtacus, a maritime City of *Acarnania*, betweene the Promontory *Crithota*, and mouth of the Riuer *Achelous*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Aſteria, an Iland betweene *Ithaca* and *Cephallenia*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Aſtypalea, an Iland, one of the *Sporades*, lying farre within the maine Sea. *Strabo, libro* 10. Alſo a Promontory of the Territory of *Mindus*, in *Aſia*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Atalante, a little Iland in the Bay of *Opus*, betweene *Eubœa* and *Bœotia*, ouer againſt the City of *Opus*, *Strab. lib.* 9. *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Atarneus, a City of *Æolis*, ouer againſt *Lesbos*. *Herodot. lib.* 1. betweene *Pitane* and *Adramyttium*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Athamanes, a Nation inhabiting on the North of the *Ætolians*, the laſt of the *Epirotes*. *Strab. lib.* 9. aboue the *Ætolians* (that is, more remote from the Sea then the *Ætolians*) *Idem. lib.* 10.

Athens, *Hellados Hellas*, the moſt renowned City of *Greece*, ſcituate in *Attica*, about 40 furlonns from *Piræus*, and the Sea. *Strab. lib* 9. *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Athos, a famous Mountaine in the *Cherſonneſus* called *Acte*, abutting on the *Ægæan* Sea. *Thucyd. lib.* 4. and beginning at the Ditch made by *Xerxes*, of twelue furlongs length, betweene *Acanthus*, and the Sea oppoſite to *Torone*. *Herodotus, lib.* 7.

Atrax, a City of *Theſſaly*, by which *Peneus* runneth, before it come to *Ariſſa*, *Strab. lib.* 9.

Attica, a famous Region of *Greece*, bounding on the Territory of *Megara*, on the ſhore, ouer againſt *Salamis*, *Strab. lib.* 9. and on the Territory of the *Bœotians* by Sea at *Oropus*. *Idem.* by Land at *Panactium*, *Thucydid. lib.* 5. at *Oenoe*, *Thucyd. lib.* 2. at *Hyſiæ*, *Idem. lib.* 2.

Aulis, a Village in *Bœotia*, of the Territorie of *Tanagra*, by the Sea ſide, thirty furlongs from *Delium*, *Strab. lib.* 9.

Aulon, a place neere the Sea-ſide, in the Bay of *Strymon*, neere which the Lake *Bolbe* flueth into the Sea, and is ſome where betweene *Arne* of *Chalcidea*, and *Argilus*, as may be gathered out of *Thucydides*, *lib.* 4.

Axius, a Riuer of *Macedonia*, riſing in the Mountaine *Scardus*. *Ptolomie*. It diuideth *Bottia* from *Mygdonia*, *Herodot. lib.* 7. it falleth into the Bay of *Therme*, betweene *Therme* and *Pella*. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7.

Axorus a Citty of *Perrhebia*. *Liuy lib.* 44.

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Bermius, a Mountaine of *Macedonia*, *Herodot. libro* 8. at the foote whereof ſtandeth the Citie *Berrhœa*. *Strab. Epitom. lib.* 7.

Berrhœa, a City of *Macedonia*, betweene *Pydna*, from which it is diſtant ſeuenteene miles, and *Theſſalonica* (or *Therme*,) from which it is diſtant one and fifty miles. *Itiner. Antonini Pij.*

Biſaltia, a Region of *Macedonia*, neere the Riuer *Strymon*, containing the Citie of *Argilus*, and the Countrey about it. *Herodot. lib.* 7.

Biſtonia, a Lake in *Thracia*, cloſe by the City *Dicæa*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Boea, a City of *Laconia*, betweene the Promontories of *Onugnathos* and *Malea*. *Strab. lib.* 8. directly oppoſite to *Cythera*, in the vtmoſt part of the Bay of *Boea*, which begins at *Onugnathos*, and ends at *Malea*. The Territory of *Boea* ioyneth to that of *Epidaurus Limera*. *Pauſan. in Laconicis.*

Bœotia, a Region of *Greece*, betweene *Attica* and *Phocis*, reaching from Sea to Sea. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Boium, a City of *Doris*. *Thuc. lib.* 1. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Bolbe, a Lake in *Mygdonia*, *Thucyd. lib.* 1. A Lake not far from *Olynthus*. *Herodotus, lib.* 8. It is called *Bolyce* by *Athenæus*, *lib.* 8. It goeth out into the Sea by *Aulon* and *Bromiſcus*, which are two places betweene *Arne* in *Chalcidea*, and *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Bolyſſus, a place in *Chius*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Bome, a Towne of the *Ætolians*, towards the *Melian* Bay. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Bottia, or } A Region of *Macedonia*, ly-
Bottiæa, or } ing to the Sea, deuided
Bottiæis, } from *Mygdonia* by the Riuer *Axius*, and from *Macedonia* by the confluent of the Riuers, *Aliacmon* and *Lydias*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Branchidæ, a Towne where there was a Temple of *Apollo*, on the *Mileſian* ſhore. *Herodot. lib.* 7. betweene the Promontory of *Poſideum*, and the City *Miletus*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Brauron, a Towne of *Attica*, betweene *Praſiæ* and *Marathon*, on the Sea-ſide towards *Eubœa*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Brileſſus, a Mountaine in *Attica*, betweene *Eleuſis* and *Acharnæ*. *Thuc. lib.* 2.

Bromiſcus, a Towne neere the Sea, betweene *Acanthus* and *Argilus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Budoros, a Promontory of the Iland *Salamis*, lying out towards *Megara*. *Scholiaſtes ad Thuc. lib.* 2.

Buphras, a Mountaine of *Meſſenia*, about *Pylus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Bura, a City of *Achaia*, betweene *Helice* and *Ægira*, diſtant from *Helice* thirty furlongs, and from *Ægira*, ſeuenty two furlongs. *Pauſ. in Achaicis.*

Byzantium, called now *Conſtantinople*, ſcituate at the entrance of the *Boſphorus*. *Strab. lib.* 12.

C

Caicus, a Riuer of *Aſia*, which paſſing by *Pergamus*, falleth into the Bay of *Elæa*, in *Æolis*, betweene *Elæa* and *Pitane*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Calauria, an Iland in the Bay of *Hermione*, lying iuſt before *Troezen*. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Callie, a Towne of the *Ætolians*, towards the *Melian* Bay. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Calydon, a City of the *Ætolians*, neere the Sea, vpon the Riuer *Euenus*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Cambunij, Mountaines of *Macedonia*, betweene it and *Perrhebia*, *Liuy, lib.* 42. 44.

Cameiros, a City of the *Dorians* in *Aſia*, *Herod. lib.* 1. It ſtandeth in the Iland *Rhodus*. *Strab. lib.* 14. *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Cane, a City and Promontory of *Æolis*, diſtant from *Elæa* towards *Ionia* 100 furlongs.

longs, and as much from *Malea*, a Promontory of *Lesbos*, to which it is opposite. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Canastræum, A Promontory of *Pallene*. *Herod. lib.* 7. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7. *Liuy, lib.* 44.

Caphareus, a Hauen of *Eubœa*, on the out side, not farre from *Geræstus*. *Herodot. lib.* 7.

Caphyæ, a City of *Arcadia*, not farre from *Orchomenus*. *Polyb. lib.* 4. the Riuer *Ladon* runneth betweene it and *Psophis*. *Paus. in Arcadicis*.

Cardamyle, a City of *Laconia*, betweene *Phœræ* and *Enuilra*, by the Sea side, in the *Messenian* Bay. *Strab. lib.* 8. distant from the Promontory of *Tenarus* 400. Furlongs. *Paus. in Laconicis*. It is also a City in the Iland *Chios*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Carpha, a City in the Isthmus of the *Thracian Chersonnesus*, vpon the Sea-side in the black Bay [or Bay of *Melas*.] *Herod. lib.* 6.

Carpathus, an Iland in that Sea, which called from it *Mare Carpathium*, hath to the North, the Sea called *Icarium*, to the South, the *Ægyptian* Sea, to the West, the *Cretik* and *Africa* Seas. *Strab.* in the end of the tenth Booke.

Caryæ, a Towne in *Arcadia*, betweene *Orchomenus* and *Pheneum*, in the confines of both, distant from *Pheneum* threescore Furlongs. *Paus. in Arcadicis*.

Carystus, a City of *Eubœa*, at the foot of the Mountaine *Ocha*. *Strab. lib.* 10. *Marathō* a City of *Attica*, is equally distant from it and *Athens*. *Paus. in Atticis*.

Casos, an Iland in the *Carpathian* Sea, from *Carpathus* 80 furlongs, and from *Sammonium* a Promontory of *Crete*, 250. in quantity 80 furlongs about. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Cassius, a Hauen in the *Chersonnesus* of *Erythræa*, at the foot of the Mountaine *Corycus*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Caunus, a maritime City of *Lycia*, subiect to the *Rhodians*, by the Riuer *Calbis*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Caystrus, a Riuer of *Asia*, falling into the Sea at *Ephesus*, so as the mouth of it is the Hauen of the *Ephesians*. *Strab. lib.* 14. When the *Ionians* made a iourney against *Sardes*, they left their Fleet at *Geræstus*, and then went vp by the Riuer *Caystrus*, and thorow the Mountaine *Tmolus*, and so to *Sardes*. *Herod. lib.* 5.

Cecropia, a Region of *Attica*, betweene the Hils *Parnethus* and *Brilessus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Cecryphalea, a place mentioned in the first Booke of *Thucydides*. *Pliny* hath the Iland *Cecryphalus*, opposite to *Epidaurus*, and distant from it 8 miles. The *Scholiast.* and *Steph.* put it in the West parte of *Peloponnesus*, falsely.

Ceneum, a Promontory of *Eubœa*, opposite to the Promontory of *Cnemides* of the *Locrians*, and to *Thermopylæ*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Cenchreæ, a Hauen of the *Corinthians*, on the side of the Isthmus that lyeth towards *Athens*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8. *Senchreæ* on one side, and *Lechæum* on the other, containe the *Isthmus*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis*.

Ceos, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*, the nerest to the Iland *Helene*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Cephallenia, an Iland ouer against *Acarnania*, distant from *Leucadia* tenne furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 10. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. and hath in it 4 Cities, *Pale*, *Same*, *Prone*, *Crany*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Cephissus, a Riuer, which rising about *Lilæa*, a City of *Phocis*, and going by *Elatea*, *Daulia* and *Phanotis*, Cities of *Phocis*, and *Charonea* and *Coronea*, Cities of *Bœotia*, falleth into, at *Coronea*, and filleth the Lake called *Copais*. Afterwards, an Earthquake opening the way, it went on to the Sea, and entred it at *Larymna*, a Towne of *Bœotia*, opposite to *Ægæ* of *Eubœa*. *Strab. lib.* 9. Also a Riuer of *Attica*, rising in the Territory of *Eleusis*, and falling into the Sea by *Piræus*. *Paus. in Atticis*.

Ceraunij, Mountaines of *Epirus*, on the Sea-side, in the entrance of the *Ionian* Gulfe. *Strab. lib.* 7.

Ceraunus, a Towne betweene *Cnidus* and *Halicarnassus*, from whence also the Bay there is called the *Ceraunian* Bay. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Cerdylium, a Hill of the *Argilians*, beyond *Strymon*, neere *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Cercine, a Mountaine betweene *Thracia* and *Macedonia*, the same deuideth the *Paonians* from the *Sintians*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Cestrine, a Region of *Epirus*, deuided from *Thesprotia* by the Riuer *Thyamis*. *Thucyd. lib.* 1. The *Chaonians* and *Thesprotians* haue all the Sea coast from the mountaines called *Ceraunij*, to the *Ambracian* Bay, (therefore *Cestrine* seemeth part of the *Chaonians*) *Strab. lib.* 7. called *Cestrine* from *Cestrinus* the sonne of *Helenus*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis*.

Chæronea, a City of *Bœotia*, confining on *Phocis*, twenty furlongs distant from *Panopeus* or *Phanotis*, and scituate vpon the Riuer *Cephissus*. *Pausan. in Phocicis*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Chalce, an Iland, one of the *Sporades*, distant from *Telos* 80 Furlongs, and from *Carpathus* 400 Furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Chalcedon, a City of *Bithynia*, ouer against *Byzantium*. *Strab. lib.* 12. in the mouth of *Pontus Euxinus*. *Ibid. Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Chalcis, a City of *Eubœa*, at the *Euripus*. *Herodot. lib.* 7. *Strab. lib.* 10. Also a Citie of *Ætolia*, vpon the Riuer *Euenus*, on the East side of it, *Strab. lib.* 10. beneath *Calydon*. *Idem lib.* 9.

Chalcidea, a Region ioyning to *Thrace*, containing most of the Townes vpon or neere the Sea, from the mouth of the Riuer *Strymon*, to *Potidæa* in *Pallene*. This may bee gathered out of *Thucydides*. It was so named, for that they were Colonies of *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, either immediate or deriued.

Challei, the people of a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Chaonia, a maritime Region of *Epirus*, beginning at the Mountaines called *Ceraunij*, and together with *Thesprotia* reaching as farre as the *Ambracian* Bay. *Strab. lib.* 7. It is diuided from *Thesprotis* by the Riuer *Thyamis*. *Thucyd. lib.* 1.

Cheidorus, a small Riuet of *Macedonia*, which rising in *Grestonia*, runneth into the Riuer *Axius*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Cheimerium, a Promontory of *Epirus*, betweene the Ilands called *Sybota*, and the the mouth of the Riuer *Acheron*. *Strab. lib.* 7. *vide Acheron*.

Chelonata, a Promontory of *Elis*, between the Promontories of *Araxus* and *Ichthys*. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Chersonnesus signifieth any portion of Land that is almost enuironed with the Sea; but for the most part, when there is no word added to determine the signification, it is here that Territory of *Thrace*, which is included with these three Seas, *Propontis*, *Hellespont*, and the Blacke Bay, *Melas*. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7. In the Isthmus of this *Chersonnesus* standeth the City *Cardya*, at the side toward the Blacke Bay, and *Pactya* on the part toward *Propontis*. *Herod. lib.* 6.

Chius, now called *Scio*, an Iland and City of the *Ionians*. *Herod. lib.* 1. distant from *Lesbos* about 400. Furlongs, and 900. furlongs in circuit. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Chrusis, a part of *Mygdonia* so called. *Steph.*

Chrysopolis, a Village of the *Chalcedonians*, in the mouth of *Pontus*. *Strab. lib.* 12.

Cimolis, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *vide Cyclades*. It lyeth West of *Sicinus*, *Pholegandros*, and *Lagusa*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Cirrha, a City of *Phocis*, in the *Corinthian* Bay, ouer against *Sicyon*. *Strab. lib.* 9. distant from *Delphi* threescore furlongs, from *Delphi* to *Cirrha* runnes the Riuer *Plistus*. It is the Hauen or Towne of shipping for *Delphi*. It confineth vpon *Locris*. *Pausan. in Phocicis*. He maketh it the same with *Crissa*. *vide Crissa*.

Citerius a Mountaine of *Macedonia*, ioyning to *Olympus*, out of which riseth the Riuer *Eurotas*. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7.

Cithæron, a Mountaine of *Attica*. When the *Persian* Campe vnder *Mardonius* lay about *Asopus* in the Territory of *Platæa*, the Army of the *Grecians* that were encamped at the foot of *Cithæron*, were opposite to them. *Herod. lib.* 9. *Platæa* is betweene *Cithæron* and the City of *Thebes*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Citium, a City of *Cyprus*.

Clares, an Iland, one of the *Sporades*. *Ex Ortely thesauro*. Also a City belonging to the *Colophonians*, *Paus. in Achai.* betweene the mouth of the Riuer *Caystrus* and the City of *Colophon*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Clazomenæ, an *Ionique* City in *Lydia*. *Herodot. lib.* 1. Scituate in the *Chersonnesus* of *Erythræ*, confining on the *Erythræans*, these being within, the *Clazomenians* without the *Chersonnesus*. Betweene *Clazomena* and *Teos*, acrosse the Isthmus it is but fifty Furlongs, but round about by Sea, a thousand Furlongs. Presently without the Isthmus, where it is narrowest, stands *Clazomenæ*. *Strab. lib.* 13. Before it lye 8 little Ilands. *Idem. lib.* 14.

Cleitor, a City of *Arcadia*, betweene *Psophis* and *Caphyæ*. *Polyb. lib.* 4. It confineth on the Territory of *Pheneum*, towards the East. *Paus. in Arcadicis*.

Cleonæ, a City of *Argia*, betweene *Argos* and *Corinth*, confining on the *Phliasians*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis*. Also a City in the territory where Mount *Athos* standeth. *Herod. lib.* 7. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Cnemides,

Cnemides, a Promontory of *Locris*, distant from *Cynus*, the Hauen of the *Opuntians*, towards *Thermopylæ*, 50 Furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Cnidus, a City of the *Dorians* in *Asia*, by the Sea called *Triopium*. *Herod. lib.* 1. On the North it hath the *Ceramian* Bay; on the South, the *Rhodian* Sea. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Colone, an vpland City of *Hellespont*, in the Territory of *Lampsacum*. *Strab. lib.* 13. Also a maritime City of *Troas*, 140 furlongs from *Ilium*, betweene *Hamaxitho* and *Larissa*. *Id. lib.* 13.

Colonides, a maritime Citie of *Messenia*, betweene *Asine* and the mouth of the Riuer *Pamisus*, distant from *Asine* 40 Furlongs. *Paus. in Messeniacis.*

Colophon, an *Ionique* City in *Lydia*, *Herod. lib.* 1. betweene *Ephesus* and *Lebedus*: from *Lebedus* 120 furlongs: from *Ephesus* 70 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Coönbonorum portus, a Hauen not farre from *Torone*. *Thucyd. lib.* 5.

Copa & Copais lacus. *Copa* is a City of *Bœotia*, situate on the North part of the Lake *Copais*. *Strab. lib.* 9 *Paus. in Bœotiis.*

Coressie, Two little Ilands on the West of the Iland *Patmus*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Corcyra, now called *Corfu*, an Iland ouer against *Epirus*, whose East parts are opposite to the Ilands called *Sybota*, and West parts, to the Hauen called *Onchimus*. *Strab. lib.* 7.

Coressus, a Towne of the Territory of *Ephesus*, by the Sea side, neere to the mouth of the Riuer *Caystrus*. *Herodotus. lib.* 1.

Corinthus, a famous City, neere the *Isthmus* of *Peloponnesus*.

Coronea, a City of *Bœotia*, vpon the Riuer *Cephisus*, where it entreth into the Lake *Copais*, and not far from the Hill *Helicon*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Corsura, a City of *Acarnania*. *Thucydid. lib.* 4.

Cortyta, a Towne neere the Sea in *Laconia*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Corycus, a Mountaine in the *Chersonnesus* of *Erythra*, between *Teos* and *Erythra*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Corypheum, a Promontory of *Messenia*, distant from *Methone* 100 furlongs: in this Promontory stood the Fort of *Pylus*. *Paus. in Messeniacis.*

Cos, a Iland with a City in it of the same name. It belonged to the *Dorians* of *Asia*. *Herodot. lib.* 1. called *Cos Meropidis*, *Thucyd. lib.* 8. because inhabited of old by the *Meropians*. It lyeth in the *Carpathian* Sea. *Strab. lib.* 10. Opposite to *Termerium*, a Promontory of the *Mindians*. *Id. lib.* 14.

Cranon, a City in the Champaigne of *Thessaly*, *Strab. lib.* 9. The same may be gathered out of *Liuy*, *lib.* 42.

Crasij, a people of *Cephallenia*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. About the straight of that Iland. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Craterei, a Hauen neere the City of *Phocæa* in *Æolis*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Crene, *Id est*, the *Welles*, a place in *Acarnania*, not farre from *Argos*. *Thucydid. lib.* 3.

Creusis, a Sea-Towne of *Bœotia*, vpon the Bay of *Crissa*, belonging to the City *Thespiæ*. *Strab. lib.* 9. *Pausan. in Bœotiis.*

Crissæ sonde sinus Crissæus, a Sea Towne of *Phocis*, betweene *Cirrha* & *Anticyra*, frō which the Bay of *Corinth* is called also the *Crissian* Bay, *Strab. lib.* 9. This Bay is called now the *Bay of Lepanto*.

Critinea, a Promontory of *Acarnania*, lying out into the Sea, betweene the City *Alyzea*, and the mouth of the Riuer *Achelous*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Croysium, a Towne in *Æolia*, of the Region inhabited by the *Apolloni*. *Thuc. lib.* 3.

Cromnyon, a Towne in the Isthmus of *Corinth*, *Thucyd. lib.* 4. *Paus. in Corinthiacis*, betweene *Scironis* and the Rockes called *Scironides*, and confineth on *Megaris*. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Cyclades, Ilands in the *Ægæan* Sea, so called, for that they lye round about the Iland *Delos*. Their number and order, according to *Strabo*, is this, *Helena*, *Ceos*, *Cythnus*, *Seriphus*, *Melos*, *Siphnus*, *Cimolis*, *Presynthus*, *Oliarus*, *Naxus*, *Parus*, *Syros*, *Myconus*, *Tenus*, *Andrus*, *Gyarus*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Cyllene, a Sea-towne of *Elis* in *Peloponnesus*, belonging to the City of *Elis*, and where their shipping lay, 60 furlongs distant from *Araxus*. *Strab. lib.* 8. and from *Elis* 120 furlongs. *Paus. in* 2. *Eliacorum*. Also a Mountaine, the highest in *Peloponnesus*, on the confines of *Arcadia* and *Achaia*, neere *Pheneum*. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Cyme, a City of *Æolis*, on the Sea-coast. *Herodot.* the last of the maritime Cities of *Æolis* towards *Ionia*, as may be gathered out of *Strab. lib.* 13.

Cynos sema, a Promontory of the *Thracian Chersonnesus*, not farre from *Abydus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8. ouer against the mouth of the Riuer *Rhodius*, which falleth into the Sea betweene *Abydus* and *Dardanum*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Cynus, a Towne of *Locris*, vpon the Sea towards *Eubœa*, belonging to the City of *Opus*, distant from the Promontory *Cnemides* 50 furlongs, in the entrance of the Bay of *Opus*. *Strab. lib.* 9. *Liuy lib.* 28.

Cynuria, a territory on the border betweene *Argos* and *Laconia*, toward the Sea-side, containing the Cities *Thyrea* and *Anthena*. *Thucyd. lib.* 5. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.*

Cyparissa, a maritime Towne of *Laconia*, distant from *Zarex* on one side 18. furlongs, from *Prasiæ* on the other 200. *Paus. in Laconicis.*

Cypsela, a Castle in *Parrhasia*, a Territory of *Arcadia*, neere to *Sciritis* of *Laconia*. *Thuc. lib.* 5.

Cyrrhus, a City of *Macedonia*, not farre from *Pella*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. *Cyrrhestæ*, that is, the people of *Cyrrhus* are placed there-abouts by *Pliny*, *lib.* 4.

Cytinium, a City of *Doris* on the side of *Parnassus*. *Thuc. lib.* 3. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Cythera, an Iland opposite to *Malea*, a Promontory of *Laconia* and distant from it forty furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 8. opposite directly to the City *Boea*. *Paus. in Laconicis.* In it are two Cities, *Cythera* and *Scandea*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4. *Paus. in Laconicis.*

Cythnus, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Cyzicus, an Iland and City in *Propontis*, *Strab. lib.* 12. distant from *Zelæa*, which is a City neere the Sea, on the Riuer *Aesepus* 190 furlongs. *Id. lib.* 13.

D

Dardanus & Dardanum. *Dardanus* is a City on the Sea side from *Abydus*, 40 furlongs, betweene it and *Rhœteum*. *Strab. lib.* 13. It confineth on *Abydus*. *Herodot. lib.* 7. *Dardanum*, is a Promontory betweene *Abydus* and *Dardanus*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Dascylis, a Region of *Bithynia*, lying vpon *Propontis*. *Ptolomy* and *Strabo* mention the Towne *Dascylos* or *Dascylium*, which *Strabo* saith standeth vpon the Lake *Dascylitis*, by the Riuer *Rhyndacus*. *Strab. lib.* 12. It was a Prouince subiect to the *Persians* in the time of *Xerxes*, and gouerned by *Megabates*, his Lieutenant. *Thucyd. lib.* 1.

Daulia, a Citie of *Phocis*, on the East of *Delphi*, vpon the Riuer *Cephisus*, and at the foot of *Parnassus*. *Strab. lib.* 9. *Pausanias in Phocicis.*

Decelea, a Towne in *Attica*, in the way betweene *Oropus* and *Athens*, distant from *Athens* 120 Furlongs, and not much more from *Bœotia*. *Thuc. lib.* 7.

Delium, a Temple of *Apollo* by the Sea-side in the Territory of *Tanagra*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4. *Paus. in Bœotiis.* opposite to *Chalcis* of *Eubœa*. *Herod. lib* 6.

Delos, an Iland, and in it a City with a Temple consecrated to *Apollo*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3. It is distant from *Andros* 15 miles, and as many from *Myconus*. *Plin. lib.* 4.

Delphi, a City of *Phocis*, famous for the Temple and *Oracle* of *Apollo*. It standeth at the foot of the Hill *Parnassus*. *Herod. lib.* 8. on the South part of the hill. *Strabo lib.* 9. threescore furlongs from the Sea. *Paus. in Phocicis.*

Delphinium, a Towne in the Ile *Chius*, not farre from the City *Chius*, and by the Sea-side, *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Dereai, a people of *Thrace*.

Dicæa, a City of *Thrace*, betweene *Abdera* and *Maronea*, *Herod. lib.* 7.

Dictidy, a people in Mount *Athos*, *Thuc. lib.* 8.

Dion, a City, and in it a Temple of *Iupiter*, standing at the Sea side, at the foot of *Olympus*, *Thucid. lib.* 4. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7. Also a City in Mount *Athos*. *Thuc. lib.* 4.

Dioscrum, a City of *Pœonia*, at the foot of *Cercine*. *Thuc. lib.* 2.

Doliche, a Citie of the *Perrhebians*, not far from the Mountaines called *Cambuni*. *Liuy, lib.* 44.

Dolopia, a Region on the South side of the hill *Pindus*, on the North of the *Amphilochians*, and confining on *Phthiotis* of *Thessaly*. *Strab. lib.* 9, 10.

Doris, a Region confining on the *Melians*, and with a narrow corner running in betweene them and *Phocis*. *Herod. lib.* 8. It lyeth on the East part of *Parnassus*, and deuideth the *Locrians* called *Ozole*, from the *Locrians* called *Opuntians*. It was called *Tetrapolis*, because it contained these 4 Cities, *Erineus*, *Bolum*, *Cytinium*, and *Pindus*. *Strab. lib.* 9. The *Dorians* are also a Nation in *Asia*, by the Sea side, ioyning to *Caria*, of which

which were numbred, the inhabitants of the Ilands *Rhodes* and *Cos*, and the Cities *Cnidus* and *Halicarnassus*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Berisæus Campus, a large Champaigne by the side of the riuer *Hebrus* in *Thrace*, where *Xerxes* passing on towards *Greece*, mustred his whole host. *Herodot. lib.* 7.

Drabescus, a City of *Edonia*, beyond the Riuer *Strymon*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Dreconum a Promontory of the Iland *Cos*, distant from the City *Cos*, two furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Drimyssa, an Iland lying before *Clazomene*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8. *Liuy, lib.* 38. *vide Clazomene.*

Drii, a people of *Thrace*.

Dyme, a City of *Achaia*, the neerest to the confines of *Elis*. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Pausan. in Achaicis.*

E

Echinades, Ilands, lying in and out before the mouth of the Riuer *Achelous*. *Thuc. lib.* 3. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Edonia, a Region of *Thrace*, lying to the Riuer *Strymon*, and the Sea; It had in it *Amphipolis*, *Drabescus*, and other Cities. *Thuc. lib.* 1. by which the situation thereof may be sufficiently vnderstood.

Eidomene, a City of *Macedonia*, not farre from *Doberus*. *Thuc. lib.* 2. *Plin. lib.* 4.

Eion, a City of *Thrace*, on the riuer *Strymon*. *Herod. lib.* 7. In the mouth of *Strymon*, 25 furlongs from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Elea, a Sea-towne in *Æolis*, belonging to the City of *Pergamus*, distant from the mouth of the Riuer *Caicus* towards *Ionia*, 12 furlongs: and from *Cume* 100 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Elatea, a City of *Phocis*, by the Riuer *Cephissus*, confining on the *Locrians*. *Strab. lib.* 9. *Pausanias in Phocicis.* It standeth in the straights of the Pindus Mountaines. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Eleutbere, a Towne of *Attica*, betweene *Eleusis* and *Platea*, on the border of *Attica*. *Paus. in Attic. Id. in Bœotic.*

Eleus, a City of *Chersonesus* to the North of *Lemnos*. *Herod. lib.* 6.

Eleusis, a Sea-towne of *Attica*. *Strab. lib.* 8. on the confines of *Megara*. *Pausanias in Atticis.*

Elis. *Elis* and *Messenia* are two Regions, that take vp the West part of *Peloponnesus*. *Elis* is bounded on the North by the Promontory *Araxus*, and diuided from *Messenia* in the parts towards the Sea, by the Riuer *Neda*. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Elis* the principall City thereof is distant from the Sea 120 furlongs, and from *Olympia* almost three hundred. *Pausan. in fine secundi Eliacorum.*

Ellomenus, a Towne in *Neritum* of the Territory of *Leucadia*, *Thuc. lib.* 3.

Elymiota, } a Nation of *Macedonia*, which
Elimea, } *Ptolomy* placeth on the Seaside vpon the *Ionian* Gulfe. *Liuy* hath the City *Elimea* at the foot of the Mountaines *Cambunij*, and by the Riuer *Aliacmon*, *Lin. lib.* 42.

Embatus, a Towne of *Erythræa*. *Thuc. lib.* 3. on the part toward *Lesbos*, as may bee probably coniectured by the History.

Enipeus, a Riuer of *Thessaly*, which falleth into the Riuer *Peneus*. *Herodot. lib.* 7. But first it receiueth into it also the water of *Apidanus*, that passeth by *Pharsalus*. *Strab. lib.* 8. It riseth in the Mountaine *Othrys*. *Id. ibid.*

Eordea, a Region of *Macedonia*, betweene the *Lyncestians* and *Thessalonica* (or *Therma*) in the way called *Egnatia*, that leadeth from *Epidamnus* to *Thessalonica*. *Strab. lib.* 7.

Ephesus, an *Ionique* City, in *Lydia*. *Herod. lib.* 1. at the mouth of the Riuer *Caistrus*, on the side towards *Mycale*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Ephyre, a City of *Thesprotia*, vpon the Riuer *Thyamis*. *Strab. lib.* 7. *Thuc. lib.* 1. Also a City of *Argia*. *Strab. lib.* 8. & *lib.* 10.

Epidamnus, a City afterwards called *Dyrrachium*, now *Durazzo*, scituate on the *Ionian* Gulfe, amongst the *Taulantij*, *Illyrians*. *Thucyd. lib.* 1. neere without the Bay called *Rhizicus*. *Strab. lib.* 7.

Epidaurus, a City of *Argia* by the Seaside, in the inmost part of the *Saronian* Bay. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Epidaurus Limera, a maritime City of *Laconia*, in the Bay of *Argo*, 300 furlongs from the Promontory of *Malea*. *Pausan. in Laconicis.*

Era, a City in *Erythræa*, betweene *Teos* and *Coressus*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Eressus, a City in the Ile *Lesbos*, between *Pyrrha* and the Promontory *Sigæum*. *Strabo, libro* 13.

Eretria, a City of *Euboea*, between *Chalcis* and *Geræstus*. *Strab. lib.* 10. opposite to *Oropus* in *Attica*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Erigon, a Riuer of *Macedonia*, arising in *Illyris*, and falling into the Riuer *Axius*. *Liu. lib.* 39. *Strab. lib.* 7.

Erineus, a City of *Doris*. *Thucyd. lib.* 1. *Strab. lib.* 9. Also a Hauen in the Territory of *Rhypes*, in *Achaia*. *Thuc. lib.* 7. *Pausan. in Achaicis.*

Erythræ, an *Ionique* City. *Herodot. lib.* 1. It standeth in the middest of the *Chersonesus*, betweene the Promontory *Argennum* and the Mountaine *Mimas*, and before it lye certaine Ilands called *Hippi*. *Strab. lib.* 13. Also a Towne in the confines of *Attica*, not farre from *Platea*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3. *Herod. lib.* 9.

Estiotis, a Region of *Thessaly*, confining on the Mountaines *Olympus* and *Ossa*. *Herodot. lib.* 1. It is the West part of *Thessaly*, and lyeth betweene Mount *Pindus* and the vpper *Macedonie*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Euboea, an Iland lying opposite to the Continent of *Attica*, and *Bœotia*, and *Locris*, extending from *Sunium*, as far as *Thessaly*. The length of it is reckoned from the Promontory *Cenæum*, to the Promontory *Geræstus*. *Cenæum Euboæ* is all that shore that is from the *Euripus* to *Geræstus*. *Strab. lib.* 10. *Herodotus* maketh it to bee on the other side of the Iland. *Herod. lib.* 7. It seemes therefore that *Cenæum Euboæ* is not the proper name of a place, but an appellation signifying any hollow bending of the shore.

Euenus, a Riuer, which rising amongst the *Boij*, a Nation of *Ætolia*, runneth by *Chalcis* and *Calydon*, and then bending toward the West, by *Pleuron* into the Sea. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Eurotas, a Riuer of *Laconia*, rising in the Territory of *Megalopolis*, and passing by the City of *Lacedæmon*, on the East side of it, falleth into the Sea neere *Helos*, betweene *Gythium* and *Æcria*. *Strab. lib.* 8. Also a Riuer of *Thessaly*, rising out of the Hill *Cissius*, and falling into the Riuer *Peneus*. *Strab. lib.* 7. *Epist.*

Eurymenes, a Nation of *Ætolia*, one of the three. *Apodoti* being those that dwell toward the Sea; *Optanes*, those toward the *Ætolians*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3. *Eurymenes* therefore must be those toward *Stratus* and *Arbdamania*.

G

Galepsus, a City not farre from *Torone*. *The Fleet of* Xerxes *compassing the Promontory of* Ampelus, *passed by these Cities*, Torone, Galepsus, Scrmyla, &c. *Herodot. lib.* 7.

Gapsalus, a City of *Thrace*, not far from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4. *Ortelius* thinketh it the same with *Galepsus*: but it is more probable by the History to be another.

Gargara, a Promontory in *Asia*, 260 furlongs within the Promontory of *Lectus*, and is the beginning of the Bay of *Adramyttium*, properly so called. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Geræstus, a Promontory of *Euboea*. *Geræstus* and *Petalia* are opposite to *Sunium*, a Promontory of *Attica*. *Strab. lib.* 10. *Geræstus* is betweene the City *Styra*, and *Eretria*. *Idem. lib.* 10.

Geranea, a Hill in *Megaris*, neere the entrance of the *Isthmus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 1. *Paus. in Atticis.*

Ghaste, a City in *Ionia*, neere the Mountaine *Mycale*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Gigonus, a Promontory not farre from *Potidæa*. *Thuc. lib.* 2. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Gomphi, a City of *Thessaly*, in the Region called *Estiotis*. *Strab. lib.* 9. neere to the springs of *Peneus*. *Plin. lib.* 4. The neerest of the *Thessalian* Cities to *Epirus*. *Liuy, lib.* 32.

Gomphus, a City of the *Perrhebians* in *Thessaly*, at the foot of *Olympus*. *Strab. lib.* 9. in the entrance to *Tempe*. *Polyb. lib.* 17. *Liuy, lib.* 44. twenty miles distant from *Larissa*. *Liu. lib.* 36. *Gomphus* is in the entrance out of *Macedonia* through the *Perrhebians* into *Thessaly*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Gortynia, a City of *Macedonia*, not farre from the Hill *Cercine*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Granicus, a Riuer in *Hellespont*, rising in Mount *Ida*, neere vnto *Scepsis*, and falling into *Propontis* betweene the City *Priapus*, and the mouth of the Riuer *Æsepus*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Grestonia, a Region of *Macedonia*, joyning to *Mygdonia*, in which riseth the Riuer *Chedorus*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Gyarus, a small Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Gyrton, a City of *Perrhebia*, at the foot of *Olympus*. *Strab. lib.* 9. before *Gomphus* to such as come out of *Macedonia*, by the Mountaines called *Cambunij*. *Liuy, libro* 44.

Gythium, a City of *Laconia*, the Harbour of the *Lacedemonian* Shipping betweene

Asine

Asine and *Acria*. *Strab. lib.* 8. distant 130 furlongs from the Promontory of *Tænarus*. *Paus. in Laconicis.*

H

Halis Thucydidi; *Halæa Strabonis*, *Halice Pausaniæ*, } A maritime Towne of *Argia*, in the Bay of *Hermione*. *Strabo, lib.* 8. betweene *Asine* and *Hermione*, two hundred and fifty furlongs from *Asine*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.*

Haliartus, a citie of *Bœotia*, by the side of the Lake *Copais*, towards *Helicon*. *Strab. lib.* 9. It confineth on the Territory of *Thespiæ*. *Paus. in Bœoticis.*

Halicarnassus, a City of the *Dorians* in *Asia*. *Herod. lib.* 1. In the bottome of the *Ceraunian* Bay. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Halimus, a Towne of *Attica*, next after *Phaleron*, towards the Promontory of *Sunium*. *Strab. lib.* 9. In this Towne was *Thucydides* borne, the Author of this History.

Halisarna, a Towne in the Ile *Cos*, neere vnto the Promontory of *Lacter*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Hamaxitus, a City of *Troas*, vnder the Promontory of *Lectus*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Harmatus, a City in the Continent, ouer against *Methymna* of *Lesbos*. *Thuc. lib.* 8.

Harpagium, a place on the confines of *Priapus* and *Cyzicus*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Hebrus, a Riuer of *Thrace*, falling into the Sea betweene *Ænus* and *Doriscus*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Helena, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*, adiacent to the Continent of *Attica*, and extending from *Sunium* to *Thoricus*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Helice, a Citie of *Achaia*, on the Sea-side, betweene *Ægium* and *Bura*, distant from *Ægium* forty furlongs. *Pausan. in Achaicis.*

Helos, a *Laconique* City, by the side of the Riuer *Eurotas*, not farre from the Sea. *Strab. lib.* 8. distant from *Gythium* a hundred furlongs, and from *Acriæ* thirty. *Paus. in Laconicis.*

Hereæ, a City of *Arcadia*, in the confines of *Elis*, vpon the Riuer *Alpheus*. *Polyb. lib.* 4. *Paus. in Arcadicis.* It confineth on *Megalopolis*, and the Riuer *Ladon* runneth within 15 furlongs of it. *Pausan. in Arcadicis.*

Heraclea, a City of the *Melians*, built by the *Lacedæmonians*, within the straight of *Thermopylæ*, distant from it forty furlongs, and from the Sea twenty. *Thucyd. lib.* 3. *Strab. lib.* 9. Also a City in the Bay of *Latmus*, betweene *Miletus* and *Pyrrha*, distant from *Pyrrha* 100 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 14. Also a City of the *Sinti*, a people of *Macedonia*, called *Heraclea Sintica*. *Liu. lib.* 45.

Hermione, a maritime City in *Argia*, betweene *Asine* and *Troezen*. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.* From it is named the Bay of *Hermione*, which hath in it in order these three Cities, *Asine*, *Hermione*, *Troezen*. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Pausanias in Corinthiacis.* But *Strabo* seemeth to make the Bay of *Hermione* to begin at the Promontory *Scyllæum*, and to end at *Epidaurus*. *Quære.*

Hermus, a Riuer dividing *Æolis* from *Ionia*. *Strab. lib.* 14. It runneth through the Plaines that lye before the Citie *Sardis*, and entreth the Sea by *Phocæa*. *Herod. lib.* 1.

Hessi, the people of a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Hestiæa, a City of *Eubœa*, not farre from the Promontory *Ceneum*. *Strab. lib.* 10. The Territory of *Hestiæa* is called *Hestiotis*, and is ouer against *Thessaly*, as may appeare out of *Herod. lib.* 7.

Hyæi, The people of a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Hyampolis, a City of *Phocis*, confining on *Abas*, a City of the *Locrians* of *Opus*. *Paus. in Phocicis.*

Hyssiæ, a Towne of *Attica*, on the confines of *Platæis*. *Herodot. lib.* 9. *Thucyd. lib.* 3. *Vide Oenoe.* Also a Towne of *Argia*, on the confines of *Tegea*, in the way betweene *Tegea* and *Argos*. *Pausanias in Corinthiacis.*

I

Iassus, a maritime City of *Asia*, scituate in an Iland, neere to the Continent. *Strab. lib.* 14. in that Bay which on the side towards *Miletus* hath *Posideum* for bound, and on the other side, the City *Mindus*. *Polyb. lib.* 16. The Bay is called *Sinus Bargileticus*. *Idem.*

Icarus, or *Icaria*, an Iland on the West of the Ile *Samos*. *Strab. lib.* 10. distant from it 80 furlongs. *Idem, lib.* 14.

Icthys, a Promontory of *Elis*, neere the Citie of *Phia*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. *Vide Phia.*

Icus, an Iland lying before *Magnesia*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Ida, a Mountaine of *Asia*, extending from *Lectus* and the places on the *Adramyttian Bay*, to the City *Zeleia* by *Propontis*. *Strab. lib.* 12.

Idacus, a place in the *Thracian Chersonesus*, opposite to *Abydus* and *Dardanus*. *Thuc. lib.* 8.

Idomene, two Hill toppes so called, betweene *Ambracia* and *Argos Amphilochicum*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Ielysius, a City in the Iland of *Rhodes*, betweene *Camirus* and the City of *Rhodes*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Ilium siue Troia, a famous City in *Asia*, 170 furlongs from *Abydus*, standing from the Sea towards the Mountaine *Ida*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Imbros, an Iland not farre from the *Thracian Chersonesus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8. It is distant from *Lemnos* two and twenty miles, and from the Ile *Samothrace*, that lyeth before the Riuer *Hebrus*, two and thirty miles. *Plin. lib.* 4.

Iolcus a maritime Towne of *Thessaly*, in the *Pegasean* Bay, not farre from *Demetrias*. *Liu. lib.* 4.

Ionia, a Region inhabited by the *Grecians* in *Asia*, by the Sea-side, reaching from *Posideum* a Promontory of *Miletus*, on the South, to *Phocæa*, and the mouth of the Riuer *Hermus*, on the North. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Ionian Gulfe. The *Ionian Gulfe*, or the *Ionian Sea*, is the vtmost part of the *Adriatique* Sea, beginning at the *Ceraunian* Mountaines. *Strab. lib.* 7.

Ios, an Iland on the Coast of *Crete*, equally distant from *Thera* in *Anaphe*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Ipnenses, The people of a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Ismaris, a Lake in *Thrace*, betweene *Stryma* and *Maronea*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Istone, a Hill in the Ile *Corcyra*. *Thuc. lib.* 3.

Ithaca, an Iland ouer against *Cephallenia*, and neere to it. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Ithome, a Hill in *Messenia*, neere the Sea, and on it a City, which was afterward the Cittadell of the City *Messene*, that was built after the *Peloponnesian* Warre, by *Epaminondas*. *Paus. in Messenicis.*

L

Laconia, a Region of *Peloponnesus*, confining on *Messenia*, *Argia*, and *Arcadia*. *Strab. lib.* 8. diuided from the Territory of *Megalopolis* of *Arcadia*, by the Riuer *Alpheus*. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Lacter, the most Southerne Promontorie of the Ile *Cos*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Lacedæmon, the head City of *Laconia*, on the West side of the Riuer *Eurotas*, remote from the Sea, beneath the Mountaine *Taygetus*. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Polyb. lib.* 5.

Lade, a small Iland, lying before the City *Miletus*. *Herod. lib.* 6. *Thucyd. lib.* 8. *Paus. in Atticis.*

Ladon, a Riuer rising in the Territory of *Cleitor* in *Arcadia*, passing by the border of *Heræa*, and falling into the Riuer *Peneus* in *Elis*, neere to *Pylus*. *Paus. in Arcadicis*, & *Eliacorum secundo.*

Lagusa, an Iland on the West of the Iland *Ios*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Lampsacum, a maritime City in *Hellespont*, from *Abydus*, towards *Propontis*, distant 190 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Laodicea, a Towne of the Territory of *Orestis* in *Arcadia*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Larissa, a City of *Thessaly*, on the Riuer *Peneus*. *Strab. lib.* 9. Also a City of *Troas*, betweene *Achæum* and *Colone*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Latmus, and *Latmus*, a Mountaine at the bottome of the Bay of *Latmus*, which Bay beginneth at *Posideum* in the Territorie of *Miletus*, and endeth at the Promontorie of *Pyrrha*, betweene which places by the shore, it is two hundred furlongs, and streight ouer, but thirty. *Strabo, libro* 4. *Latmus* is also an Iland in those parts, as appeareth by *Thucydides, lib.* 2. but I can finde no mention of it in any other Author.

Laurium, a Mountaine and Towne in *Attica*, not far from *Sunium*, betweene *Sunium*

and *Athens*, *Paus. in Atticis*. The *Athenians* had siluer Mines in this Mountaine. *Thuc. Herod.*

Lesi, a Nation dwelling on the Riuer *Strymon*, and the border betweene *Thrace* and *Macedonie*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Lebedus, an *Ionique* City in *Lydia*. *Herod. lib.* 1. Scituate on the Sea-side, betweene *Colophon* and *Teos*, distant from each 120 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Lecheum, a Hauen of the *Corinthians* in the *Crissean* or *Corinthian* Bay. Betweene *Lecheum* and *Cenchreæ* is contained the *Corinthian Isthmus*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.*

Lectus, a City and Promontory of *Troas*, the beginning of the Bay of *Adramyttium*, *Strab. lib.* 14.

Lemnos, an Iland in the Ægæan Sea, on the East of the Mountaine *Athos*, so as the shaddow of the Mountaine falleth sometimes vpon it. *Plin. lib.* 4. *Strab. Epitom. lib.* 7.

Lepreum, a City of *Elis*, forty furlongs from the Sea. *Paus. Eliacorum secundo.* On the confines of *Arcadia*. *Thucyd. lib.* 5.

Lerus, an Iland, one of the *Sporades*, neere to *Patmos*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Lesbos, an Iland ouer against *Æolis* in *Asia*, distant from *Lemnos*, *Tenedos*, and *Chios* almost equally; lesse then fiue hundred furlongs from the farthest of them. It reacheth in length betweene *Lectus* and *Cane* 560 furlongs, and is in compasse 1100 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Leucas, a *Peninsula*, distant from *Actium* 240 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 10. now an Iland, and called *Santa Maura*.

Leuctra, a Towne in *Baotia*, betweene *Platæa* and *Thespiæ*. *Strab. lib.* 9. Also a Towne of *Laconia* in the *Messenian* Bay, betweene *Thurides* and *Cardamyle*, distant from *Cardamyle* 60 furlongs, and from *Tænarus* three hundred and forty. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Paus. in Laconicis.*

Leucimne, the most Easterne Promontory of the Ile *Corcyra*, opposite to the Ilands called *Sybota*, *Strab. lib.* 7.

Lilæa, a City of *Phocis*, distant from *Delphi* by *Parnassus* 180 furlongs. *Paus. in Phocicis.*

Limnæa, a City on the confines of *Aegaia*, on the West to the Riuer *Achelous*, as may be gathered out of *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Lindy, a City of the Iland *Rhodes*, scituate on the right hand to them that sayle from the City of *Rhodes* Southward. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Lissus, a small Riuer of *Thrace*, betweene *Mesembria* and *Strymo*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Locri, a Nation of *Greece*, whereof one part, called *Locri Ozolæ*, inhabite on the West of *Parnassus*, and confine on *Ætolia*. *Strab. lib.* 9. And the other part, called *Locri Opuntij*, are diuided from the *Ozolæ* by the Mountaines *Parnassus* and the Region of *Doris*. *Idem, lib.* 9. Part of the *Opuntians* are called *Epicnemidæ*, for that they dwell neere the Promontory called *Cnemides*.

Lorymæ, a City in the opposite Continent to *Rhodes*, betweene *Cnidus* and *Physcus*, where the shore beginneth to turne Northward. *Strab. lib.* 14. distant twenty miles from *Rhodes*. *Liuy, libro* 45.

Lycæum, a mountaine in *Arcadia*, neere to the confines of *Laconia*, and *Megalopolis*. *Paus. in Arcadicis.* Not far from *Tegea*. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Lychnidus, a City of *Illyria*, on the Confines of *Macedonie*, in the *Ignatian* way, that leadeth from *Apollonia* to *Therme*. *Strab. lib.* 7.

Lydias, a Riuer of *Macedonia*. *Lydias* and *Axius* meeting in one, deuide *Bottiea* from *Macedonie*. *Herodot. lib.* 7.

Lyncus, a Region and City of the vpper *Macedonia*, the people are called *Lyncheſti* by *Thucyd. lib.* 4. and placed by *Strabo* in the way betweene *Epidamnus* and *Therme*, which hee calles the *Ignatian way*. *Strab. lib.* 7.

M

Macedonia, a famous Kingdome, bordered with *Thracia*, *Epirus*, *Illyria*, and *Thessaly*

Madytus, a City in the *Thracian Chersonesus*. Betweene *Sestus* and *Madytus*, is the shortest cut ouer the *Hellespont*, of not aboue seuen furlongs. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Maander, a Riuer of *Caria*. The mouth of it is fifty furlongs from *Pyrrhus*, the beginning of the *Latmian Bay*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Medi, a people of *Thrace*, bordering on *Macedonie*. *Polyb. lib. Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Mænalia, a Territory of *Arcadia*, belonging to the City *Mænalus*, which City is about threescore and tenne furlongs from *Megalopolis*. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Magnesia, a City of *Thessaly*, the Territorie whereof extendeth from the Mountaine *Ossa* and the Lake *Bebeis*, to the Mountaine *Pelion*. *Strab. lib.* 9. Before the Continent of *Magnesia*, lyeth the Iland *Scyathus*. *Herodot. lib.* 7. Also a City of *Ionia* called *Magnesia* on *Maander*, aboue the Citie of *Myus*. *Strabo, libro* 14.

Malea, a Promontory of *Laconia*, betweene which and *Tænarus* is comprehended the *Laconian* Bay. *Strab. lib.* 8. Also the most Southerne Promontory of *Lesbos*, opposite to *Cane*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Mantinea, a City of *Arcadia*, confining on *Argia*, *Tegea*, *Methydrium*, and *Orchomenus*. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Marathon, a Towne in *Attica*, ouer against *Eretria* of *Eubœa*. *Herod. lib.* 6. Betweene *Rhamnus* and *Brauron*. *Strab. lib.* 9. Equally distant from *Athens* and from *Carystus* in *Eubœa*. *Paus. in Atticis.*

Marathusa, an Iland lying before *Clazomenæ*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8. *Vide Clazomenæ.*

Maronea, a Citie of *Thrace*, lying to the Ægæan Sea. *Xerxes*, after he had passed the Riuer *Lissus*, went on toward *Greece* by these Cities, *Maronea*, *Dicæa*, *Abdera*, &c. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Mecyberna, a maritime Towne in the Bay of *Torone*, seruing for the shipping of the City *Olynthus*. *Strab. Epitom. lib.* 7. The Fleet of *Xerxes* beeing come about *Ampelus*, (This is a Promontory neere *Torone*,) passed by these Cities, *Torone*, *Galepsus*, *Sermyla*, *Mecyberna*, &c. *Herodot. lib.* 7.

Medeon, a Citie of *Amphilochia*, on the West of the Riuer *Achelous*. The Army of the *Peloponnesians* hauing passed the Riuer *Achelous*, out of *Ætolia*, went on into *Aegaia* by these Cities in order, *Phytia*, *Medeon*, and *Limnæa*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Megalopolis, a City of *Arcadia*, built after the *Peloponnesian* Warre, by *Epaminondas*. The Territory thereof confineth on *Laconia*, *Messenia*, *Heræa*, *Orchomenus*, *Mantinea*, and *Tegea*. It standeth on the Riuer *Helissen*, not farre from *Alpheus*. *Pausan. in Arcadicis.*

Megara, a City confining with *Attica* at *Eleusis*, distant from the Sea 18 furlongs. *Paus. in Atticis. Strab. lib.* 8.

Melas, a Riuer, and a Bay into which it entreth, on the West of the *Thracian Chersonesus*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Melena, a Promontory of the Iland *Chios*, ouer against the Ile *Pfyra*. *Strabo, libro* 14.

Melienses, and the *Melian Bay.* } The *Melienses* are next to *Thessaly* Southward. *Strab. lib.* 8. The *Melian* Bay beginneth at the Promontory *Cnemides*. *Id. lib.* 9.

Melitea, a City of *Thessalie*, neere the Riuer *Enipeus*. *Strab. lib.* 9. betweene *Pharsalus* and *Heraclea*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Melos, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.* Distant from the Promontorie *Scyllæum* seuen hundred furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Mende, a Citie in the *Chersonesus* of *Pallene*. *Herod. lib.* 7. betweene *Apsynis* and *Scione*. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7.

Mesembria, a maritime City of *Thrace*, neere *Doriscus*, the last in the shore of *Doriscus* towards the West. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Messenia, a Region on the West part of *Peloponnesus*, confining on *Elis*, *Arcadia*, and *Laconia*, deuided from *Elis* on the parts to the Sea, by the Riuer *Neda*, and confining with *Laconia* at *Thurides*. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Paus. in Messenicis.* Of the *Messenian* Bay, the first Towne is *Asine*, the last *Thurides*. *Idem, lib.* 8. The City of *Messene* was built after the *Peloponnesian* Warre, by *Epaminondas*, vnder the Hill *Ithome*. *Paus. in Messenicis. Vide Ithome.*

Methone, a City of *Macedonia*, forty furlongs from *Pydna*. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7. Also a City in *Argia*, betweene *Epidaurus* and *Troezen*. *Strab. lib.* 8. Scituate in a *Chersonesus* belonging to the *Troezenians*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis. Strabo* calleth it *Methana*. Also a maritime City of *Messenia*, betweene the Promontories *Coryphasium* and *Acritas*. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Paus. in Corinthiacis. Pausanias* calleth it *Methone*. It is now called *Modena*.

Messapy, the people of a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Methydrium, a City of *Arcadia*, confining on *Mantinea*, distant from *Megalopolis* 170 furlongs. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Methymna, a City of *Lesbos*, betweene the Promontories *Sigrium* and *Malea*, distant from *Malea* 340 furlongs, and from *Sigrium* 210. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Milæus,

Miletus, an *Ionique* City of *Caria*, the farthermoſt toward the South. *Herodot. lib.* 1. next to *Poſideum*, in the *Latmian* Bay. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Mimas, a Hill in the *Cherſonneſus* of *Erythræ*, betweene the Cities *Erythræ* and *Clazomenæ*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Mindus, a maritime Citie of *Caria*, betweene the Promontorie of *Aſtypalea*, and the City *Iaſus*. *Strabo. libro* 14.

Minöe, an Iland, as *Thucyd.* a Promontory as *Strabo* ſaith, that maketh *Niſæa* a Hauen. *Strab. lib.* 9. *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Mitylene, the chiefe City of *Lesbos*, ſcituate betweene *Methymna* and *Malea*, diſtant from *Malea* threeſcore and ten furlongs, from *Canæ* one hundred and twenty furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Moloſſians, a people of *Epirus*. *Thucydid. lib.* 1. dwelling by the Riuer *Acheron*. *Liuy, lib.* 8.

Molychria, a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*, on the Sea ſide, next to *Antirrhium*, on the part toward *Euenus*. *Pauſ. in Phocicis.*

Munychia, a Promontory of *Attica*, which with *Piræus* made the Harbour of the *Athenians* ſhipping, with three faire Hauens within it. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Mycale, a Promontory ouer againſt the Ile *Samos*, *Herodot. lib.* 1. A Mountaine neere to *Triene*, oppoſite to *Samos*, which with *Poſideum* a Promontory of *Samos*, maketh the ſtreight of ſeuen furlongs ouer. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Mycaleſſus, a City of *Bœotia*, betweene *Thebes* and *Chalcis* of *Eubœa*. *Pauſ. in Bœoticis. Thucyd. lib.* 7.

Mycenæ, a City once the head of *Argia*, on the left hand to thoſe that goe from *Cleonæ* to *Argos*, diſtant from *Argos* fifty furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Pauſ. in Corinthiacis.*

Myconus, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Mygdonia, a Region of *Macedonia*, deuided from *Bottiæa* by the Riuer *Axius*, and and reaching vnto *Pallene*. *Herodot. libro* 7.

Mylaſa, an vpland City of *Caria*, neereſt to the Sea at *Phyſcus*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Myonneſus, a maritime City of *Ionia*, betweene *Teos* and *Lebedus*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Myrcinus, a City of the *Edonians* in *Thrace*, by the Riuer *Strymon*. *Herodot. lib.* 5.

Myus, an *Ionique* City, 30 furlongs aboue the mouth of the Riuer *Mæander*. *Strabo, lib.* 14. Alſo a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*, neere *Amphiſſa*, and thirty furlongs more remote from the Sea. *Pauſ. in Phocicis.*

N

Naupactus, a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*, neere to *Antirrhium*, within the *Criſſean* Bay. *Strab. lib.* 9. and next to it is *Oeanthea. Pauſ. in Phocicis.*

Naupla, a City of *Argia*, in the *Argiue* Bay, next after *Temenium*, towards the Promontory *Scillæum*. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Naxus an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Neda, a Riner of *Peloponneſus*, riſing in the Mountaine *Lyæum*. *Pauſanias in Arcadicis.* and paſsing through *Meſſenia*. *Idem in Meſſenicis.* It diuideth the maritime parts of *Elis* and *Meſſenia*. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Nemea, a Forreſt and Towne, The Forreſt betweene *Cleonæ* and *Phlius*. *Strab. lib.* 8. The Towne betweene *Cleonæ* and *Argos*. *Pauſ. in Corinth.*

Neritum, The *Cherſonneſus* of *Leucas*, ſince cut off and made an Iland by the *Corinthians*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Neſtus, a Riuer of *Thrace*, that goeth out into the Sea, neere to the City *Abdera*. *Herod. lib.* 7. on the Weſt ſide of *Abdera*. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7.

Niſæa, the Hauen Towne to the City of *Megara*. *Pega* and *Niſæa* comprehend the *Iſthmus*, and are diſtant from each other 120 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 8. On the Eaſt of the Iland *Minoe*. *Id. lib.* 9.

Niſyra, an Iland, one of the *Sporades*, 60 furlongs from the Ile *Cos*, and 85 as many from the Ile *Telos*, in compaſſe 80. furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Nonacris, a City of *Arcadia*, to the Weſt of *Pheneum*, and enclining to the right hand. *Pauſ. in Arcadicis.*

Notium, a Towne on the Sea-ſide, belonging to the *Colophonians*, and diſtant from *Colophon* two miles. *Liuy, lib.* 37. Alſo a place in the Ile *Chius*, betweene the Promontory *Melæna* and the Hauen *Phane*. Diſtant from the City *Chius* by Land threeſcore furlongs, by Sea 300. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Nymphæum, a Promontory of Mount *Athos*, towards the Bay of *Singus*. *Strab. Ep. lib.* 7

O

Oche, a Mountaine, the greateſt of *Eubœa*, neere to the City *Caryſtus*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Odomanti, a people of *Thrace*, neere the Mountaine *Pangæum*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Odryſæ, a people of *Thrace*. *Thucyd. libro* 2.

Oeanthei, a maritime City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Pauſ. in Phocicis.* Ouer againſt *Ægira* of *Achaia*. *Polyb. lib.* 4.

Oeniadæ, a Citie of *Acarnania*, by the Sea ſide, oppoſite to the Promontory *Araxus*, in *Peloponneſus*, and confining on *Ætolia*. *Polyb. lib.* 4. on the Eaſt ſide of the Riuer *Achelous*, at the mouth of it. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Oeneon, a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*, not far from *Naupactus*, as may be gathered out of *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Oenoe, a Towne on the border of *Attica*, towards *Bœotia*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. *Oenoe* and *Hyſiæ* the laſt of the Townes of *Attica*, towards *Bœotia*, on that part which is remoteſt from *Chalcis* and *Eubœa*. *Herodot. libro* 5.

Oenophyta, a place in *Bœotia*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. but whereabouts I cannot finde.

Oenuſæ, certaine Ilands vpon the Coaſt of *Chius*. *Herod. lib.* 1. *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Oeta, a Mountaine neere *Thermopylæ*: that part which is neere *Thermopylæ*, for about twenty furlongs, is properly called *Oeta*, though the whole tract from *Thermopylæ*, as farre as the Bay of *Ambracia*, bee commonly alſo called *Oeta*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Olynthe, a City of the *Bisaltians*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4. Beyond the Riuer *Strymon*, and by the Sea-ſide, according to *Ptolomie*.

Olearus, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Olenus, a city of *Achaia*, betweene *Patræ* and *Dyme*, at the mouth of the Riuer *Peirus*. *Pauſ. in Achaicis.*

Olpæ, a Caſtle by the ſide of the Bay of *Ambracia*, neere to *Argos Amphilochicum*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Olpe, a city of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3. but whereabouts I know not.

Olophyxus, a city in Mount *Athos*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Olympia, a place in *Elis*, with a Temple dedicate to *Iupiter*, vpon the ſide of the Riuer *Alpheus*, diſtant from the Sea 80 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Olympus, a Mountaine, which is the bound of *Theſſaly* on the North, and of *Macedonia* on the South, betweene it and the Mountaine *Oſſa*, in a narrow Valley, runneth the Riuer *Penæus*. *Herod. lib.* 7. *Pauſ. Eliacorum ſecundo.*

Olynthus, a city of the *Bottiæans* driuen out of *Bottiæa* by the *Macedonians*. *Herod. lib.* 8. The *Bottiæans* driuen out of *Bottiæa*, ſeated themſelues on the borders of the *Chalcideans* towards *Thrace*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. *Olynthus* ſtandeth ſomewhat remote from the Sea, and about threeſcore furlongs from *Potidæa*. *Id. lib.* 2. *Mecyberna*, which ſtandeth on the Bay of *Torone*, ſerued them for the place of their ſhipping. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7.

Onugnathos, a Promontory of *Laconia*, betweene which and *Malea*, is the city and Bay of *Boea*. *Pauſ. in Laconicis.*

Opiſthonei, a people of *Ætolia*, toward the *Melian* Gulfe. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Opus, the chiefe city of the *Locri Opuntij*, diſtant from the Sea fifteene furlongs, oppoſite to *Ædepſa* in *Eubœa*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Orchomenus, a city of *Bœotia*, confining on *Phocis*, through the Territory whereof the Riuer *Cephiſus* paſſeth from *Charonea* into the Lake *Copais*. *Strab. lib.* 9. *Pauſ. in Bœoticis.*

Alſo a city of *Arcadia*, confining on *Mantinea* and *Pheneum*. *Pauſanias in Arcadicis.*

Oreſtis, a Region of *Macedonia*, confin on *Epirus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. not farre from *Elymea*. *Liu. lib.* 31.

Oreſtium or *Oreſtaſium* } A city of *Arcadia*, in the way betweene *Sparta* and the *Iſthmus*. *Herodot. lib.* 9. and betweene *Megalopolis* and *Tegea*. *Pauſ. in Arcadicis.*

Oreus, a citie of the *Hiſtiæans*, in *Eubœa*. *Thucydid. lib.* 1. *Strab. lib.* 9. not farre

farre from the Promontory of *Ceneum*. *Id. lib. 9.* the first City of *Euboea* on the left hand to them that come from the Bay of *Demetrias*, (or *Pegasæan* Bay) toward *Chalcis*. *Liuy lib. 9.*

Ornea, a City of *Argia*, on the borders of the *Phliasian* and *Sicyonian* Territories. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.*

Orobiæ, a City of *Euboea*, not farre from *Ægæ*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Oropus, a maritime towne in *Attica*, towards *Euboea*, and opposite to *Eretria*. *Strab. lib. 9.* It is distant from *Eretria* 60 furlongs. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Ossa, a Mountaine of *Thessaly*. Betweene *Ossa* and *Olympus*, in a narrow valley, runneth the Riuer *Peneus*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Othrys, a Mountaine bounding *Thessaly* on the South. *Herod. lib. 7.* It hath on the North side the *Phthiotæ*, but reacheth also, to the *Dolopians*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

P

PAlladius, a Riuer of *Asia* the lesse, rising in the Mountaine *Tmolus*, and falling into the Riuer *Hermus*. *Strab. lib. 13.* It runneth through the Market-place of *Sardes*. *Herod. lib. 5.*

Pactya, a City standing in the Isthmus of the *Thracian Chersonesus*, toward *Propontis*. *Herod. lib. 6.*

Peonia, a Region of *Macedonia*, reaching on one side to the Riuer *Strymon*. *Herodot. lib. 5.* on the other side to the Riuer *Axius*. *Paus. Eliacorum prima*, in the beginning.

Pale, a City of *Cephallenia*, in the narrow part thereof, neere to the Bay. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Palyre, a maritime City of *Acarnania*, betweene *Leucas* and *Alyzea*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Pamisus, a Riuer of *Messenia*, rising betweene *Thurium* and *Arcadia*, and falling into the Sea in the middest of the *Messenian* Bay. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Panactum, a Towne in *Attica*, on the confines of *Bœotia*. *Thucyd. lib. 5.*

Panei, a People of *Thrace*. *Thucyd. lib 2.*

Pangæum, a Mountaine in *Thrace*, aboue the Region called the *Pierian* Bay. *Thucyd. lib. 2. Vide Pierian* Bay.

Panopeus, the same with *Phanotis*. *Vide Phanotis.*

Panormus, a Hauen of *Achaia*, neere to *Rhium*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.* opposite to *Naupactus*. *Polyb. lib. 4.* Distant from *Rhium* within the *Crissæan* Bay 15 furlongs. *Strab. lib. 9.* Also a Towne in the Territory of *Miletus*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Parasia, a City of *Thessaly*. *Thuc. l. 1.* Where about in *Thessaly* I find not.

Parauæi, a Nation of *Epirus*, neere to the *Molossians*. *Thucyd. lib. 2. Plutarch. in quæst. Græcis. quæst. 13, 26.*

Parium, a maritime City of *Hellespont*, between *Lampsacus* & *Priapus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Parnassus, a Mountaine, on whose West part are the *Locri Opuntii*; East part, the *Phocæans* and *Dorians*; and which extendeth to the Mountaines that runne along from *Thermopylæ* to the *Ambracian* Bay, and meeteth with them at a right angle. *Strab. lib. 9*

Parnethus, a Hill in *Peloponnesus*, wherein are the bounds of *Argia*, *Tegea*, and *Laconia*. *Paus. in Corinthiacis.* Also a Hill in *Attica*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Paros, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

Parrhasia, a City and Territory of *Arcadia*, bordering vpon *Laconia*. *Thuc. lib. 5.*

Patmus, an Iland, one of the *Sporades*, on the West of *Icarus*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Patræ, a maritime City of *Achaia*, distant from *Rhium*, fifty furlongs; from *Olenus* 80 furlongs. *Paus. in Achaicis. Strab. lib. 8.*

Pegæ, a City in the Mountainous part of *Megaris*. *Paus. in Achaicis. Pegæ* and *Nisæa* comprehend the *Corinthian Isthmus*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Pegasæa, a City of *Thessaly*, in the *Pegasæan* Bay. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Peiraice, a small Territory on the confines of *Attica* and *Bœotia*, neere to *Oropus*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Pelasgiotis, a Region of *Thessaly*, between *Ephiotis*, and the Territory of *Magnesia*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Pele, an Iland lying before *Clazomenæ*. *Thucyd. lib. 8. vide Clazomenæ.*

Pelion, a Mountaine in the Territory of *Magnesia* in *Thessaly*, ioyned to the Mountaine *Ossa*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Pella, a City of *Macedonia*, wherein *Alexander the Great* was borne. It standeth in a Lake betweene the Riuers *Axius* and *Lydias*. *Strab. Epit. lib. 7.*

Pellene, a City of *Achaia*, confining on *Sicyonia* and *Phenæum*, distant from the Sea threescore furlongs, and from *Ægira* 120 furlongs. *Paus. in Achaicis.* Also a *Peninsula* of *Macedonia*, betweene the Bay of *Torone*, and the Bay of *Therme*. *Herod. libro 7. Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Pelagonia, a Region of *Macedonia*, toward *Illyris*. *Liuy. lib. 45.*

Peloponnesus, that part of *Greece* within the Isthmus of *Corinth*, now called *Morea*.

Peneus, a Riuer of *Thessaly*, rising in the Mountain *Pindus*, neere to *Macedonia*. *Strab. 7.* running by *Larissa*, and thence through *Tempe* into the Sea. *Idem. lib. 9.* It diuideth *Ossa* from *Olympus* with a narrow valey, and receiueth into it the Riuers *Apidanus*, *Enipeus*, and others. *Herod. lib. 7.* Also a Riuer of *Peloponnesus*, betweene the Promontory *Chelonata*, and the Towne *Cyllene*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Peparethus, an Iland that lyeth before *Magnesia*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Pergamus, a City of the *Pierians* of *Thrace* vnder the Mountaine *Pangæum*. *Herod. lib. 7.* Also an *Æolique* City, 120 furlongs from the Sea, by the side of the Riuer *Caicus*. *Strab. lib. 13.*

Perinthus, a maritime City of *Thrace*, on the side of *Propontis*.

Perrhæbi, a People of *Thessaly*, that inhabite the Mountainous Countrey about *Olympus*, from the City *Atrax*, as farre as to *Tempe*, and the City *Gyrton*. *Strab. lib. 9.* Out of *Macedonia* into *Thessaly* there lyeth a way through the *Perrhæbi*, by the City *Gonnus*. *Herod. lib. 7.*

Petalia, a Promontory of *Euboea*, against which, lye the Ilands called also *Petalia*, opposite to the Promontory *Sunium* in *Attica*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Phacium, a City of *Thessaly*, betweene *Pharsalus* and *Dion*. *Thucyd. lib. 4.*

Phagres. *Phagres* in *Thucydides*, *Niphagres* in *Herodotus*, a City of the *Pierians*, between *Pangæum* and the Sea, *Thucyd. lib. 2. Herod. lib. 7.*

Phaleron, a maritime Towne of *Attica*, betweene *Piræus* and *Halimus*. *Strab. lib. 8.* It was heeretofore the Hauen of *Athens*. *Paus. in Atticis.* distant from *Athens* 20 furlongs. *Idem in Arcadicis.*

Phane, a Hauen in the Ile *Chios*. *Liuy, lib. 44.* betweene the Promontory *Posideum*, and the shore called *Notium*. *Strab. lib. 14.*

Phanotis, a City of *Phocis*, vpon the Riuer *Cephissus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* the same with *Panopeus*, distant 20 furlongs from *Chæronea* in *Bœotia*. *Paus. in Phocicis.*

Pharæ, a City in the *Messenian* Bay, next after *Cardamyle*, Westward. *Strab. lib. 8.* aboue it, within the Land, are *Thurium* and *Anthea*, fourescore furlongs distant from it. *Paus. in Laconicis.* Also a City of *Achaia*, vpon the Riuer *Peirus*, distant from *Patræ*, 150 furlongs, from the Sea 70 furlongs. *Paus. in Achaicis.*

Pharsalus, a City of *Thessaly*, by the Riuer *Apidanus*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Pharybus. *Pharybus* to *Ptolomy*, but in *Liuy Baphyrus*, a Riuer of *Macedonia*, falling into the Sea neere to the City *Dion*. *Liu.*

Pheia, a City of *Elis*, betweene the mouth of the Riuer *Alpheius*, and the Promontory *Ichthys*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Phenæum, a City of *Arcadia*, confining on *Pellene* and *Ægira*, Cities of *Achaia*, and on *Stymphalus*, *Nonacris*, and *Cleitor*, Cities of *Arcadia*. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Pheræ, a City of *Thessaly*, neere the Lake *Borbeis*, and confining on *Pelion*, and the Territory of *Magnesia*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Phile, a Towne of *Attica*, confining on *Tanagra* of *Bœotia*. *Strab. lib. 9.*

Philus, a City neere the head of the Riuer *Asopus* in *Achaia*, the Territory whereof is inclosed as it were in a circle, with the Territories of *Sicyon*, *Cleonæ*, and *Stymphalus*. *Strab. lib. 8.*

Phocæa, an *Ionique* City in *Lydia*, at the mouth of the Riuer *Hermus*. *Herod. lib. 1.* the bound of *Jonia* that way. *Strab. libro 14.*

Phocis, a Region of *Greece*, betweene the *Locri Ozolæ* and *Bœotia*. *Ætolia*, *Locris*, *Phocis*, *Bœotia*, lye parallell one to another. The *Phocæans* inhabite the East side of *Parnassus*. *Strab. lib. 9.* and extend by the Sea-side from *Cirrha* to *Anticyra*. *Paus. in Phocicis.*

Phœnicus portus, a Hauen in *Messenia*, neere the Promontory *Acritas*, betweene it and the City *Methone*. *Pausanias in Messenicis.* Also a hauen in the *Peninsula Erythræa*, vnder the Hill *Mimas*. *Thucyd. lib. 8.*

Pholegandros, an Iland to the West of the Iland *Ios*. *Strab. lib. 10.*

Phrygia, a place in *Attica*, neere *Acharnæ*. *Thucyd. lib. 2.*

Phrygia, a City of *Arcadia*, on the confines of *Messenia*. *Polyb. lib. 4.* vpon the Riuer *Lymax*, which falleth into the Riuer *Neda*. *Paus. in Arcadicis.*

Phyrcus, a Castle not farre from *Lepreum* in *Elis*. *Thuc. lib. 5.*

Pyrrha,

Physca, a City of *Macedonia*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. *Ptolomie* placeth it about the Riuer *Chedorus*, not farre from the Riuer *Axius*.

Physcus, a maritime City of *Caria*, betweene *Loryma* and *Caunus*, opposite to *Rhodes*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Phytia a City on the West side of the Riuer *Achelous*, not farre out of the way from *Stratus*, into *Agræus*, as may be gathered out of *Thucydides*, *lib.* 3.

Pieria, a maritime City of *Macedonie*, touching on one side the Riuer *Peneus*. *Strab. lib.* 9. and on the other side the confluent of the Riuers *Lydius* and *Aliacmon*, where begins *Bottica*, according to *Herodotus*, *lib.* 7.

Pierius sinus, a tract of Land betweene the Mountaine *Pangæum* and the Sea, in which standeth the City *Phagres*. *Thucydid. lib.* 2. *Pergamus* and *Niphagres*, Townes of the *Pierians*, vnder the Hill *Pangæum*, on the West of the Riuer *Nestus*. *Herodot. lib.* 7.

Pindus, a Mountaine bounding *Thessaly*, on the West. *Herodot. lib.* 7. It hath on the South the *Dolopians*; on the North, *Macedonie*. *Strab. lib.* 9. Also a City of the Region called *Doris*, one of the foure for which it was called *Tetrapolis*, and standeth aboue *Erineus*, *Strab. lib.* 9.

Piræus, a Towne and Hauen of *Attica*, seruing for the shipping of *Athens*, in the middest betweene *Pegæ* and *Sunium*. *Strab. lib.* 8. distant from *Athens* 40 furlongs. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. Also a desart Hauen in the Territory of *Corinth*, the vtmost towards *Epidaurus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Pineia, a City of *Thessaly*, neere the mouth of the Riuer *Peneus*. *Ex interprete Orphei Argonaut.*

Pitane, an *Æolique* City in the shore of *Asia*. *Herod. lib.* 1. betweene *Atarneus* and the mouth of the Riuer *Caicus*. *Strab. lib.* 13. Also a City of *Messenia*, on the confines of *Elis*. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Plataea, a City of *Bœotia*, seuenty furlongs from *Thebes*. Betweene these Cities runneth the Riuer *Asopus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. *Paus. in Bœoticis*. It standeth betweene Mount *Cithæron* and *Thebes*, neere the confines of *Attica* and *Megaris*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Pleuron, a City of *Ætolia*, between *Chalcis* and *Calydon*, vpon the Riuer *Euenus*, on the Sea-side, West of *Chalcis* and the mouth of the Riuer. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Polichna, a Towne in the Continent of *Asia*, neere to *Clazomenæ*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Polis, a village of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Posideum, a Temple dedicated to *Neptune*: and because those Temples were for the most part in Promontories, and places open to the Sea, diuers Promontories haue beene so called. There is *Posideum* a Promontory of *Chius*, opposite to the Promontory of *Argennum* in *Erythræa*, and betweene the City *Chius* and the Hauen *Phanæ*. *Strab. lib.* 14. Also a Promontory of the *Milesians*, the vtmost of *Ionia* Southward. *Strab. lib.* 14. Also a Promontory of *Samos*, which with *Mycale* in the Continent, make the straight there of seuen furlongs ouer. *Strab. lib.* 14. Also a Promontory of *Pellene*, neere the City of *Mendæ*. *Thuc. lib.* 5. Of two Promontories that are in *Pallene*, (*Canastræa* being one) this is the lesser. *Liuy*, *lib.* 44. Also a Temple in the *Corinthian* Isthmus, where were celebrated the *Isthmian* Games.

Potidæa, a City in *Pallene*. *Herodot. lib.* 7. in the very Isthmus of it. *Thuc. lib.* 1. *Cassandrea* is a City in the streight that ioineth *Pellene* to *Macedonie*, enclosed on one side with the *Toronæan* Bay; on the other, with the *Macedonian* Sea. *Liu. lib.* 44. *Cassandrea* was formerly called *Potidæa*. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7.

Potidania, a City of *Ætolia*, on the confines of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Prasiæ, a maritime City of *Laconia*, in the Bay of *Argos*. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Pausan. in Laconicis*, the last *Laconian* City towards *Argos*, and distant from *Cyphanta* 100 furlongs. *Paus. in Laconicis*. Also a Towne in *Attica*, by the Sea-side towards *Eubœa*, betweene *Thoricus* and *Brauron*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Prepesinthus, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades*.

Priapus, a City lying vpon *Propontis*, betweene *Lampsacus* and the Riuer *Granicus*, *Strab. lib.* 13.

Priene, an *Ionique* City in *Caria*. *Herodot. lib.* 1. betweene the mouth of *Mæander*, and the Mountaine *Mycale*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Proconnesus, an Iland in *Propontis*, ouer against the shore that is betweene *Parium* and *Priapus*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Prone, a City of *Cephallenia*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Propontis, the Sea betweene *Hellespont* and *Pontus Euxinus*. *Strab. lib* 2.

Prosthion, a City of *Ætolia*, not far from *Pleuron*, but more remote from the Sea. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Prote, an Iland ouer against *Messenia*, not farre from *Pylus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Psyra, an Iland, distant fifty furlongs from *Melana* a Promontory of *Chius*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Psyttalea, an Iland betweene the Continent of *Attica*, and the Ile *Salamis*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Psophis, a City of *Arcadia*, in the West parts thereof, towards *Achaia* and *Elis*. *Polyb. lib.* 4.

Pteleum, a Towne on the Sea side in *Erythræa*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Phthiotis, the South part of *Thessaly*, reaching in length to Mount *Pindus*, and in breadth as farre as *Pharsalus*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Ptychia, a small Iland, neere to the City *Corcyra*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Pydna, a *Macedonian* City in *Pieria*. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7. opposite to *Æmea*. *Liu.*

Pylus, a City of *Messenia*, in the Promontory *Coryphasium*, distant from *Methone* 100 furlongs. *Paus. in Messenicis*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4. 5. Also a City of *Elis*, at the confluent of *Peneus* and *Ladon*. *Paus. Eliacorum secundo*.

Pydius, a Riuer betweene *Abydus* and *Dardanus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8. It seemeth to bee the same which *Strabo* calleth *Rhodius*. *Vide Rhodius*.

Pyrrha, a Promontory of *Asia* the lesse, which with *Gargara* (another Promontory) distant from it 120 furlongs, maketh the Bay of *Adramyttium*, properly so called. *Strab. lib.* 13. Also a City of *Lesbos*, on the Sea-side towards *Greece*, distant from *Mitylene*, which is on the other Sea, 80 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 13. Also a City of *Ionia*, in the *Latmian* Bay. *Strab. lib.* 14.

R

Rhamnus, a maritime Towne of *Attica*, betweene *Marathon* and *Oropus*, distant from *Marathon* 60 furlongs. *Pausan. in Atticis*.

Rheiti, certaine Brookes of salt water, supposed to come from the Sea betweene *Attica* and *Eubœa*, vnder ground, as from the hither Sea, and rising in *Attica*, to fall into the *Saronian* Bay, as a lower Sea, betweene *Piræus* and *Eleusis*. *Pausan. in Atticis & Corinthiacis*.

Rhenea, an Iland, foure furlongs distant from *Delos*. *Strab. lib.* 10. It lyeth before *Delos*, as *Sphacteria* before *Pylus*. *Paus. in fine Messenicorum*. *Polycrates* Tyrant of *Samos*, tyed it to *Delos* with a chaine. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Rhium, a Promontory of *Achaia*, between *Patræ* and *Ægium*, which with *Antirrhium*, maketh the straight of the *Corinthian* (or *Crissæan*) Bay, of fiue furlongs ouer. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Rhium Achaicum*, and *Antirrhium*, (which is also called *Rhium Molychricum*) are the iawes of the *Corinthian* Bay. *Liuy*, *lib.* 28.

Rhodope, a Mountaine of *Thrace*.

Rhodius, a Riuer in the *Hellespont*, betweene *Abydus* and *Dardanus*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Rhodus, an Iland in the *Carpathian* Sea, 920 furlongs in compasse, inhabited by the *Dorians*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Rhœteium, a City of *Hellespont*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8. on the Sea-side, between *Dardanum* and *Sigeum*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Rhypes, a City of *Achaia*, thirty furlongs from *Ægium*. *Paus. in Achaicis*.

S

Sala, a City of the *Samothracians*, in the shore of *Doriscus*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Salamis, an Iland adiacent to *Eleusis* of *Attica*. *Strab. lib.* 8. *Paus. in Atticis*.

Same, a City in the Iland *Cephallenia*, at the passage betweene it and *Ithaca*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Samia, a City of *Elis*, a little aboue *Samicum*, betweene which Cities runneth the Riuer *Anigrus*. *Paus. Eliacorum primo*.

Samicum, a maritime City of *Elis*, the first beyond the Riuer *Neda*, at the mouth of the Riuer *Anigrus*. *Paus. Eliacorum primo*.

Saminthus, a Towne of *Argia*, in the plaines of *Argos* towards *Nemea*. *Thucyd. lib.* 5.

Samothracia, an Iland in the *Ægean* Sea, ouer against the mouth of the Riuer *Hebrus*. *Plin. lib.* 4.

Samus, an Ionique Iland, and City of the same name. The Iland in sixe hundred furlongs about, and *Posideum* a Promontory thereof, not aboue seuen furlongs from the

the Continent. The City ſtandeth on the South part of it, at the Sea-ſide. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Sane, a City in *Pallene*. *Herod. lib.* 7. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7. Alſo a City by the ſide of the Ditch made by *Xerxes*, in Mount *Athos*, without the ſame, and to the Bay of *Singus*. *Herod. lib.* 7. *Thucyd. lib* 4.

Sardes, the chiefe City of the *Lydians*, ſituate vnder the Hill *Tmolus*. *Strab. lib.* 13. Through it runneth the Riuer *Pactolus*. *Herod. lib.* 5.

Scamander, a Riuer of *Troas*, riſing in Mount *Ida*, *Simois*, and *Scamander* meete in a Fenne, and then goe out into the Sea by one Channell, at *Sigeum*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Scandarium, a Promontory of the Iland *Cos*, neere the City *Cos*, oppoſite to *Termerium*, a Promontory of the Continent. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Scandea, a City in the Iland *Cythera*. *Pauſ. in Laconicis.*

Scepſis, a City of *Troas*, in the higheſt part of Mount *Ida*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Scione, a City in *Pallene*. *Herod. lib.* 7. betweene *Mende* and *Sane*. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7.

Scirtis, the territory of *Scirus*, a *Lacedæmonian* Towne on the confines of *Parrhaſia* in *Arcadia*, neere to *Oreſtia*. *Thucyd. lib.* 1.

Scheenus, a Hauen of the Territory of *Corinth*, at the narroweſt part of the Iſthmus; betweene *Cenchrea* and *Crommyon*. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Scolus, a City of *Chalcides*, not far from *Olynthus*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Scomius, a Mountaine in *Thrace*, out of which riſeth the Riuer *Strymon*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Scyathus, an Iland in the *Ægean* Sea, lying before the territory of *Magneſia*. *Strab. lib.* 9. Betweene *Scyathus* and the Continent of *Magneſia*, there is a narrow ſtraight. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Scyllæum, a Promontory of *Peloponneſus*, the bound of the Bay of *Argos*, towards *Corinth*. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Scyrus, an Iland in the *Ægean* Sea, lying ouer againſt the Continent of *Magneſia*, *Strab. lib.* 9. betweene *Euboea* and *Lesbos*. *Plin. lib.* 4.

Sellaſia, a Towne in *Laconia*, betweene *Lacedæmon* and the Hill *Parnethus*, which is the bound of *Laconia* and *Argia*. *Pauſ. in Laconicis.*

Selymbria, a City of *Thrace*, by the ſide of *Propontis*.

Sepias, a Promontory of *Magneſia*. *Herod. lib.* 7. the beginning of the *Pegaſæan* Bay. *Ptolomie.*

Seriphus, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cycladas.*

Serrhium, a Promontory; the vtmoſt Weſtward, of the ſhore of *Doriſcus* in *Thrace*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Serrhyla, a City of *Chalcides*, vpon the *Toronian* Bay. *The Nauy of* Xerxes *being come about the Promontory* Ampelus, *paſſed by theſe Cities*, Torone, Galepſus, Serrhyla, &c. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Seſtus a City of the *Thracian Cherſoneſus*, thirty furlongs from *Abydus*, but neerer to *Propontis* then *Abydus* is. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Seuros, an Iland not farre from *Melos*, on the Weſt of the Iland *Ios*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Sicyon, a City of *Peloponneſus*, betweene *Corinth* and *Achaia*, diſtant a hundred furlongs from *Phlius*. *Pauſ. in Corinth.*

Sidouſſa, a Towne by the Sea-ſide in *Erythræa*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Sigeum, a City and Promontory of *Troas*, at the mouth of the Riuer *Scamander*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Sigrium, the moſt northerne Promontory of the Ile *Lesbos*, betweene *Ereſſus* and *Antiſſa*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Simoeis, a Riuer of *Troas*, which running into a Fenne, ioyneth there with the Riuer *Scamander*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Singus, and the Bay of *Singus*. A Towne, and Bay taking name from it, betweene Mount *Athos* and *Torone*. *Herodotus. lib.* 7.

Sintij, a people about *Amphipolis*. *Liu. lib.* 44. deuided from *Paonia* by the Mountaine *Cercine*. *Thuc. lib.* 2.

Siphæ, a City of *Bœotia*, vpon the *Criſſæan* Bay. *Pauſ. in Bœoticis.*

Siphnus, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cycladas.*

Smyrna, a maritime City of *Aſia*, in the Bay called from it the Bay of *Smyrna*, beyond *Clazomenæ* towards *Æolis*. *Strab. l.* 14.

Solium, a maritime Towne of *Acarnania*. *Thucyd. Scholiaſt. ad lib.* 2.

Sparta, the ſame with *Lacedæmon*. *Strab. lib.* 10. *Vide Lacedæmon.*

Sparthus, a City of the *Bottiæans*, on the border of the *Chalcideans*. *Thuc. lib.* 2.

Spercheius, a Riuer that riſeth in *Dolopia*, at a Mountaine called *Tymphreſtus*, and falleth into the *Melian* Bay, tenne furlongs within *Thermopylæ*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Sphacteria, a little Iland lying before *Pylus* of *Meſſenia*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4. *Pauſan. in Meſſenicis.*

Sporades, Ilands vpon the Coaſt of *Caria*, and of *Creta*. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Stagirus, a City in the Bay of *Strymon*, betweene *Argilus* and *Acanthus*. *Herodot. lib.* 7.

Stratus, a City of the *Amphilochians* in *Acarnania*, vpon the Riuer *Achelous*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3. two hundred furlongs from the Riuers mouth. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Strophades, Ilands ouer againſt *Meſſenia*, about 400 furlongs from the Continent. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Stryma, a City on the Coaſt of *Thrace*, next after *Meſembria*, towards *Macedonia*. *Herod. l.* 7.

Strymon, a Riuer deuiding *Thrace* from *Macedonia*. It riſeth in the Hill *Scomius*. *Thucyd. lib.* 2. It paſſeth by *Amphipolis*, on both ſides of it, and falleth into the Sea at the City *Eion*. *Herodot. lib.* 7. It is ſaid to riſe out of the Mountaine *Rhodope*. *Strab. Epit. lib.* 7. But it is probable that the Hill *Scomius* is part of *Rhodope*.

Stymphalus, a City of *Arcadia*, confining on the Territory of *Phlius*. *Pauſ. in Arcadicis Strab. lib.* 8.

Styra, a City in *Euboea*, neere to the City *Caryſtus*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Sunium, a Promontory and Towne in *Attica*, towards *Euboea*, betweene the *Saronem* Bay and the Sea towards *Euboea*. *Strab. lib.* 10. and diſtant from *Euboea* three hundred furlongs. *Idem. lib.* 9.

Sybota, Ilands betweene *Leucimne*, a Promontory of *Corcyra*, and the Continent. *Strab. lib.* 7. *Thucyd. lib.* 1. Alſo a Hauen by the Promontory of *Cheimerium*, in the ſame Continent. *Thucyd. lib.* 1.

Syme, an Iland ouer againſt the Continent of *Caria*, betweene *Loryma* and *Cnidus*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Syros, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cyclades.*

T

TÆnarius, a Promontory of *Laconia*, betweene the *Laconian* and the *Meſſenian* Bayes. *Pauſ. in Laconicis.* Alſo a maritime City of *Laconia*, in the *Meſſenian* Bay, diſtant from *Tænarus* the Promontory forty furlongs. *Pauſ. in Laconicis.*

Tanagra, a City of *Bœotia*, confining on *Attica*, thirty furlongs from *Aulis*, a Hauen on the *Euboean* Sea. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Taulantij, a People of *Illyris*, about *Dyrrachium* (or *Epidamnus*) *Strab. lib.* 7. *Thucyd. lib.* 1.

Taigetus, a Mountaine of *Laconia*, beginning at the Sea, aboue *Thuarides*, and reaching vp towards *Arcadia*, as farre as *Amycle* and *Lacedæmon*. *Strab. lib.* 8.

Tegea, a City of *Arcadia*, betweene *Argos* and *Lacedæmon*. *Thucyd. lib.* 5. *Herodot. lib.* 6. *Polyb. lib.* 4. the Territory thereof confineth with the *Argiues* at *Hyſiæ*, with *Laconia* at the Riuer *Alpheus*, and with the Territory of *Thyrea* at the Hill *Parnethus*. *Pauſ. in Arcad.* Theſe Cities of *Peloponneſus*, *Argos*, *Tegea*, and *Mantinea*, though much celebrated in Hiſtory, are placed with little conſideration of any Hiſtory, in all the Maps that I haue hitherto ſeene.

Teichiuſſa, a Caſtle of the *Mileſians* in the Bay of *Iaſſus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Telos, an Iland ouer againſt *Triopium*. *Herod. lib.* 7. a narrow Iland, in circuit 140 furlongs, adiacent to *Cnidus*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Temenium, a Towne in *Argia*, diſtant from *Argos* 26 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 8. from *Nauplia* 50 furlongs. *Pauſ. in Corinth.*

Tempe, a pleaſant Valley betweene the Mountaines *Oſſa* and *Olympus*: through it runneth the Riuer *Penæus*. *Herod. lib.* 7. *Strab. lib* 9. *Liu. lib.* 44.

Tenedus, an Iland in circuit about 80 furlongs, oppoſite to the Continent of *Troas*, at *Achæum*, betweene *Sigeum* and *Larriſſa*, and diſtant from it 40 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Tenos, an Iland, one of the *Cyclades*. *Vide Cycladas.*

Teos, a maritime City of *Ionia*, ſituate in the very iſthmus of the *Erythræan Cherſoneſus*, diſtant from *Lebedus* 120 furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Termerium, a Promontory of the *Mindians*, oppoſite to the Ile *Cos*. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Teſtruſſa, an Iland not farre from *Halicarnaſſus*. *Thucyd. lib.* 8.

Thaſſus, an Iland vpon the Coaſt of *Thrace*, halfe a dayes ſayle from *Amphipolis*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Thebes,

Thebe, the principall City of *Bœotia*, ſcituate neere the Riuers *Iſmenus* and *Aſopus*. *Strab lib.* 9. diſtant from *Platæa* 70. furlongs. *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Thera, an Iland on the Coaſt of *Crete*, diſtant from a Promontory thereof called *Dion*, ſeuenty furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Therasia, a ſmall Iland neere to *Thera*. *Strab. lib.* 10.

Therme and the *Thermean* Bay. } *Therme* is a City in the bottome of the *Thermean* Bay; and the *Thermean* Bay is preſently within *Pallene*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Thermopylæ, the ſtraight entrance into *Greece* out of *Theſſaly*, of about halfe an Acres breadth, betweene the Mountaine *Oeta* and the *Melian* Bay. Called *Thermopylæ*, from hot waters that riſe there (which the *Grecians* call *Therma*,) and from Gates made there by the *Phocæans* in old time, (which they call *Pylæ*.) *Herod. lib.* 7. This ſtreight is diſtant from *Chalcis* in *Eubœa* 530. furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Theſpiæ, a City of *Bœotia*, vnder Mount *Helicon*, on the confines of the City *Aliartus*. *Pauſ. in Bœoticis*. neere to the *Criſſæan* Bay. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Theſprotia, a maritime Region of *Epirus*, bordering on the *Ambraciotes* and *Leucadians*. *Herod. lib.* 8. The *Chaones* and *Theſproti* haue the whole coaſt, from the *Ceraunian* Mountaines to the Bay of *Ambracia*. *Strab. lib.* 7.

Theſſalia, a Region of *Greece*, contained within the Mountaines *Olympus*, *Oſſa*, *Pelion*, (which is to the Sea,) *Othrys* and *Pyndus*. *Herod. lib.* 7. where hee layeth out the bounds of *Theſſaly* exactly.

Thoricus, a maritime Towne of *Attica*, toward the *Eubœan* Sea, next beyond the Promontory *Sunium*. *Strab. l.* 9. *Vide Helena*.

Thracia, a Kingdome bordering on *Macedonie*, at the Riuer *Strymon*, deſcribed at large by *Thucyd. lib.* 2.

Thria, and *Thriaſij campi*. } *Thria* or *Thrio*, a Towne of *Attica*, between *Athens* and *Eleuſis*, ouer againſt *Salamis*. The Fields belonging to it, are called *Thriaſij Campi*, and the ſhore *Thriaſium litus*. *Strab.* 9. *Herod. lib.* 8.

Thronium, a City of *Locris*, vpon the *Melian* Bay, betweene the Promontory *Cnemides*, and *Thermopylæ*. *Strab. lib.* 9.

Thurides, a City in the *Meſſenian* Bay, the firſt towards the Eaſt, diſtant from the Promontory *Tænarus* 70 furlongs. *Pauſ. in Laconicis*.

Thurium, a City of *Laconia*, 80 furlongs aboue *Phæra*. *Pauſ. in Meſſeniciis*.

Thyamis, a Riuer of *Epirus*, diuiding *Theſprotis* from *Cheſtrine*. *Thucyd. lib.* 1.

Thymus, a Hill on the confines of *Agræi* and *Amphilochia*, not farre from *Argos Amphilochicum*. *Thucyd. lib.* 3.

Thyrea, a maritime City, in the Bay of *Argos*, in the Territory called *Cynuria*, It confineth on *Argia* and *Laconia*. *Thucyd lib.* 5. and on the Territory of *Tegea*. *Pauſ. in Arcadicis*,

Thyſſus, a City in Mount *Athos*. *Thuc. lib.* 4. *Herod. lib.* 7.

Tichium, a City of *Ætolia*, in the part inhabited by the *Apodoti*. *Thuy. lib.* 8.

Tithorea, a City in the top of *Parnaſſus*, called alſo *Neon*, 80 furlongs from *Delphi*. *Pauſ. in Phocicis*.

Tmolus, a Mountaine betweene the Riuer *Cayſtrus* and the City of *Sardes*. *Herod. lib.* 5. *Sardes* ſtandeth at the foote of *Tmolus*, and out of this Hill riſeth the Riuer *Paſtolus*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Tolophon, a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thuc. lib.* 3.

Tomeus, a Hill neere to *Pylus* in *Meſſenia*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Torone, and the Bay of *Torone*. } *Torone* is a *Chalcidique* City, betweene the *Singitique* and *Toronean* Bayes, neere the Promontory *Ampelus*. *Herod. lib.* 7. The place of the *Toronean* Bay is vnderſtood out of *Liuy*, *lib.* 44. where he ſaith, that *Caſſandrea* (or *Potidæa*) ſtandeth betweene the *Macedonian* Sea, and the Bay of *Torone*.

Tragia, an Iland neere to *Samos*. *Thuc. l.* 1. *Tragiæ*, Ilands about *Miletus*. *Strab lib.* 14.

Triopium, a Promontory of the *Cnidians*. *Thuc. lib.* 8. *Vide Cnidus*.

Tripodiſcus, a Village of *Megaris*. *Thucyd. lib.* 4.

Tritæa, a City of *Achaia*, remote from the Sea, diſtant from *Phæra* 120 furlongs. *Pauſ. in Achaicis*. Alſo a City of the *Locri Ozolæ*. *Thucyd. lib*, 3.

Troas, a Territory of *Aſia* the leſſe, vpon the ſide of the *Ægæan* Sea, betweene *Æolis* and *Helleſpont*. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Troezen, a maritime City of *Argia*, the vtmoſt in the Bay of *Hermione*. *Strab. lib.* 8. confining on *Epidaurus*. *Pauſan. in Corinthiacis*.

Troia. *Vide Ilium*.

Trogilium, a Promontory, and foot of the Mountaine *Mycale*, ouer againſt the Ile *Samos*, which with *Poſidium* a Promontory of that Ile, maketh the ſtreight there of ſeuen furlongs ouer. *Strab. lib.* 14.

Z

Zacynthus, an Iland ouer againſt *Peloponneſus*. *Strab. lib.* 10. Now called *Zante*.

Zarex, a maritime City of *Laconia*, diſtant on one ſide from *Epidaurus Limera* 100 furlongs, and from *Cyphanta* on the other ſide, ſixteene Furlongs. *Pauſ. in Laconicis*.

Zeleia, a City vnder Mount *Ida*, toward *Propontis*, diſtant from *Cyzicus* 190. furlongs, and from the Sea 80. furlongs. *Strab. lib.* 13.

Zone, a City on the ſhore of *Doriſcus* in *Thrace*. *Herod. lib.* 7.

THE

THE FIRST BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

The eſtate of Greece, *deriued from the remoteſt knowne Antiquity thereof, to the beginning of the* Peloponneſian *Warre. The Occaſion and Pretexts of this Warre, ariſing from the Controuerſies of the* Athenians *with the* Corinthians, *concerning* Corcyra *and* Poteidæa. *The* Lacedæmonians, *inſtigated by the Confederates, vndertake the Warre; not ſo much at their inſtigation, as of enuie to the greatneſſe of the* Athenian *Dominion. The degrees by which that Dominion was acquired. The Warre generally decreed by the Confederates at* Sparta. *The Demands of the* Lacedæmonians. *The obſtinacy of the* Athenians; *and their Anſwer, by the aduice of* Pericles.

THVCYDIDES an *Athenian*, wrote the Warre of the *Peloponneſians* and the *Athenians*, * as they warred againſt each other; beginning to write, as ſoone as the Warre was on foot, with expectation it ſhould proue a great one, and moſt worthy the relation, of all that had beene before it: Coniecturing ſo much, both from this, that they flouriſhed on both ſides

* The ſcope of the whole worke giuen by the Author, in all Narrations, to himſelfe.
To ſhew by euidences this Warre was greater then any before it. The Author begins (according to the manner of Hiſtoricall Writers) with the Antiquities of former times; deſcribing 3. Periods; 1. From the beginning of the Grecian memory, to the Warre of Troy. 2. The Warre it ſelfe. 3. The time from thence, to the preſent Warre which he writeth.
The ſtate of Greece before the Troian Warre.
* Greece.

in all manner of prouiſion: and alſo becauſe hee ſaw the reſt of Greece, ſiding with the one or the other Faction, ſome then preſently, and ſome intending ſo to doe. For this was certainely the greateſt Commotion that euer happened amongſt the Grecians, reaching alſo to part of the * Barbarians, and, as a man may ſay, to moſt Nations. For the Actions that preceded this, and thoſe againe that are yet more ancient, though the truth of them, through length of time, cannot by any meanes cleerely be diſcouered; yet for any Argument that (looking into times farre paſt) I haue yet light on to perſwade me, I doe not thinke they haue beene very great, either for matter of Warre, or otherwiſe.

For it is euident, that that which now is called * Hellas, was not of old conſtantly inhabited; but that, at firſt, there were often remouals, euery one eaſily leauing the place of his abode, to the violence alwayes of ſome greater number. For whiles Trafficke was not, nor mutuall entercourſe, but with feare, neither by Sea nor Land; and euery man ſo husbanded the ground, as but barely to liue vpon it, without any * ſtocke of * Riches; and planted nothing, (becauſe it was vncertaine when another ſhould inuade them, and carry all away, eſpecially, not hauing the defence of Walls) but made account to be Maſters in any place, of ſuch neceſſary ſuſtenance, as might ſerue them from day to day, they made little difficulty to change their habitations. And for this cauſe, they were of no ability at all, eyther for greatneſſe of Cities, or other prouiſion. But the fatteſt Soyles were alwaies the moſt ſubiect to theſe changes of Inhabitants; as that which is now called *Theſſalia*, and *Bœotia*, and the greateſt part of *Peloponneſus*, (except *Arcadia*) and of the reſt of *Greece*, whatſoeuer was moſt fertile. For, the goodneſſe of the Land increaſing the power of ſome particular men, both cauſed Seditions, (whereby they were ruin'd at home) and withall, made them more obnoxious to the inſidiation of ſtrangers. From hence it is, that * *Attica*, from great antiquity, for the ſterility of the Soyle, free from Seditions, hath beene inhabited euer by the ſame * People. And it is none of the leaſt euidences of what I haue ſaid, That *Greece*, by reaſon of ſundry tranſplantations, hath not in other parts receiued the like augmentation. For, ſuch as by Warre, or

* ἀξιοῦσι χρημάτων. * χρήματα *Ariſtot.* Whatſoeuer is eſtimated by money.

* The territory of the Athenian City, ſo called, from Atthis, the Daughter of Cranaus.
* The Athenians had an opinion of themſelues, that they were not diſcended from other Nations, but that their Anceſtors were euer the Inhabitants of Attica: wherefore they alſo ſtiled themſelues αὐτόχθονες, i. men of the ſame Land.

A or Sedition, were driuen out of other places; the most potent of them, as to a place of stability, retired themselues to *Athens*; where receiuing the Freedome of the City, they long since so increased the fame in number of People, as *Athens*, being incapable of them it selfe, they sent out Colonies into *Ionia*.

And to me, the imbecillity of ancient times, is not a little discouered also by this [that followeth.] For before the *Troian* Warre, nothing appeareth to haue beene done by *Greece* in Common; nor indeed was it, as I thinke, called

B all by that one name of *Hellas*; nor before the time of *Hellen*, the sonne of *Deucalion*, was there any such name at all. But *Pelasgia* (which was the farthest extended) and the other parts, by Regions, receiued their names from their owne Inhabitants. But *Hellen* and his Sonnes being strong in *Phthiotis*, and called in, for their ayde, into other Cities; those Cities, because of their conuersing with them, began more particularly to be called *Hellenes*: and yet could not that name of a long time after preuaile vpon them all. This is coniectured principally out of *Homer*; for, though

C borne long after the *Troian* Warre, yet he giues them not any where this name in generall; nor indeed to any, but those, that with *Achilles* came out of *Phthiotis*, and were the first so called. But in his Poemes, he mentioneth *Danaans*, *Argiues*, and *Achiues*, not doth he likewise vse the word *Barbarous*; because the *Greekes*, as it seemeth vnto me, were not yet distinguished by one common name of *Hellenes*, opposite vnto them. The *Greekes* then, neyther as they had that Name in particular by mutuall conuerse, nor after, vniuersally so termed, did euer before

D the *Troian* Warre, for want of strength and correspondence, enter into any Action, with their Forces ioyned. And to that Expedition they came together, by the meanes of Nauigation, which the neere part of *Greece* had now mastered. For *Minos* was the most ancient of all, that by report we know to haue built a Nauy; and he became Lord of the greatest part of the Sea, that both commanded the Iles called *Cyclades*, and also was the first that sent Colonies into most of the same, expelling thence the *Carians*,

E and constituting his owne Sonnes there for Gouernours, sight also faced the Seas of Pirates, as much as lee could,

The originall of the name *Hellen*.

* *The name of Hellenes not given to all the Greekes in the time that* Homer *writ his Poemes.*

The *Troian* Warre was the first Enterprise where the *Grecians* combined their Forces.

Minos, King of Crete, the first that had a Nauy.

* *Before that time all was called* Caribe Pelasgia.

for the better commodity of their liuing by it, in the Re-
uenue. A

A Digression, touching the Piracie & Robberies of old time; with other Notes of Saluagenesse.

For the Grecians in old time, and such Barbarians as, in the Continent, liued neere vnto the Sea coast, & so inhabited the Ilands, after that they beganne to passe ouer one to another in Ships, became Theeues, and ordered themselues vnder the conduct of their most puissant men both to enrich themselues, and to liue in maintenance of the weake and falling vpon Townes vnfortified, and seuerally inhabited, rifled them, and made that the best meanes of their liuing. Being a matter at that time no whit in B
disgrace, but rather carrying with it something of glory. This is manifest by some that dwell on the Continent, amongst whom, so it be performed Nobly, it is still esteemed as an Ornament. The same also is prooued by some of the ancient Poets, who introduce men questioning of such as saile by, on all Coasts alike, whether they be theeues or not, as nothing reproachfull to such as were asked, nor vpbraided by those that were desirous to know. They also robbed one another within the maine Land: And much of Greece vvith the old customes, as the Locrians called Ozole, the Aetolians, and those of the Continent in that quarter, vse this day. Moreouer, the fashion of wearing Iron remaineth yet with the people of that Continent, from their old Trade of Thieuing. C

Continuall wearing of Armour in fashion.

For once they were vvont throughout all Greece, to goe armed, because their Houses were vnfenced, and trauailing was vnsafe, and accustomed themselues, like the Barbarians, to the ordinary vvearing of their Armour. And the Nations of Greece that liue yet, doe testifie, that the same manner of life was anciently vniuersall vvith all the rest. D
Amongst whom, the Athenians were the first that laid by their Armour and growing ciuill, fashioned into a more tender kinde of life. And such of the Rich as vvere any thing stepped into yeeres, layd away, vpon the same delicacie, not long after, the fashion of vvearing linnen Coates, and * golden Grashoppers, which they vvere vvont to binde vp in the locks of their hairs, from whence also the same Fashion, by reason of their affinity, remained a long time in vse amongst the auncient Ionians. And the tenderer kind of Garments, and more conformable to the liuing of these E
times, was first taken vp by the Lacedaemonians, amongst

whom

Robbing had in honour.

† In diuerse places of Locrians, called Opuntij.

Continuall wearing of Armour in fashion.

The Athenians ciuill.

* The Athenians fastned them, as it seemeth, to be vvorne from the ground they liued on, vnder their chinnes, for a binding ornament, thinking that Beast is thought to be generated of the Earth.

A whom also both in other things, and especially in the cul-
ture of their bodies, the Nobility observed the most equal-
ity with the Commons. The same were also the first,
that when they were conversant in the * Olympicke Games,
strips themselves naked, and anointed their bodies with
ointment; whereas in ancient times, the Champions did
also in the Olympicke Games use Breeches, nor is it many
yeares since this custome ceased. Also there are to this
day amongst the Barbarians especially those of Asia, Prizes
propounded of fighting with fists, and of Wrestling, and
B the Combatants about their priuie parts, weare Breeches
in the Exercise. It may likewise by many other things
be demonstrated, that the old Grecians vsed the same forme
of life, that is now in force amongst the Barbarians of the
present Age.

As for Cities, such as are of late Foundation, and since
the increase of Nauigation, in as much as they haue had
since more plenty of riches, haue beene walled about, and
built vpon the Shore, and haue taken vp Isthmi, [that is
to say, necks of Land betweene Sea and Sea] both for Mer-
C chandise, and for the better strength against Confiners.
But the old Cities, men hauing beene in those times, for
the most part, infested by Theeues, are built further vp,
as well in the Ilands, as in the Continent. For others also
that dwelt on the Sea side, though not Seamen, yet
they molested one another with Robberies, and liued to
these times, those people as planted vp high in the
Country.

This these Robberies were the exercise especially of the
Ilanders, namely, the Carians and the Phœnicians, for by
D them were the greatest part of the * Ilands inhabited.
Testimony whereof, is this: The Athenians, when in this
present Warre they hallowed the Ile of Delos, and had
digged vp the Sepulchers of the Dead, found that more
than halfe of them were Carians, * knowne so to be, both
by the armour buried with them, and also by their manner
of burial at this day. And when Minos his Nauy rids
E seas, Nauigation had the Sea more free. For he
expelled the Malefactors out of the Ilands, and in the most
of them planted Colonies of his owne. By which meanes,
they who inhabited the Sea coasts, becomming more ad-
dicted to Riches, grew more obedient to their Gouernours,

* Exercises of diuers kindes instituted in honour of Iupiter, at Olympia in Peloponnesus, to which resorted such out of Greece, as contended for Prize.

* The Cyclades.

* Vide Lib. 3. in the beginning.

* The Custome hereof was to weare the Crest of the Helmet, and the handle of the Target, and also the drawing of Images on their Targets, head-wise ore a Helmet and a Buckler buryed with them, and had their heads laid towards the West.

of whom, some growne now rich, compassed their Townes about with Walls. For out of desire of gaine, the meaner sort vnderwent seruitude with the mighty; and the mighty with their wealth, brought the lesser Cities into subiection. And so it came to passe, that rising to power, they proceeded afterward to the Warre against Troy.

And so me it seemeth, that Agamemnon got together that Fleet, not so much for that hee had with him the Suters of Helena, bound thereby vnto Tyndarus, as for this, that hee exceeded the rest in power. For they that by tradition of their Ancestours, know the most certainety of the Acts of the Peloponnesians, say, That first, Pelops, by the abundance of wealth which he brought with him out of Asia, (to men in want) obtained such power amongst them, as, though hee were a Stranger, yet the Countrey was called after his name. And that this power was also increased by his Posterity. For, Euristhem being slaine in Attica, by the Heraclides, Atreus, that was his Vncle by the Mother, (and was then dwelling with him as a Voluntary person, for feare of his Father, for the death of Chrysippus) and to whom Euristhem, when he vndertooke the Expedition, had committed his Realme, and the gouernment thereof, for that he was his Kinsman; when as Euristhem came not backe, (the Mycenians being willing to it, for feare of the Heraclides, and because he was an able man, and made much of the Common people) obtained the Kingdome of Mycenæ, and of whatsoeuer else was vnder Euristhem, for himselfe: And the power of the Pelopides became greater then that of the Persides. To which greatnesse Atreus, excelling in warre, and also farre excelling the rest in Shipping, tooke this Warre in hand, as I conceiue it, and assembled the said Forces, not so much vpon kindnesse, as by feare. For it is cleere, that he himselfe both confirmed most Ships to that Action, and that gone also hee lent to the Arcadians. * And this is likewise declared by Homer (if any thinke his authority sufficient) who, at the deliuery of the Scepter vnto him, calleth him, Of many Ilis, and of all the Sea. Vnto he could not (living in the Continent, hauing Islands round about him) haue obtained such a power, but vpon Land: Hee had the Ilands (as then such as were inhabited) which either hee himselfe had also had, Nauplia. And by this Expedition, we are to estimate what were those of the Ages before it.

Now

The Argiues and Troians, Subiects of Atreus, the Sonne of Pelops.

b Thyestes the Brother of Atreus, deuised (out of enuie of Atreus, that had an Oath of all his Daughters Sisters, that if violence were done to him that obtained her, all the rest should helpe to reuenge it. And that Menelaus hauing married her, and Paris the Sonne of Priam, King of Troy taken her away, Agamemnon, in the behalfe of his Brother Menelaus drew all Greece to the Siege of Troy.

Peloponnesus, so called from Pelops.

The increase of the power of the Pelopians.

* A hundred and more of men, whereof was Hercules. This Family was persecuted by Euristhens, who was of the House of Perseus, and driven into Attica, thither he following them, was slaine by the Athenians.

d Astidamia, the Mother of Euristhens, was Atreus his Sister.

* Atreus and Thyestes, Sonnes of Pelops, at the importune of their Mother, slew this Crysippus, who was their half Brother, by the Father, and sent him to Euristhens.

Atreus King of Argos after the death of Pelops.

* The House of Pelops.

f The House of Perseus.

* & The Sonne of Atreus, hayre to the power of both Houses, both of the Pelopeides and Perseides.

A Now seeing *Mycene* was but a small Citie, or if any o-
ther of that Age seeme but of light regard: let not any man
for that cause, on so weake an Argument, thinke that
Fleet to haue beene lesse then the Poets haue said, and
Fame reported it to bee. For, if the City of *Lacedæmon*
were now desolate, and nothing of it left, but the Tem-
ples, and floores of the buildings, I thinke it would breed
much vnbeliefe in posterity long hence, of their power,
in comparison of the Fame. For although of fiue parts
of *Peloponnesus*, it possesse * two, and hath the leading of
B the rest, and also of many Confederates without; yet the
Citie being not close built, and the Temples and other E-
difices not costly, and because it is but scatteringly inhabi-
ted, after the ancient manner of *Greece*, their power would
seeme inferiour to the report. Against the same things
happening to *Athens*, one would coniecture by the sight
of their Citie, that their power were double to what it is.
Wee ought not therefore to bee incredulous, [concerning
the Forces that went to *Troy*,] nor haue in regard so much
the externall shew of a Citie, as the power: but we are
C to thinke, that that Expedition was indeed greater then
those that went before it, but yet inferiour to those of the
present Age; if in this also we may credit the Poetry of
Homer, who being a Poet, was like to set it foorth to the
vtmost. And yet euen thus it commeth short. For hee
maketh it to consist of 1200. Vessels; those that were
of *Bœotians*, carrying 120. men apiece, and those which
came with *Philoctetes*, 50. Setting forth, as I suppose, both
the greatest sort, and the least, and therefore of the big-
nesse of any of the rest, hee maketh in his Catalogue, no
D mention at all; but declareth, that they who were in the
Vessels of *Philoctetes*, serued both as Mariners and Souldi-
ers; for he writes, that they who were at the Oare, were
all of them Archers. And for such as wrought not, it
is not likely that many went along, except * Kings, and
such as were in chiefe authority, especially being to passe
the Sea with Munition of Warre, and in Bottomes with-
out Deckes, built after the old and Piraticall fashion. So
then, if by the greatest and least, one estimate the meane
of their Shipping, it will appeare, that the whole num-
E ber of men considered, as sent ioyntly from all *Greece*, were
not very many. And the cause hereof was not so much
want

Mycene, though no great Citie, yet was of great power.

* 1. *Laconia*. 2. *Arcadia*. 3. *Argolica*. 4. *Messenia*. 5. *Elis*. *Morea*.

* *Laconia*, *Messenia*.

The City of *Sparta* lesse, and the City of *Athens*, greater, then for the proportion of their power.

A Survey of the Fleet sent to *Troy*.

* As Achyles, Vlysses, Ajax, Diomedes, Patroclus, *and the like.*

* *The whole number of men, estimating the Ships at a medium to carry 85. men apiece, which is the meane betweene 120. and 50, come to 101000. men, carried in these 1200. Ships. Yet the Author makes it a light matter in respect of the present warre.*

want of men, as of wealth. For, for want of victuall, they carryed the lesser Army, and no greater then they hoped might both follow the Warre, and also maintaine it selfe. Whereupon their arriuall, they had gotten the vpper hand in fight, (which is manifest, for else they could not haue fortified their Campe) it appeares, that from that time forward, they employed not there their whole power, but that for want of victuall, they betooke themselues, part of them to the tillage of *Chersonesus*, and part to fetch in Booties: whereby diuided, the *Troians* the more easily made that tenne yeeres resistance; as being euer a Match for so many as remained at the Siege. Whereas, if they had gone furnished with store of prouision, and with all their Forces, eased of Boothaling and Tillage, since they were Masters of the Field, they had also easily taken the Citie. But they strooe not with their whole power, but onely with such a portion of their Army, as at the seuerall occasions chanced to bee present: when as, if they had pressed the Siege, they had woone the place, both in lesse time, and with lesse labour. But through want of money, not onely they were weake matters all that preceded this Enterprize; but also this, (which is of greater name then any before it) appeareth to bee in fact beneath the Fame, and report, which, by meanes of the Poets, now goeth of it.

The pouerty of the *Greekes* was the cause why the *Troians* could so long hold out.

For also after the *Trojan* Warre, the *Grecians* continued still their shiftings, and transplantations; insomuch as neuer resting, they improued not their power. For the late returne of the *Greekes* from *Ilium*, caused not a little innouation; and in most of the Cities there arose seditions; and those which were driven out, built Cities for themselues in other places. For those that are now called *Bœotians*, in the sixtieth yeere after the taking of *Troy*, expelled *Arne* by the *Thessalians*, seated themselues in that Country, which now *Bœotia*, was then called *Cadmeis*. (But there was in the same, a certaine portion of that Nation before, of whom also were they, that went to the Warfare of *Troy*.) And in the eightieth yeere, the *Doreans*, together with the *Heracleides*, seazed on *Peloponnesus*. And with much adoe, after long time, *Greece* had constant rest; and shifting their seates no longer, at length sent Colonies abroad. And the *Athenians* planted *Ionia*, and most of the Ilands,

The state of *Greece*, after the *Troian Warre*.

Bœotia, more anciently *Cadmeis*.

The *Ionians* were the Colonies of the *Athenians*.

A Ilands; and the *Peloponneſians*, moſt of *Italy*, and *Sicily*, and alſo certaine parts of the reſt of *Greece*. But theſe Colonies were all planted after the *Trojan* Warre.

But when the power of *Greece* was now improoued, and the deſire of money withall, their reuenues being enlarged, in moſt of the Cities there were erected Tyrannies: (for before that time, Kingdomes with honours limited, were hereditary.) And the *Grecians* built Nauies, and became more ſeriouſly addicted to the affaires of the Sea. The *Corinthians* are ſaid to haue been the B firſt that changed the forme of ſhipping, into the neereſt to that which is now in vſe; and at *Corinth* are reported to haue beene made the firſt Gallies of all *Greece*. Now it is well knowne, that *Aminocles* the Ship-wright of *Corinth*, built 4. Ships at *Samos*. And from the time that *Aminocles* went to *Samos*, vntill the end of this preſent Warre, are at the moſt but 300. yeeres. And the moſt ancient mauall Battaile that we know of, was fought betweene the * *Corinthians* and the *Corcyræans*, and from that Battaile to the ſame time, are but 260. yeeres. For *Corinth* ſeated on an C *Iſthmus*, had beene alwaies a place of Traffique; becauſe the *Grecians* of old, from within and without *Peloponneſus*, trading by Land more then by Sea, had no other intercourſe one to another, but thorow the *Corinthians* Territory. And was alſo wealthy in money, as appeares by the Poets, who haue ſurnamed this Towne *the Rich*. And after the *Grecians* had cõmerce alſo by Sea, then likewiſe hauing furniſhed themſelues with a Nauy, they ſcowred the Sea of Pirates; and affording Traffique both by Sea and Land, mightily increaſed their City in reuenue of money. After D this, the *Iõnians* in the times of *Cyrus*, firſt King of the *Perſians*, and of his Sonne *Cambyſes*, got together a great Nauie, and making warre on *Cyrus*, obtained for a time the dominion of that part of the Sea that lyeth on their owne Coaſt. Alſo *Polycrates*, who in the time of *Cambyſes*, Tyrannized in *Samos*, had a ſtrong Nauy, wherewith he ſubdued divers of the Ilands; and amongſt the reſt, hauing wonne *Rhenea*, hee conſecrated the ſame to *Apollo* of *Delos*. The * *Phocæans* likewiſe, when they were building the Citty of *Marſeilles*, ouercame the *Carthagineans* in a fight E at Sea.

Theſe were the greateſt Nauies extant, and yet euen

The difference betweene Tyranny, and regall Authority.

At *Corinth* were made the firſt *Triremes*, or Gallies of three tire of Oares, one aboue another.

* *By this it appeares, that* Thucydides *out-lined the whole warre.*

* *By* Periander, *the Tyrant of* Corinth, *for the ſlaughter of his Sonne* Lycophron. Herod. in Thalia.

The meanes of the wealth of *Corinth*.

Corinth ſurnamed *the Rich*.

The *Ionians* had a Nauy in *Cyrus* his time.

Polycrates Tyrant of *Samos*, had a Nauy in the time of *Cambyſes*.

* *The* Phocæans *in the time of* Tarquinius, *came into the Mouth of* Tyber, *entred into amity with the* Romans, *and thence went and built* Marſeilles *amongſt the Sauage Nations, of the* Liguriens, *and* Gaules. Iuſtin. l. 43.

theſe, though many Ages after the time of *Troy*, conſiſted A
is it ſeemes, but of a few Gallies, and were made vp with
Veſſels of fiftie Oares, and with long Boates, as well as
thoſe of former times. And it was but a little before the
* Medan Warre, and death of *Darius*, ſucceſſor of *Cambyſes*
in the Kingdome of *Perſia*, that the Tyrants of *Sicily*, and
the *Coecyreans* had of Gallies any number. For theſe * laſt,
were the onely Nauies worth ſpeaking of, in all *Greece*,
before the invaſion of the *Medes*. And the People of
Aegina, and the *Athenians*, had but ſmall ones, and the moſt
of them conſiſting but of fifty Oares a piece; and that ſo B
lately, as but from the time, that the *Athenians* making
Warre on *Aegina*, and withall expecting the comming of
the *Barbarian*, at the perſwaſion of *Themiſtocles*, built thoſe
Ships, which they vſed in that Warre; and theſe alſo,
not all had Deckes.

Such were then the Nauies of the *Greekes*, both ancient
and moderne. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch as applyed themſelues
to naual buſineſſe, gained by them no ſmall power, both
in reuenue of money, and in dominion ouer other people.
For with their Nauies (eſpecially thoſe men that had not C
ſufficient Land, where they inhabited, to maintaine them-
ſelues) they ſubdued the *Ilands*. But as for Warre by
Land, ſuch as any State might acquire power by, there
was none at all. And ſuch as were, were onely betweene
Borderer and Borderer. For the *Grecians* had neuer yet
gone out with any Army to conquer any Nation far from
home; becauſe the leſſer Cities, neither brought in their
Forces to the great ones, as Subiects, nor concurred as E-
quals, in any common Enterprize; but ſuch as were neigh-
bours, warred againſt each other, hand to hand. For the D
Warre of old, betweene the *Chalcideans* and the *Eretrians*,
was it, wherein the reſt of *Greece* was moſt divided, and in
league with either partie.

As others by other meanes were kept backe from grow-
ing great, ſo alſo the *Ionians* by this, That the *Perſian* Af-
faires proſpering, *Cyrus* and the *Perſian* Kingdome, after the
defeat of *Craeſus*, made warre vpon all that lyeth from the
Riuer *Halys* to the Sea ſide, and ſo ſubdued all the Citties
which they poſſeſſed in the Continent. & *Darius* afterward,
when he had ouercome the *Phœniſsian* Fleet, did the like E
vnto them in the Ilands.

And

* Medes *and* Perſians *vſed here promiſcuouſly the* Me-
dan *Monarchy, being tranſ-
lated to the* Perſians.
* *Of the* Corinthians, Io-
nians, *and* Phocæans.

Egina.

The ſhipping of *Greece*
very meane before this
Warre.

The cauſes why the *Gre-
cians* neuer ioyned their
forces in any great
action.

The *Ionians* kept downe
by the *Perſian*.

A And as for the Tyrants that were in the *Grecian* Cities, who forecasted onely for themselues, how, with as much safety as was possible, to looke to their owne persons, and their owne Families, they resided for the most part in the Cities, and did no Action worthy of memory, vnlesse it were against their neighbours: for, as for the Tyrants of *Sicily*, they were already arrived at greater power. Thus was *Greece* for a long time hindred, that neither ioyntly it could doe any thing remarkable, nor the Cities singly be adventrous.

B But after that the * Tyrants both of *Athens*, and of the rest of *Greece*, where Tyrannies were, were the most, and last of them (excepting those of *Sicily*, put downe by the *Lacedæmonians*, (for *Lacedæmon*, after it was built by the *Doreans* that inhabited the same, though it hath bin longer troubled with seditions, then any other Citie we know, yet hath it had for the longest time, good Laws, and bin also alwaies free from Tyrants. For it is vnto the end of this Warre, 400. yeeres, and somewhat more, that the *Lacedæmonians* haue vsed one and the same gouernment: and thereby be-

C ing of power themselues, they also ordered the Affaires in the other Cities) [I say] after the dissolution of Tyrannies in *Greece*, it was not long before the Battaile was fought by the *Medes*, against the *Athenians*, in the Fields of *Marathon*. And in the tenth yeere againe after that, came the * *Barbarian*, with the * great Fleet into *Greece*, to subdue it. And *Greece* being now in great danger, the leading of the *Grecians* that leagued in that Warre, was giuen to the *Lacedæmonians*, as to the most potent State. And the *Athenians*, who had purposed so much before, and

D already stowed their necessaries, at the comming in of the *Medes*, went * a ship-boord, and became Sea-men. When they had ioyntly beaten backe the *Barbarian*, then did the *Grecians*, both such as were reuolted from the King, and such as had in dominion made Warre vpon him, not long after, deuide themselues into Leagues, one part with the *Athenians*, and the other with the *Lacedæmonians*; these two Cities appearing to be the mightiest, for this had the power by Land, and the other by Sea. But this Confederation lasted but a while: for af-

E terwards, the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*, being at variance, warred each on other, together with their seuerall Confederates.

* Pisistratus *and his sonnes.*

The *Lacedæmonians* put downe the Tyrants through all *Greece.*

* *Xerxes.*

* A Fleet of 1200. Gallies, and 2000. Hulks of the round manner of building. *Corn. Nepos in vita Themistoclis.*

* *The* Athenians *being admonished by the Oracle, for their safety against the* Medes, *to put themselues within Walls of wood:* Themistocles *interpreting the Oracle, they went into their Gallies.*

All *Greece* deuided into two Leagues, the *Lacedæmonians* and their League, and the *Athenians* and their League.

* *This Alliance began vpon this, That Cimon hauing procured from the Lacedæmonians against the Helots, was sent backe with his Athenians, out of distrust the Lacedæmonians had of their forward spirits: which the* Athenians *tooke for a disgrace.*

Confederates. And the reſt of *Greece*, where any diſcord A
chanced to ariſe, had recourſe preſently to one of theſe. In
ſo much, that from the Warre of the *Medes* to this preſent
Warre, being continually [exerciſed,] ſometimes in peace,
ſometimes in Warre, either one againſt the other, or againſt
revolted Confederates, they arrived at this Warre, both
well furniſhed with Military proviſions, and alſo expert,
becauſe their practice was with danger.

The manner how the *Lacedæmonians* dealt with their Confederates.

The *Lacedæmonians* governed not their Confederates ſo,
as to make them Tributaries, but onely drew them by
faire meanes to embrace the * *Oligarchy*, convenient to their B
owne Policy. But the *Athenians*, having with time, taken
into their hands the Gallies of all thoſe that ſtood out,
(except the *Chians* and *Lesbians*) * reigned over them, and
ordained euery of them to pay a certaine tribute of money.
By which meanes, their * owne particular proviſion was
greater in the beginning of this Warre, then when in their
flouriſhing time, the League betweene them and the reſt
of *Greece* remaining whole, it was at the moſt.

*The gouernment of the Few, that is to ſay, of the Nobility.

The manner how the *Athenians* handled their Confederates.

* *Hence it is, that through all this Hiſtory,* Subiects *and* Confederates *are taken for the ſame thing, eſpecially with the* Athenians.

Such then I finde to haue beene the ſtate of things paſt,
hard to be beleeued, though one produce proofe for euery C
particular thereof. *For Men receiue the report of things, though of their owne Countrey, if done before their owne time, all alike, from one as from another, without examination.*

Digreſſion, to ſhew how negligently men receiue the fame of things paſt, by the example of their error touching the Story of *Hippias* the ſonne of *Piſiſtratus*, which it ſeemes he willingly mentions, both heere and heereafter, on light occaſion.

For the vulgar ſort of *Athenians* thinke, that *Hipparchus*
was the Tyrant, and ſlaine by *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogeiton*;
and know not that *Hippias* had the gouernment, as being
the eldeſt ſonne of *Piſiſtratus*, and that *Hipparchus* and *Theſſa-*
lus were his brethren; and that *Harmodius* and *Ariſtogeiton*,
ſuſpecting that ſome of their Complices had that day, and
at that inſtant, diſcouered vnto *Hippias* ſomewhat of their D
treaſon, did forbeare *Hippias*, as a man forewarned, and de-
ſirous to effect ſomewhat, though with danger, before
they ſhould be apprehended, lighting on *Hipparchus*, ſlew
him, neere the Temple called *Leocorium*, whileſt he was
ſetting forth the * *Panathenaicall* Show. And likewiſe
diuers other things now extant, and which Time hath not
yet involued in oblivion, haue beene conceiued amiſſe by
other *Grecians*; as that the Kings of *Lacedæmon*, in gi-
uing their ſuffrages, had not ſingle, but double Votes.
And that * *Pitanate* was a band of Souldiers, ſo called E
there, whereas there was neuer any ſuch. *So impatient of*

labour

* Panathenaica, *were Solemnities inſtituted by* Theſeus, *in memory of that he had driuen together all the* Athenians *that liued diſperſed in* Attica, *into the Citie of* Athens Pauſ. in Arcad.

* Lucan *ſeemeth to retaine the ſame errour, in* Harmodius.

* *A Tribe of the* Lacedæmonians.

A *labour are the moſt men, in the ſearch of truth, and embrace ſooneſt, the things that are next to hand.*

Now he, that by the Arguments heere adduced, ſhall frame a Iudgement of the things paſt, and not beleeue rather, that they were ſuch as the Poets haue ſung, or Proſe-writers haue compoſed, more delightfully to the eare, then conformably to the truth, as being things not to bee diſprooued, and by length of time, turned for the moſt part into the nature of Fables without credit; but ſhall thinke them heere ſearched out, by the moſt euident ſignes
B that can be, and ſufficiently too, conſidering their antiquity; hee, I ſay, ſhall not erre. And though men alwaies iudge the preſent Warre wherein they liue, to be greateſt; and when it is paſt, admire more thoſe that were before it; yet if they conſider of this Warre, by the Acts done in the ſame, it will manifeſt it ſelfe to bee greater, then any of thoſe before mentioned.

What particular perſons haue ſpoken, when they were about to enter into the Warre, or when they were in it, were hard for mee to remember exactly, whether they
C were ſpeeches which I haue heard my ſelfe, or haue receiued at the ſecond hand. But as any man ſeemed, to mee, that knew what was neereſt to the * ſumme of the truth, of all that hath beene vttered, to ſpeake moſt agreeably to the matter ſtill in hand, ſo haue I made it ſpoken heere. But of the Acts themſelues done in the Warre, I thought not fit to write all that I heard from all Authors, nor ſuch as I my ſelfe did but thinke to bee true; but onely thoſe whereat I was my ſelfe preſent; and thoſe of which with all diligence I had made particular enquirie. And
D yet euen of thoſe things, it was hard to know the certainty, becauſe ſuch as were preſent at every Action, ſpake not all after the ſame manner, but as they were affected to the Parts, or as they could remember.

To heare this Hiſtory rehearſed, for that there bee inſerted in it no Fables, ſhall bee perhaps not delightfull: But hee that deſires to looke into the truth of things done, and which (according to the condition of humanity) may bee done againe, or at leaſt, their like, hee ſhall finde enough heerein, to make him thinke it profitable: And it
E is compiled rather for an * EVERLASTING POSSESSION, then to be * rehearſed for a Prize.

The diligence of the Author in the enquirie of the truth of what he wrote: both touching the Orations, and the Actions.

**To the analogie and fitneſſe of what was to be ſaid: ſo that though he vſed not their words, yet he vſed the arguments that beſt might ſerue to the purpoſe, which at any time was in hand.*

The vſe of this Hiſtory.

** Τὴμα ἐς ἀεί.*

** Both Poets and Hiſtoriographers of old, recited their Hiſtories to captate glory. This emulation of glory in their writings, he calleth ἀγώνισμα.*

The greatnesse of the present Warre.
* when Xerxes invaded them.
* 2 Battels by Sea, viz. one at Salamis, and the other at Mycale in Ionia. And 2. by Land, one at Thermopylæ, and the other at Platea.

The greatest Action before this, was that against the A
*Medes, and yet that, by * two Battels by Sea, and as many by Land, was soone decided. But, as for this Warre, it both lasted long, and the harme it did to *Greece*, was such, as the like, in the like space, had never beene seene before. For neither had there euer bin so many Cities expugned, and made desolate, what by the *Barbarians*, and what by the *Greekes* warring on one another, (and some Cities there were, that when they were taken, changed their inhabitants;) nor so much banishing and slaughter, some by the Warre, some by sedition, as was in this. And those things which con- B
cerning former time, there went a fame of, but in fact rarely confirmed, were now made credible. As Earthquakes, generall to the greatest part of the World, and most violent withall; Eclipses of the Sunne, oftner then is reported of any former time; Great droughts in some places, and thereby Famine; and that which did none of the least hurt, but destroyed also its part, the Plague. All these Euils entred together with this Warre, which began from the time that the *Athenians* and *Peloponnesians* brake the League, which immediately after the Conquest C
of *Eubœa, had beene concluded betweene them for thirty yeeres. The Causes why they brake the same, and their Quarrels, I haue therefore set downe first, because no man should bee to seeke, from what ground so great a Warre amongst the *Grecians* could arise. And the truest Quarrell, though least in speech, I conceiue to bee the growth of the *Athenian* power, which putting the *Lacedæmonians* into feare, necessitated the Warre. But the Causes of the breach of the League, publikely voyced, were these. D

Earthquakes, Eclipses, Famine, Pestilence, concomitants of this Warre.

*Negroponte.
* By the *Athenians*.

The causes of the Warre. Feare necessitates the Warre in the *Lacedemonians*.

The first pretext. *Dyrrhachium. Durazzo.*
Now the Gulfe of *Venice*, called so from *Ius* an *Illyrian*. *Illyrij*, now *Slauonia*, and *Dalmatia*.
* Inhabitants of Corcyra, now Corfu.
* Corcyra was a Colony of Corinth, and Epidamnus of Corcyra.

EPIDAMNVS is a Citie scituate on the right hand to such as enter into the *Ionian* Gulfe, bordering vpon it, are the *Taulantij, Barbarians*, a people of *Illyris*. This was planted by the *Corcyræans*, but Captaine of the Colony, was one *Phalius*, the sonne of *Eurytides* a *Corinthian*, of the linage of *Hercules*, and according to an ancient Custome, called to this charge out of the * Metropolitan Citie; besides that the Colony it selfe, consisted in part, of *Corinthians*, and others of the *Dorique* Nation. In E
processe of time, the Citie of *Epidamnus*, became great and populous;

populous; and hauing for many yeeres together beene annoyed with ſedition, was by a Warre, as is reported, made vpon them by the confining *Barbarians*, brought low, and deprived of the greateſt part of their power. But that which was the laſt accident before this Warre, was, that the Nobility, forced by the Commons to fly the Cittie, went and ioyned with the *Barbarians*, and both by Land and Sea, robbed thoſe that remained within. The *Epidamnians* that were in the Towne, oppreſſed in this manner, ſent their Ambaſſadours to * *Corcyra*, as being their Mother Cittie, praying the *Corcyræans* not to ſee them periſh, but to reconcile vnto them, thoſe whom they had driven forth, and to put an end to the *Barbarian* Warre. And this they intreated in the forme of * *Suppliants*, ſitting downe in the Temple of *Iuno*. But the *Corcyræans*, not admitting their *ſupplication*, ſent them away againe, without effect. The *Epidamnians* now deſpairing of reliefe from the *Corcyræans*, and at a ſtand how to proceed in their preſent affaires, ſending to *Delphi*, enquired at the *Oracle*, whether it were not beſt to deliuer vp their Citie into the hands of the *Corinthians*, as of their Founders, and make tryall what ayde they ſhould obtaine from thence. And when the Oracle had anſwered, *That they ſhould deliuer it, and take the* Corinthians *for their Leaders*, they went to *Corinth*, and according to the aduice of the Oracle, gaue their Citie to them, and declared how the firſt Founder of it was a *Corinthian*, and what anſwer the Oracle had giuen them, intreating their helpe, and that they would not ſtand by, beholding their deſtruction. And the *Corinthians* vndertooke their defence, not onely for the equity of the cauſe, (as thinking them no leſſe their owne, then the *Corcyræans* Colonie) but alſo for hatred of the *Corcyræans*, who being their Colony, yet contemned them, and allowed them not their due honour in publique meetings, nor in the diſtribution of the Sacrifice, began at a *Corinthian*, as was the cuſtome of other Colonies; but being equall to the richeſt *Græcians* of their time, for ſtore of money, and ſtrongly furniſhed with ammunition of Warre, had them in contempt. Alſo they ſticked not ſometimes to boaſt how much they excelled in ſhipping; and that *Corcyra* had beene once inhabited by the * *Phæaces*, who flouriſhed in glory of nauall affaires; which was al-

ſo

* *Corfu.*

* *Either the* Epidamnians, *had offended the* Corcyræans, *or the manner was in thoſe times, to take* Sanctuary, *not only for crimes, but for obtaining aid in extremities, tacitely diſclaiming all other helpe, ſaue that of the Gods, and thoſe to whom they made ſupplication.*

The *Epidamnians* neglected by their Mother Cittie, *Corcyra*, procure the protection of the *Corinthians*.

* *By* Homer *this Ile is called* Phæacia.

ſo the cauſe, why they the rather prouided themſelues of a Nauie; and they were indeed not without power that way; for when they began this Warre, they had 120. Gallies. The *Corinthians* therefore hauing all theſe criminations, againſt them, relieued *Epidamnus* willingly, not only giuing leaue to whoſoeuer would, to goe and dwell there, but alſo ſent thither a Garriſon of *Ambraciotes*, *Leucadians*, and of their owne Citizens; which ſuccours, for feare the *Corcyræans* ſhould haue hindred their paſſage by Sea, marched by Land to *Apollonia*. The *Corcyræans* vnderſtanding that new inhabitants, and a Garriſon were gone to *Epidamnus*, and that the Colonie was deliuered to the *Corinthians*, were vexed extremely at the ſame; and ſayling preſently thither, with 25. Gallies, and afterwards with another Fleet, in an inſolent manner cõmanded them, both to recall thoſe whom they had baniſhed, (for theſe * baniſhed men of *Epidamnus*, had beene now at *Corcyra*, and pointing to the Sepulchers of their Anceſtors, and claiming kindred, had intreated the *Corcyræans* to reſtore them) and to ſend away the Garriſon and Inhabitants ſent thither by the *Corinthians*. But the *Epidamnians* gaue no eare to their commandements. Whereupon, the *Corcyræans* with forty Gallies, together with the baniſhed men, (whom they pretended to reduce) and with the *Illyrians*, whom they had ioyned to their part, warred vpon them; and hauing laid Siege to the Citty, made Proclamation, that ſuch of the *Epidamnians* as would, and all ſtrangers, might depart ſafely, or otherwiſe, were to bee proceeded againſt as Enemies. But when this prevailed not, the place being an *Iſthmus*, they enclozed the Citty in on euery ſide. The *Corinthians*, when newes was brought from *Epidamnus*, how it was beſieged, preſently made ready their Armie, and at the ſame time cauſed a Proclamation to bee made, for the ſending thither of a Colony, and that ſuch as would goe, ſhould haue equall and like priuiledges, with thoſe that were there before: and that ſuch as deſired to bee ſharers in the ſame, and yet were vnwilling to goe along in perſon, at that preſent, if they would contribute 50. *Corinthian* Drachmaes, might ſtay behind. And they were very many, both that went, and that laid downe their ſiluer. Moreouer, they ſent to the *Megareans*, for feare of being ſtopped in their paſſage by the *Corcyræans*, to ayde them

A B C D E

The *Corinthians* ſend inhabitants to *Epidamnus*.

The *Corcyræans* angry at the aydes ſent by the *Corinthians*, make Warre on *Epidamnus*.

* φυγάδες. *Diuers occaſions force men from their Country. Sentence of Law which is commonly called Baniſhment. Proſcription, when the Sentence is death, for which cauſe they fly into baniſhment: But thoſe that are here meant, are ſuch as in Seditions being the weaker Faction, fly for feare of being murdered, which I call heere, baniſhed men; or might call them perhaps better Outlawes or Fugitiues, but neither of them properly. The* Florentines, *and other places of* Italy, *that were or are Democraticall, wherein ſuch baniſhment can only happen, call thẽ properly* Fuoruſciti.

The *Corcyræans beſiege* Epidamnus.

The *Corinthians* ſend an Armie to relieue it.

A them with ſome Gallies, who accordingly furniſhed out 8. the Citizens of *Pale* in *Cephalonia*, 4. They alſo required Gallies of the *Epidaurians*, who ſent them 5. the Citizens of *Hermione*, 1. the *Træzenians*, 2. the *Leucadians*, 10. the *Ambraciotes*, 8. Of the *Thebans* and *Phliaſians* they required money; of the *Eleans*, both money, & empty Gallies; and of the *Corinthians* themſelues, there were ready 30. Gallies, and 3000. * men of Armes. The *Corcyræans*, aduertiſed of this preparation, went to *Corynth*, in company of the Ambaſſadors of the *Lacedæmonians*, & of the *Sycionians*, whom they took with them, B and required the *Corinthians* to recall the Garriſon and Inhabitants, which they had ſent to *Epidamnus*, as being a City, they ſaid, wherwith they had nothing to do; or if they had any thing to alledge, they were content to haue the cauſe iudicially tryed, in ſuch Citties of *Peloponneſus*, as they ſhould both agree on, and they then ſhould hold the Colonie, to whom the ſame ſhould be adiudged. They ſaid alſo, That they were content to referre their cauſe to the Oracle at *Delphi*: that Warre they would make none, but if they muſt needes haue it, they ſhould by the vio- C lence of them, be forced in their owne defence, to ſeeke out * better friends then thoſe whom they already had. To this the *Corinthians* anſwered, that if they would put off with their Fleet, and diſmiſſe the *Barbarians* from before *Epidamnus*, they would then conſult of the matter: for before they could not honeſtly doe it: Becauſe whileſt they ſhould bee pleading the caſe, the *Epidamnians* ſhould be ſuffering the miſery of a Siege. The *Corcyræans* replyed to this, That if they would call backe thoſe men of theirs already in *Epidamnus*, that then they alſo would D doe, as the *Corinthians* had required them; or otherwiſe, they were content to let the men on both ſides ſtay where they were, and to ſuſpend the Warre, till the cauſe ſhould be decided. The *Corinthians* not aſſenting to any of theſe propoſitions, ſince their Gallies were manned, and their Confederates preſent, hauing defyed them firſt by a Herald, put to Sea with 75. Gallies, and * 2000. men of Armes, and ſet ſayle for *Epidamnus*, againſt the *Corcyræans*. Their Fleet was commanded by *Ariſtæus*, the ſonne of *Pellicas*, *Callicrates*, the ſonne of *Callias*, and *Timanor* the ſonne of *Timanthes*: and the Land Forces by *Archetimus*, the ſonne of *Eurytimus*, and *Iſarchidas* the ſonne of E

Cephalonia.

* ὁπλίται, *Men in armour.*

The *Corcyræans* offer to ſtand to Arbitrement.

* *Meaning the* Athenians.

The *Corinthians* vnwilling to accept it, and not without cauſe.

The *Corinthian* Fleet.

* *Either here or before, it is likely the number hath beene miſ-written: for a little before hee ſayes they had made ready* 3000.

Iſarchus. After they were come as farre as * *Actium*, in the A Territory of *Anactorium*, (which is a Temple of *Apollo*, and ground conſecrated vnto him in the mouth of the Gulfe of *Ambracia*) the *Corcyræans* ſent a Herauld to them, at *Actium*, to forbid their comming on, and in the meane time manned out their Fleet, and hauing repaired, and made fit for ſeruice their old Gallies, and furniſhed the reſt with things neceſſary, ſhipped their Munition, and went aboard. The Herauld was no ſooner returned from the *Corinthians*, with an anſwer not inclining to peace, but ha-uing their Gallies already manned and furniſhed, to the B number of 80. Sayle, (for * forty attended alwayes the Siege of *Epidamnus*) they put to Sea, and arranging them-ſelues, came to a Battell: In which the *Corcyræans* were cleerely Victors; and on the part of the *Corinthians*, there periſhed 15. Gallies. And the ſame day it happened likewiſe, that they that beſieged *Epidamnus*, had the ſame rendred vnto them, with Conditions, *That the Strangers therein found, ſhould be ranſomed, and the* Corinthians *kept in bonds, till ſuch time as they ſhould be otherwiſe diſpoſed of.* The Battell being ended, the *Corcyræans*, after they had ſet vp C their * Trophie in *Leucimna*, a Promontory of *Corcyra*, ſlew their other priſoners, but kept the *Corinthians* ſtill in bonds. After this, when the *Corinthians* with their van-quiſhed Fleet, were gone home to *Corinth*, the *Corcyræans*, Maſters now of the whole Sea in thoſe parts, went firſt, and waſted the Territory of *Leucas*, a *Corinthian* Colonie, and then ſayled to *Cyllene*, which is the Arſenall of the *Eleans*, and burnt it, becauſe they had, both with money and ſhipping, giuen ayde to the *Corinthians*.

And they were Maſters of thoſe Seas, and infeſted, the D Confederates of *Corinth*, for the moſt part of that yeere; till ſuch time as in the beginning of the Summer follow-ing, the *Corinthians* ſent a Fleet and Souldiers vnto *Actium*, the which for the more ſafe keeping of *Leucas*, and of o-ther Cities their friends, encamped about *Chimerium* in *Theſprotis*: and the *Corcyræans*, both with their Fleet and Land Souldiers, lay ouer againſt them in *Leucimna*. But neither part ſtirred againſt the other, but after they had lyen quietly oppoſite all the Summer, they retyred in Winter, both the one ſide and the other to their Cities. E

All this yeere, as well before as after the Battaile, the

Corinthians

* *A Hauen famous afterward, for the Battell betweene* Auguſtus Cæſar, *and* Marcus Antonius.

The *Corcyræan* Fleet.

* *It is ſaid before, that the* Corcyræans *had in all* 120 *Gallies, which number agreeeth with this* 80. *that fought, and the* 40. *that maintained the Siege.*

The *Corcyræans* haue the victory at Sea, and on the ſame day take the Citty.

* *Greek* Turning, *particularly turning the backe. Trophies, Monuments, in remembrance of hauing made the Enemy turne their backes. Thoſe were vſuall in thoſe times, now out of date.*

Santa Maura, now an Iland, then a *Peninſula.*

The *Corcyræans* Maſters of the Sea.

Theſprotis, part of *Albania.*

The *Corinthians* prepare a greater Nauie.

A *Corinthians* being vexed at the Warre with the *Corcyræans*, applyed themselues to the building of Gallies, and to the preparing of a Fleet, the strongest they were able to make, and to procure Mariners out of *Peloponnesus*, and all other parts of *Greece*. The *Corcyræans* hauing intelligence of their preparations, beganne to feare, and (because they had neuer beene in League with any *Grecian* City, nor were in the Roll of the Confederates, either of the *Athenians*, or *Lacedemonians*) thought it best now, to send to *Athens*, to see if they could procure any ayde from thence.

Both *Corcyræans* and *Corinthians* send their Ambassadours to *Athens*.

B This being perceiued by the *Corinthians*, they also sent their Ambassadours to *Athens*, lest the addition of the *Athenian* Nauy, to that of the *Corcyræans*, might hinder them from carrying the Warre as they desired. And the Assembly at *Athens* being met, they came to pleade against each other, and the *Corcyræans* spake to this effect.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadours of CORCYRA.

C *MEN of* Athens, *It is but Iustice, that such as come to implore the ayde of their neighbours, (as now doe wee) and cannot pretend by any great benefit or League, some precedent merit, should before they goe any further, make it appeare, principally, that what they seeke conferreth profit, or if not so, yet is not prejudiciall at least, to those that are to grant it: and next, that they will bee constantly thankfull for the same. And if they cannot doe this, then not to take it ill, though their suite bee rejected. And the* Corcyræans *being fully perswaded that they can make all this appeare on their owne parts, haue therefore sent vs hither, desiring you to a-*

D *scribe them to the number of your Confederates. Now so it is, that we haue had a Custome, both vnreasonable in respect of our Suite to you, and also for the present vnprofitable to our owne estate. For, hauing euer till now, beene vnwilling to admit others into League with vs, we are now not onely suiters for League to others, but also left destitute by that meanes, of friends in this our Warre with the* Corinthians. *And that which before wee thought Wisdome, namely, not to enter with others into League, because wee would not at the discretion of others enter into danger, wee now finde to haue beene our weakenesse, and imprudence. Wherefore, though alone wee repulsed the* Corin-

E thians, *in the late Battell by Sea, yet since they are set to inuade vs with greater preparation, out of* Peloponnesus, *and the rest of*

Greece, and seeing with our owne single power we are not able to goe A
through, and seeke also the danger, in case they subdue vs, would bee
very great to all Greece, it is both necessary that wee seeke the suc-
cours, both of you, and of whomsoeuer else wee can, and we are also to
be pardoned, though we make bold to crosse our former custome of not
having to doe with other men, proceeding not from malice, but error of
iudgement. Now if you yeeld vnto vs, in what wee request, this co-
incidence (on our part) of need, will on your part bee honourable, for
many reasons. First, in this respect, that you lend your helpe to such
as haue suffered, and not to such as haue committed the iniustice.
And next, considering that you receiue into League, such as haue at B
stake their whole fortune, you shall so place your benefit, as to haue a
testimony of it, if euer any can be so indeleble. Besides this, the grea-
test Nauie but your owne, is ours. Consider then, what rarer hap,
and of greater griefe to your enemies, can befall you, then that that
power, which you would haue prized aboue any money, or other requi-
tall, should come voluntarily, and without all danger or cost, present
it selfe to your hands, bringing with it reputation amongst most men;
a gratefull minde from those you defend; and strength to your selues.
All which haue not happened at once to many. And few there bee of
those that sue for League, that come not rather to receiue strength, C
and reputation, then to conferre it. If any heere thinke, that the
Warre wherein wee may doe you seruice, will not at all bee, hee is in
an errour, and seeth not, how the Lacedæmonians, through feare
of you, are already in labour of the Warre; and that the Corin-
thians, gracious with them, and enemies to you, making way for
their Enterprize, assault vs now, in the way to the inuasion of you
hereafter, that wee may not stand amongst the rest of their common
Enemies, but that they may be sure before hand, either to weaken vs,
or to strengthen their owne estate. It must therefore be your part, we
offering, and you accepting the League, to beginne with them, and to D
anticipate plotting, rather then to counterplot against them. If they
obiect iniustice, in that you receiue their Colonie, henceforth let them
learne, that all Colonies, so long as they receiue no wrong from their
Mother Citie, so long they honour her; but when they suffer injurie
from her, they then become alienate: for they are not sent out to be the
Slaues of them that stay, but to be their equals. That they haue done
vs the injurie, is manifest; for when wee offered them a judiciall tryall
of the Controversie, touching Epidamnus, they chose to prosecute
their quarrell, rather by Armes then Iudgement. Now let that which
they haue done vnto vs, who are their kindred, serue you for some Ar- E
gument, not to bee seduced by their demands, and made their instru-

ments

A ments before you bee aware. For hee liues most secure, that hath fewest benefits bestowed by him vpon his Enemies, to repent of. As for the Articles betweene you and the Lacedæmonians, they are not broken by receiuing vs into your League, because wee are in League with neither partie. For there, it is said, That whosoeuer is Confederate of neither party, may haue accesse lawfully to either. And sure it were very vnreasonable, that the Corinthians should haue the libertie to man their Fleet out of the Cities comprised in the League, and out of any other parts of Greece, and not the least out of * places in your Dominion, and wee bee denyed both the League now propounded, and also, all other
B helpe from whence soeuer. And if they impute it to you as a fault, that you grant our request; wee shall take it for a greater, that you grant it not. For therein you shall reject vs, that are inuaded, and bee none of your Enemies; and them, who are your Enemies, and make the inuasion, you shall not onely not oppose, but also suffer to raise vnlawfull Forces in your Dominions; Whereas you ought in truth, either not to suffer them to take vp Mercenaries in your States, or else to send vs succours also, in such manner as you shall thinke good your selues; but especially by taking vs into your League, and so aiding vs. Many commodities, as wee said in the beginning, wee shew vnto you, but this
C for the greatest, that whereas they are your Enemies, (which is manifest enough) and not weake ones, but able to hurt those that stand vp against them, wee offer you a Nauall, not a Terrestriall League; and the want of one of these, is not as the want of the other: Nay rather, your principall aime, if it could be done, should bee, to let none at all haue shipping but your selues, or at least, if that cannot bee, to make such your friends, as are best furnished therewith. If any man now thinke thus, that what we haue spoken, is indeed profitable, but feares if it were admitted, the League were thereby broken: let that man consider, that his feare ioyned with strength, will make his Enemies
D feare, and his confidence, hauing (if hee reject vs) so much the lesse strength, will so much the lesse be feared. Let him also remember, that hee is now in consultation, no lesse concerning Athens, then Corcyra; wherein hee forecasteth none of the best, (considering the present estate of affaires) that makes a question, whether against a Warre at hand, and onely not already on foot, hee should ioyne vnto it, or not, that Citty which with most important aduantages, or disaduantages, will be friend or enemie. For it lyeth so conueniently for sayling into Italy, and Sicily, that it can both prohibit any Fleet to come to Peloponnesus from thence, and conuoy any comming from Peloponnesus
E thither: and is also for diuers other vses most commodious. And to comprehend all in briefe, consider whether wee bee to bee abandoned,

* As Cephalonia.

doned, or not, by this. For Greece hauing but three Nauies of any account, yours, ours, and that of Corinth, if you suffer the other two to ioyne in one, by letting the Corinthians first seaze vs, you shall haue to fight by Sea at one time, both against the Corcyræans and the Peloponnesians; whereas by making League with vs, you shall with your Fleet augmented, haue to deale against the Peloponnesians alone.

Thus spake the Corcyræans, and after them, the Corinthians, thus.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadours of CORINTH.

THe Corcyræans in their Oration hauing made mention not onely of your taking them into League, but also, that they are wronged, and vniustly warred on, it is also necessarie for vs first to answer concerning both those points, and then afterwards to proceed to the rest of what we haue to say, to the end you may fore-know, that ours are the safest demands for you to embrace, and that you may vpon reason reject the needy estate of those others. Whereas they alleadge in defence of their refusing to enter League with other Cities, that the same hath proceeded from modesty, the truth is, that they tooke vp that Custome, not from any vertue, but meere wickednesse; as being vnwilling to call any Confederate for a witnesse of their euill actions, and to bee put to blush by calling them. Besides, their Citty being by the scituation sufficient within it selfe, giueth them this point, that when they doe any man a wrong, they themselues are the Iudges of the same, and not men appointed by consent. For going seldome forth against other Nations, they intercept such, as by necessity are driven into their Harbour. And in this consisteth their goodly pretext, for not admitting Confederates, not because they would not bee content to accompany others in doing euill, but because they had rather doe it alone; that where they were too strong, they might oppresse; and when there should bee none to obserue them, the lesse of the profit might be shared from them, and that they might escape the shame when they tooke any thing. But if they had beene honest men, (as they themselues say they are) by how much the lesse they are obnoxious to accusation, so much the more meanes they haue, by giuing, and taking what is due, to make their honesty appeare. But they are not such, neither towards others, nor towards vs. For being our Colony, they haue not onely beene euer in reuolt, but now they also make warre vpon vs, and say they were not sent out to be injured by vs; but we say againe, that wee did not send them

A *them forth to bee ſcorned by them, but to haue the leading of them, and to bee regarded by them, as is fit. For our other Colonies both honour and loue vs much, which is an argument, ſeeing the reſt are pleaſed with our actions, that theſe haue no iuſt cauſe to bee offended alone; and that without ſome manifeſt wrong, wee ſhould not haue had colour to warre againſt them. But ſay wee had beene in an errour, it had beene well done in them, to haue giuen way to our paſſion, as it had beene alſo diſhonourable in vs, to haue inſulted ouer their modeſty. But through pride and wealth, they haue done vs wrong, both in many other things, and alſo in this, that* Epidam-
B nus *being ours, which whileſt it was vexed with Warres, they neuer claimed, aſſoone as wee came to relieue it, was forcibly ſeazed by them, and ſo holden. They ſay now, that before they tooke it, they offered to put the cauſe to tryall of Iudgement: But you are not to thinke, that ſuch a one will ſtand to Iudgement, as hath aduantage, and is ſure already of what hee offereth to pleade for; but rather hee that before the tryall, will admit equality in the matter it ſelfe, as well as in the pleading: whereas contrarily theſe men, offered not this ſpecious pretence of a Iudiciall tryall, before they had beſieged the Citty, but after, when they ſaw wee meant not to put it*
C *vp. And now hither they bee come, not content to haue beene faulty in that buſineſſe themſelues, but to get in you, into their confederacy? no; but into their conſpiracy; and to receiue them in this name, that they are enemies to vs. But they ſhould haue come to you then, when they were moſt in ſafety; not now, when we haue the wrong, and they the danger; and when you, that neuer partaked of their power, muſt impart vnto them of your ayde; and hauing beene free from their faults, muſt haue an equall ſhare from vs of the blame. They ſhould communicate their power before-hand, that meane to make common the iſſue of the ſame; and they that ſhare not in the*
D *crimes, ought alſo to haue no part in the ſequele of them. Thus it appeares that wee come for our parts, with arguments of equity and right; whereas the proceedings of theſe other, are nothing elſe but violence and rapine. And now we ſhall ſhew you likewiſe, that you cannot receiue them in point of Iuſtice. For although it bee in the Articles, that the Cities written with neyther of the parties, may come in, to whether of them they pleaſe; yet it holds not for ſuch as doe ſo, to the detriment of eyther; but onely for thoſe that hauing reuolted from neither part, want protection, and bring not a Warre with them in ſtead of peace to thoſe (if they bee wiſe) that re-*
E *ceiue them. For you ſhall not onely be Auxiliaries vnto theſe; but to vs, in ſtead of Confederates, Enemies. For if you goe with them,*

it

it followes, they must defend themselues, not without you. You should A
doe most vprightly, to stand out of both our wayes; and if not that,
then to take our parts against the Corcyræans, (for betweene the
Corinthians and you, there are Articles of peace, but with the Cor-
cyræans you neuer had so much as a Truce) and not to constitute a
new Law of receiving one anothers Rebels. For neither did we giue
our votes against you, when the Samians revolted, though the rest of
Peloponnesus was diuided in opinion: But plainely alledged, That
it was reason, that euery one should haue liberty to proceed against their
owne revolting Confederates. And if you shall once receiue and ayde
the doers of wrong, it will bee seene, that they will come ouer as fast B
from you to vs; and you shall set vp a Law, not so much against vs,
as against your selues. These are the points of Iustice wee had to shew
you, conformable to the Law of the Grecians. And now wee come to
matter of aduice, and claime of fauour; which (being not so much your
enemies as to hurt you, nor such friends as to surcharge you) wee say,
ought in the present occasion, to bee granted vs by way of requitall: For
when you had want of Long Barques against the Æginetæ, a little
before the Medan War, you had 20. lent vnto you by the Corinthi-
ans; which benefit of ours, and that other against the Samians, when
by vs it was, that the Peloponnesians did not ayd them, was the cause C
both of your victory against the Æginetæ, and of the punishment of
the Samians. And these things were done for you in a season, when
men, going to fight against their enemies, neglect all respects, but of
victory. For euen a mans Domesticke affaires are ordered the worse,
through eagernesse of present contention. Which benefits considering,
and the yonger sort taking notice of them from the elder, be you pleased
to defend vs now in the like manner. And haue not this thought, that
though in what wee haue spoken there bee equity; yet, if the Warre
should arise, the profit would be found in the contrary. For vtility fol-
loweth those actions most, wherein we doe the least wrong; besides D
that the likelihood of the Warre, wherewith the Corcyræans frighting
you, goe about to draw you to iniustice, is yet obscure, and not worthy
to moue you to a manifest and present hostility with the Corinthians;
but it were rather fit for you indeed, to take away our former iealousies
concerning the* Megareans. For the last good turne done in sea-
son, though but small, is able to cancell an accusation of much greater
moment. Neither suffer your selues to be drawne on, by the greatnesse
of the Nauy which now shall bee at your seruice by this League; for to
doe no iniurie to our equals, is a firmer power, then that addition of
strength, which (puft vp with present shewes) men are to acquire with E
danger. And since wee bee come to this, which once before wee said at
Lacedæmon,

* This which was done against the Corinthians, by the Athenians that ayded Megara, is related afterwards in this first Booke.

A Lacedæmon, *that euery one ought to proceed, as hee shall thinke good, against his owne Confederates, wee claime that liberty now of you; and that you that haue beene helped by our votes, will not hurt vs now by yours, but render like for like; remembring, that now is that occasion, wherein hee that aydeth vs, is our greatest friend; and hee that oppoſeth vs, our greatest enemy. And that you will not receiue these* Corcyræans *into League against our wills, nor defend them in their iniuries. These things if you grant vs, you shall both doe as is fit, and also advise the best for the good of your owne affaires.*

B This was the effect of what was ſpoken by the *Corinthians.*

Both ſides hauing beene heard, and the *Athenian* people twice aſſembled; in the former Aſſembly, they approued no leſſe of the reaſons of the *Corinthians*, then of the *Corcyræans*; but in the latter, they changed their mindes; not ſo as to make a League with the *Corcyræans*, both offenſiue and defenſiue, that the Friends and Enemies of the one, ſhould be ſo of the other, (for then, if the *Corcyræans* ſhould haue required them to goe againſt *Corinth*, the Peace had C beene broken with the *Peloponneſians*) but made it onely defenſiue, that if any one ſhould iuvade *Corcyra* or *Athens*, or any of their Confederates, they were then mutually to aſsiſt one another. For they expected, that euen thus, they ſhould grow to Warre with the *Peloponneſians*, and were therefore vnwilling to let *Corcyra*, that had ſo great a Nauie, to fall into the hands of the *Corinthians*; but rather, as much as in them lay, deſired to breake them one againſt another; that if need required, they might haue to doe with the *Corinthians*, and others that had Shipping, D when they ſhould be weakned to their hands. And the Iland ſeemed alſo to lye conveniently for paſsing into *Italy*, and *Sicily*. With this minde the people of *Athens* receiued the *Corcyræans* into League; and when the *Corinthians* were gone, ſent tenne Gallies not long after to their ayde. The Commanders of them were *Lacedæmonius* the ſonne of *Cimon*, *Diotimus*, the ſonne of *Strombichus*, and *Proteas*, the Sonne of *Epicles*; and had order not to fight with the *Corinthians*, vnleſſe they invaded *Corcyra*, or offered to land there, or in ſome other place of theirs. Which if they E did, then with all their might to oppoſe them. This they forbade, becauſe they would not breake the Peace

A League defenſiue made betweene the *Athenians* and *Corcyræans.*

They ayde *Corcyra* with tenne Gallies.

concluded with the *Peloponneſians*. So theſe Gallies arriued at *Corcyra*. A

The *Corinthian* Fleet.

The *Corinthians*, when they were ready, made towards *Corcyra* with 150. Saile; (*viz.*) of the *Eleans*, 10. of the *Megareans*, 12. of the *Leucadians*, 10. of the *Ambraciotes*, 27. of the *Anactorians*, 1. and 90. of their owne. The Commanders of theſe, were men choſen out of the ſaid ſeuerall Cities, for the ſeueral parts of the Fleet which they ſent in; & ouer thoſe of *Corinth*, was *Xenocleides*, the ſon of *Euthicles*, with 4. others. After they were all come together, vpon the Coaſt of the Continent ouer againſt *Corcyra*, they ſayled from *Leucas*, and came to *Cheimerium*, in the Countrey of *Theſprotis*. In this place is a Hauen, and aboue it, further from the Sea, the Cittie of *Ephyre*, in that part of *Theſprotis*, which is called *Eleatis*; and neere vnto it, disbogueth into the Sea the Lake *Acheruſia*, and into that (hauing firſt paſſed through *Theſprotis*) the Riuer *Acheron*, from which it taketh the Name. Alſo the Riuer *Thyamis* runneth heere, which divideth *Theſprotis* from * *Ceſtrine*, betwixt which two Riuers, ariſeth this Promontory of *Cheimerium*. To this part of the Continent came the *Corinthians*, and encamped. The *Corcyræans* vnderſtanding that they made againſt them, hauing ready 110. Gallies vnder the conduct of *Miciades*, *Aeſimides*, and *Eurybatus*, came and incamped in one of the Ilands called *Sybota*. And the tenne Gallies of *Athens* were alſo with them. But their Landforces ſtayed in the Promontory of *Leucimna*, and with them 1000. men of Armes of the * *Zacynthians* that came to ayde them. The *Corinthians* alſo had in the Continent the aydes of many *Barbarians*, which in thoſe quarters haue beene euermore their friends. The *Corinthians*, after they were ready, and had taken aboard three dayes prouiſion of victuall, put off by night from *Cheimerium*, with purpoſe to fight; and about breake of day, as they were ſayling, deſcryed the Gallies of the *Corcyræans*, which were alſo put off from *Sybota*, and comming on to fight with the *Corinthians*. Aſſoone as they had ſight one of another, they put themſelues into order of Battaile. In the right * wing of the *Corcyræans* were placed the Gallies of *Athens*; and the reſt being their owne, were diuided into three Commands, vnder the three Commanders, one vnder one. This was the order of the *Corcyræans*. The *Corinthians* had in their B C D E

* Ceſtrine *the Territory of* Ceſtria, *part of* Chaonia.

The *Corcyræan* Fleet.

The *Corinthians* ſet forward.

* *Wings, The Gallies ſtood all one by one, in a row, and the right wing were thoſe that were on the right hand from the middeſt; and the left wing, thoſe on the left hand.*

A their right wing the Gallies of *Megara*, and of *Ambracia*; in the middle, other their Confederates in order; and oppoſite to the *Athenians*, and right wing of the *Corcyræans*, they were themſelues placed, with ſuch Gallies as were beſt of Sayle, in the left. The * Standard being on either ſide lift vp, they ioyned Battell; hauing on both parts, both many men of Armes, and many Archers and Slingers, but after the old faſhion, as yet ſomewhat vnskilfully appointed. The Battell was not ſo artificially as cruelly fought; neere vnto the maner of a fight at Land. For after they had B once runne their Gallies vp cloſe aboard one of another, they could not for the number and throng, be eaſily gotten aſunder againe, but relyed for the victory, eſpecially vpon their men of Armes, who fought where they ſtood, whilſt the Gallies remained altogether without motion. Paſſages through each other they made none, but fought it out with courage and ſtrength, rather then with skill: inſomuch as the Battell was in euery part, not without much tumult and diſorder. In which the *Athenian* Gallies, being alwaies, where the *Corcyræans* were oppreſſed, at hand, kept C the enemies in feare, but yet began no aſſault, becauſe their Commanders ſtood in awe of the prohibition of the *Athenian* people. The right wing of the *Corinthians* was in the greateſt diſtreſſe; for the *Corcyræans* with twenty Gallies, had made them turne their backes, and chaſed them diſperſed, to the Continent; and ſayling to their very Campe, went aland, burnt their abandoned Tents, and tooke away their Baggage; ſo that in this part the *Corinthians* and their Confederates were vanquiſhed, and the *Corcyræans* had the victory. But in the left wing, where D the *Corinthians* were themſelues, they were farre ſuperiour; becauſe the *Corcyræans* had twenty Gallies of their number, which was at firſt leſſe then that of the *Corinthians*, abſent in the chaſe of the Enemie. And the *Athenians*, when they ſaw the *Corcyræans* were in diſtreſſe, now ayded them manifeſtly, whereas before, they had abſtained from making aſſault vpon any. But when once they fled out-right, and that the *Corinthians* lay ſore vpon them, then euery one fell to the buſineſſe, without making difference any longer: and it came at laſt to this neceſsity, E that they vndertooke one another, *Corinthians*, and *Athenians*.

Megara.

* σημεῖα, *A Picture or Image held vp, as the Eagle amongſt the* Romanes.

The Battell.

The *Corinthians* haue the better.

The *Athenians* and *Corinthians* fight.

The *Corinthians*, when their enemies fled, ſtaid not to A
faſten the Hulles of the Gallies they had ſunke, vnto
their owne Gallies, that ſo they might tow them after;
but made after the men, rowing vp and downe, to kill, ra-
ther then to take aliue; and through ignorance (not know-
ing that their right wing had beene diſcomfited) ſlew al-
ſo ſome of their owne friends. For the Gallies of eyther
ſide being many, and taking vp a large ſpace of Sea, after
they were once in the medly, they could not eaſily diſ-
cerne who were of the Victors, and who of the vanquiſh-
ed party. For this was the greateſt Nauall Battell, for B
number of Ships, that euer had beene before, of *Grecians*
againſt *Grecians*. When the *Corinthians* had chaſed the *Cor-*
cyræans to the ſhore, they returned to take vp the broken
Gallies, and bodies of their dead, which for the greateſt
part they recouered, and brought to *Sybota*, where alſo lay
the Land-forces of the *Barbarians*, that were come to ayde
them. This *Sybota* is a deſart Hauen of *Theſprotis*. When
they had done, they re-vnited themſelues, and made againe
to the *Corcyræans*; and they likewiſe, with ſuch Gallies
as they had fit for the Sea, remaining of the former Bat- C
tell, together with thoſe of *Athens*, put foorth to meete
them, fearing leſt they ſhould attempt to land vpon their
Territory. By this time the day was farre ſpent, and the
*Song which they vſed to ſing when they came to charge,
was ended, when ſuddenly the *Corinthians* beganne to row
a Sterne: for they had deſcried twenty *Athenian* Gallies,
ſent from *Athens* to ſecond the former tenne; for feare leſt
the *Corcyræans* (as it alſo fell out) ſhould bee ouercome,
and thoſe tenne Gallies of theirs bee too few to defend
them. When the *Corinthians* therefore had ſight of theſe D
Gallies, ſuſpecting that they were of *Athens*, and more in
number then they were, by little and little they fell off.
But the *Corcyræans* (becauſe the courſe of theſe Gallies
was vnto them more *out of ſight) deſcryed them not,
but wondred why the *Corinthians* rowed a Sterne; till at
laſt ſome that ſaw them, ſaid they were Enemies; and
then retired alſo the *Corcyræans*. For by this time it was
darke, and the *Corinthians* had turned about the heads of
their Gallies, and diſſolued themſelues. And thus were
they parted, and the Battell ended in night. E

The *Corcyræans* lying at *Leucimna*, theſe twenty *Athenian*
Gallies,

Sybota of the Continent, a Hauen.

* Pæan, *a Hymne, to* Mars *in the beginning of fight: to* Apollo *after the victory.*

A ſupply of 20. Sayle from *Athens*.

The *Corinthians* fall off.

* (viz.) *more behind their backes.*

A Gallies, vnder the command of *Glaucon*, the ſonne of *Leagrus*, and *Androcides*, the ſonne of *Leogorus*; paſsing through the middeſt of the floating Carkaſſes, and wrecke, ſoone after they were deſcryed, arriued at the Campe of the *Corcyræans* in *Leucimna*. The *Corcyræans* at firſt, (being night) were afraid they had beene Enemies, but knew them afterwards; ſo they anchored there.

The next day, both the thirty Gallies of *Athens*, and as many of *Corcyra* as were fit for ſeruice, went to the Hauen in *Sybota*, where the *Corinthians* lay at Anchor, to ſee
B if they would fight. But the *Corinthians*, when they had put off from the Land, and arranged themſelues in the wide Sea, ſtood quiet, not meaning of their owne accord to beginne the Battell; both for that they ſaw the ſupply of freſh Gallies from *Athens*, and for many difficulties that happened to them, both about the ſafe cuſtody of their Priſoners aboard, and alſo for that beeing in a deſart place, their Gallies were not yet repaired; but tooke thought rather how to goe home, for feare leſt the *Athenians*, hauing the Peace for already broken, in that they had fought
C againſt each other, ſhould not ſuffer them to depart. They therefore thought good to ſend afore vnto the *Athenians*, certaine men, without priuiledge of Heraulds, for to ſound them, and to ſay in this manner:

The *Corcyræans* offer Battell againe.

Men of Athens, *You doe vniuſtly to beginne the Warre, and violate the Articles: For whereas wee goe about to right vs on our Enemies, you ſtand in our way, and beare Armes againſt vs. If therefore you bee reſolued to hinder our going againſt* Corcyra, *or whatſoeuer place elſe wee pleaſe, diſſolue the Peace, and laying hands firſt vpon vs that are heere, vſe vs as Enemies.*

The *Corinthians* expoſtulate with the *Athenians*, to ſound their purpoſe.

D Thus ſaid they: and the *Corcyræans*, as many of the Armie as heard them, cryed out immediately, to take and kill them. But the *Athenians* made anſwer thus:

Men of Peloponneſus, *Neither doe wee beginne the Warre, nor breake the Peace; but wee bring ayde to theſe our Confederates, the* Corcyræans: *if you pleaſe therefore to goe any whither elſe, wee hinder you not; but if againſt* Corcyra, *or any place belonging vnto it, we will not ſuffer you.*

The anſwer of the *Athenians*.

When the *Athenians* had giuen them this anſwer, the *Corinthians* made ready to goe home, and ſet vp a Trophie
E in *Sybota* of the Continent. And the *Corcyræans* alſo, both tooke vp the wrecke, and bodies of the dead, which carried

The *Corinthians* goe home.

Both the *Corcyræans* and *Corinthians* challenge the victory, and both ſet vp Trophies.

euery way by the Waues, and the Wind that aroſe the night before, came driuing to their hands; and, as if they had had the victory, ſet vp a Trophie likewiſe in *Sybota* the Ilands. The victory was thus challenged on both ſides, vpon theſe grounds: The *Corinthians* did ſet vp a Trophie, becauſe in the Battell they had the better all day, hauing gotten more of the wrecke and dead bodies, then the other, and taken no leſſe then 1000. Priſoners, and ſunke about 70. of the Enemies Gallies. And the *Corcyræans* ſet vp a Trophie, becauſe they had ſunke 30. Gallies of the *Corinthians*, and had, after the arriuall of the *Athenians*, recouered the wrecke and dead bodies, that droue to them, by reaſon of the Wind; and becauſe the day before, vpon ſight of the *Athenians*, the *Corinthians* had rowed a Sterne, and went away from them: and laſtly, for that when they went to *Sybota*, the *Corinthians* came not out to encounter them. Thus each ſide claimed victory.

The *Corinthians* in their way homeward, tooke in *Anactorium*, a Towne ſeated in the mouth of the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, by deceipt; (this Towne was common to them, and to the *Corcyræans*) and hauing put into it *Corinthians* onely, departed, and went home. Of the *Corcyræans* 800. that were ſeruants, they ſold; and kept priſoners 250. whom they vſed with very much fauour, that they might bee a meanes, at their returne, to bring *Corcyra* into the power of the *Corinthians*; the greateſt part of theſe, being principall men of the Citie. And thus was *Corcyra* deliuered of the Warre of *Corinth*, and the *Athenian* Gallies went from them. This was the firſt Cauſe, that the *Corinthians* had of Warre againſt the *Athenians*; namely, becauſe they had taken part with the *Corcyræans* in a Battell by Sea, againſt the *Corinthians*, with whom they were comprized in the ſame Articles of Peace.

The *Corinthians* in their way home, take *Anactorium*, and keepe 250. of the beſt men priſoners, being *Corcyræans*, and vſe them well.

PRESENTLY after this, it came to paſſe, that other differences aroſe betweene the *Peloponneſians* and the *Athenians*, to induce the Warre. For whileſt the *Corinthians* ſtudied to bee reuenged, the *Athenians*, who had their hatred in iealouſie, cõmanded the Citizens of *Potidæa*, a Citie ſeated in the *Iſthmus* of *Pallene*, a Colony of the *Corinthians*, but confederate and tributary to the *Athenians*, to pull downe that part of the Wall of their Citie, that ſtood

The ſecond pretext of the Warre.

Potidæa ſuſpected.

Potidæa commanded to giue Hoſtages, and to pull downe part of their Wall.

A stood towards *Pallene*, and to giue them Hostages, and also to send away, and no more receiue the *Epidemiurgi*, (Magistrates so called) which were sent vnto them yeere by yeere, from *Corinth*; fearing lest through the perswasion of * *Perdiccas*, and of the *Corinthians*, they should reuolt, and draw to reuolt with them their other Confederates in *Thrace*. These things against the *Potideans*, the *Athenians* had precontriued, presently after the Nauall Battell fought at *Corcyra*. For the *Corinthians* and they were now manifestly at difference; and *Perdiccas*, who before had
B beene their Confederate and friend, now warred vpon them. And the cause why hee did so, was, that when his Brother *Philip* and *Derdas* ioyned in Armes against him, the *Athenians* had made a League with them. And therefore being afraid, hee both sent to *Lacedæmon*, to negotiate the *Peloponnesian* Warre, and also reconciled himselfe to the *Corinthians*, the better to procure the reuolt of *Potidæa*; and likewise he practised with the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and with the *Bottieans*, to reuolt with
C them. For if hee could make these confining Cities his Confederates, with the helpe of them, hee thought his Warre would bee the easier. Which the *Athenians* perceiuing, and intending to preuent the reuolt of these Cities, gaue order to the Commanders of the Fleet, (for they were now sending thirty Gallies, with a thousand men of Armes, vnder the command of *Archestratus*, the sonne of *Lycomedes*, and tenne others into the Territories of *Perdiccas*) both to receiue Hostages of the *Potideans*, and to demolish their Walles; and also to haue an eye to the neighbouring Cities, that they reuolted not. The *Po-*
D *tideans* hauing sent Ambassadours to *Athens*, to try if they could perswade the people not to make any alteratiō amongst them; by other Ambassadours, whom they sent along with the Ambassadours of *Corinth* to *Lacedæmon*, dealt with the *Lacedæmonians* at the same time, if need required, to be ready to reuenge their quarrell. When after long sollicitation at *Athens*, and no good done, the Fleet was sent away against them, no lesse then against *Macedonia*; and when the Magistrates of *Lacedæmon* had promised them, if the *Athenians* went to *Potidæa*, to inuade *Attica*, then
E at last they reuolted, and together with them, the *Chalcideans* and *Bottieans*, all mutually sworne in the same Conspiracy.

* King of Macedonia.

The Athenians giue order to the Generalls they were sending against Perdiccas, to secure their Cities in those parts.

The Potideans seeke the protection of the Lacedæmonians.

The reuolt of Potidæa, Bottiea, and Chalcidica, from the Athenians.

piracy. For *Perdiccas* had alſo perſwaded the *Chalcideans*, A
to abandon and pull downe their maritime Townes, and
to goe vp and dwell at *Olynthus*, and that one City to make
ſtrong. And vnto thoſe that remoued, gaue part of his
owne, and part of the Territorie of *Mygdonia*, about the
lake *Bolbe*, to liue on, ſo long as the Warre againſt the
Athenians ſhould continue. So when they had demoliſhed
their Cities, and were gone vp higher into the Countrey,
they prepared themſelues to the Warre.

The *Athenian* Fleet, finding *Potidæa* and other Cities already loſt, goe into *Macedonia*.

The *Athenian* Gallies, when they arriued in *Thrace*, B
found *Potidæa* and the other Cities, already reuolted. And
the Commanders of the Fleet conceiuing it to be impoſſi-
ble, with their preſent forces, to make Warre both againſt
Perdiccas and the Townes reuolted, ſet faile againe for *Ma-*
cedonia, againſt which they had beene at firſt ſent out, and
there ſtaying, ioyned with *Philip*, and the brothers of *Der-*
das, that had inuaded the Countrey from aboue.

The *Corinthians* ſend their Forces to *Potidæa* to defend it.

In the meane time, after *Potidæa* was reuolted, and C
whileſt the *Athenian* Fleet lay on the Coaſt of *Macedonia*,
the *Corinthians*, fearing what might become of the Citie,
and making the danger their owne, ſent vnto it, both of
their owne Citie, and of other *Peloponneſians*, which they
hired, to the number of 1600. men of Armes, and 400.
* light armed. The charge of theſe was giuen to *Ariſtæus*,
the ſonne of *Adimantus*, for whoſe ſake moſt of the Volun-
taries of *Corinth* went the Voyage: (for hee had beene euer
a great Fauourer of the *Potidæans*.) And they arriued in
Thrace, after the reuolt of *Potidæa*, forty dayes.

* *Archers, darters, and the like, that vſe to ſhoot out their ſhot, and dart, or caſt their darts, or ſlings, aymed.*

The newes of the reuolt of theſe Cities, was likewiſe
quickly brought to the *Athenian* people, who hearing
withall of the Forces ſent vnto them, vnder *Ariſtæus*, ſent D
forth againſt the places reuolted, 2000. men of Armes,
and 40. Gallies, vnder the Conduct of *Callias*, the Sonne of
Calliades. Theſe comming firſt into *Macedonia*, found there
the former thouſand, (who by this time had taken *Therme*,
and were now beſieging the City of *Pydna*,) and ſtaying,
helped for a while to beſiege it with the reſt. But ſhort-
ly after, they tooke compoſition, and hauing made a * ne-
ceſſary League with *Perdiccas*, (vrged thereto by the af-
faires of *Potidæa*, and the arriuall there of *Ariſtæus*) departed
from *Macedonia*. Thence comming to *Berrhœa*, they at- E
tempted to take it: but when they could not doe it, they
turned

The *Athenians* ſend forces againſt *Potidæa*.

Therme, after called *Theſſalonica*, now *Salonichi*.

* *or ſcarce honourable.*

A turned backe, and marched towards *Potidæa* by Land. They were of their owne number 3000. men of Armes, beſides many of their Confederates; and of *Macedonians* that had ſerued with *Philip* and *Pauſanias* 600. Horſe-men. And their Gallies, 70. in number, ſayling by them along the Coaſt, by moderate Iournies, came in three dayes to *Gigonus*, and there encamped.

The *Potidæans* and the *Peloponneſians* vnder *Ariſtæus*, in expectation of the comming of the *Athenians*, lay now encamped in the *Iſthmus*, neere vnto *Olynthus*; and had the B Market kept for them without the Citie: and the leading of the Foot, the Confederates had aſsigned to *Ariſtæus*, and of the Horſe, to *Perdiccas*: (for hee fell off againe preſently from the *Athenians*, and hauing left *Iolaus* Gouernour in his place, tooke part with the *Potidæans*.) The purpoſe of *Ariſtæus* was, to haue the body of the Armie with himſelfe within the * *Iſthmus*, and therewith to attend the comming on of the *Athenians*, and to haue the *Chalcideans* and their Confederates without the *Iſthmus*, and alſo the 200. Horſe vnder *Perdiccas*, to ſtay in *Olynthus*, and C when the *Athenians* were paſt by, to come on their backs, and to encloze the Enemie betwixt them. But *Callias* the *Athenian* Generall, and the reſt that were in Commiſsion with him, ſent out before them their *Macedonian* Horſemen, and ſome few of their Confederates to *Olynthus*, to ſtop thoſe within from making any ſally from the Towne, and then diſlodging, marched on towards *Potidæa*. When they were come on as far to as the *Iſthmus*, and ſaw the Enemie make ready to fight, they alſo did the like, and not long after, they ioyned Battell. That wing wherein was *Ariſtæus* D himſelfe, with the choſen men of the *Corinthians* and others, put to flight that part of their Enemies that ſtood oppoſite vnto them, and followed execution a great way. But the reſt of the Army of the *Potidæans* and *Peloponneſians* were by the *Athenians* defeated, and fled into the Citie. And *Ariſtæus*, when hee came backe from the Execution, was in doubt what way to take, to *Olynthus*, or to *Potidæa*. In the end, hee reſolued of the ſhorteſt way, and with his Souldiers about him, ranne as hard as hee was able into *Potidæa*, and with much adoe got in at the Peere, through E the Sea, cruelly ſhot at, and with the loſſe of a few, but ſafety of the greateſt part of his company. Aſſoone as

The *Athenians* and thoſe with *Ariſtæus*, prepare themſelues for Battell.

* The Iſthmus of Pallene, where they were.

The Victory falleth to the *Athenians*.

the Battell beganne, they that should haue seconded the *Potideans* from *Olynthus*, (for it is at most but 60. Furlongs off, and in sight) aduanced a little way to haue ayded them: and the *Macedonian* Horse opposed themselues likewise in order of Battell, to keepe them backe. But the *Athenians* hauing quickly gotten the Victory, and the Standards being taken downe; they retyred againe, they of *Olynthus*, into their Citie, and the *Macedonian* Horsemen, into the Armie of the *Athenians*. So that neither side had their Cauallery at the Battell. After the Battell, the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, and gaue truce to the *Potideans*, for the taking vp of the bodies of their dead. Of the *Potideans* and their friends, there dyed somewhat lesse then 300. and of the *Athenians* themselues 150. with *Callias*, one of their Commanders.

The *Athenians* beginne to besiege *Potidæa*.

Presently vpon this, the *Athenians* raised a Wall before the Citty, on the part towards the *Isthmus*, which they kept with a Garrison, but the part to *Pallene*-ward, they left vnwalled. For they thought themselues too small a number, both to keepe a guard in the *Isthmus*, and withall to goe ouer and fortifie in *Pallene*, fearing lest the *Potideans* and their Confederates should assault them when they were deuided. When the people of *Athens* vnderstood that *Potidæa* was vnwalled on the part toward *Pallene*, not long after they sent thither 1600. men of Armes, vnder the Conduct of *Phormio*, the Sonne of *Asopius*: who arriuing in *Pallene*, left his Gallies at *Aphytis*, and marching easily to *Potidæa*, wasted the Territory as hee passed through. And when none came out to bid him Battell, hee raised a Wall before the Citie, on that part also that looketh towards *Pallene*. Thus was *Potidæa* on both sides strongly besieged; and also from the Sea, by the *Athenian* Gallies, that came vp and rode before it.

The *Athenians* send *Phormio* with 6000. men of Armes, to *Potidæa*.

Potidæa straightly besieged on all sides.

Aristæus, seeing the Citie enclosed on euery side, and without hope of safety, saue what might come from *Peloponnesus*, or some other vnexpected way, gaue aduice to all but 500. taking the opportunity of a Wind, to goe out by Sea, that the prouision might the longer hold out for the rest; and of them that should remaine within, offered himselfe to bee one. But when his counsell tooke not place, beeing desirous to settle their businesse, and make the best of their affaires abroad, hee got out by Sea, vn-

The aduice of *Aristæus*, to carry all the people but 500. men out of the City, that their victuall might the better hold out, refused.

Aristæus getteth out of the Citty, vnseene of the *Athenians*.

seene

A ſeene of the *Athenian* Guard, and ſtaying amongſt the *Chalcideans*, amongſt other actions of the Warre, laid an Ambuſh before *Sermyla*, and ſlew many of that Citie, and ſollicited the ſending of ayd from *Peloponneſus*. And *Phormio*, after the Siege laid to *Potidæa*, hauing with him his 1600. men of Armes, waſted the Territories of the *Chalcideans* and *Bottieans*, and ſome ſmall Townes he tooke in.

And ſtaying in *Chalcidica*, ſlew certaine of the City of *Sermyla*, by ambuſhment.

Phormio waſteth the Territories of the *Chalcideans* and *Bottieans*.

Theſe were the Quarrels betweene the *Peloponneſians* and the *Athenians*. The *Corinthians* quarrelled the *Athenians*, for beſieging *Potidæa*, and in it, the men of *Corinth* and
B *Peloponneſus*. The *Athenians* quarrelled the *Peloponneſians*, for cauſing their confederate and tributary City to reuolt; and for that they had come thither, and openly fought againſt them in the behalfe of *Potidæa*. Neuertheleſſe the Warre brake not openly forth as yet, and they yet abſtained from Armes; for this was but a particular action of the *Corinthians*.

BVT when *Potidæa* was once beſieged, both for their mens ſakes that were within, and alſo for feare
C to loſe the place, they could no longer hold. But out of hand, they procured of their Confederates to goe to *Lacedæmon*; and thither alſo they went themſelues, with clamours and accuſations, againſt the *Athenians*, that they had broken the League, and wronged the *Peloponneſians*. The *Aeginetæ*, though not openly by Ambaſſadours, for feare of the *Athenians*, yet priuily inſtigated them to the Warre as much as any; alledging that they were not permitted to gouerne themſelues according to their owne Laws, as by the Articles they ought to haue beene. So the
D *Lacedæmonians* hauing called together the Confederates, and whoſoeuer elſe had any iniuſtice to lay to the charge of the *Athenians*, in the ordinary * Councell of their owne State commanded them to ſpeake. Then preſented euery one his accuſation; and amongſt the reſt, the *Megareans*, beſides many other their great differences, laid open this eſpecially, That contrary to the Articles, they were forbidden the *Athenian* Markets and Hauens. Laſt of all, the *Corinthians*, when they had ſuffered the *Lacedæmonians* to be incenſed firſt by the reſt, came in, and ſaid as followeth.

The ſollicitation of the Warre by the *Corinthians*, and other Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Complaints exhibited againſt the *Athenians* in the Councell of *Sparta*.

**Of the* Ephori, *& thoſe that had the Soueraignety, that is to ſay, before the* Ariſtocratic.

E

A

THE ORATION OF THE Ambaſſadours of CORINTH.

MEn of Lacedæmon, your own fidelity, both in matter of eſtate & conuerſation, maketh you the leſſe apt to beleeue vs, when we accuſe others of the contrary. And heereby you gaine indeed a reputation of equity, but you haue leſſe experience in the affaires of Forraine States. For although we haue oftentimes foretold you, that the Athenians would doe vs a miſchiefe; yet from time to time when we told it you, you neuer would take informatiõ of it, but haue ſuſpected B rather, that what we ſpake, hath proceeded from our owne priuate differences. And you haue therefore called hither theſe Confederates, not before wee had ſuffered, but now, when the euill is already vpon vs. Before whom, our ſpeech muſt bee ſo much the longer, by how much our obiections are the greater, in that wee haue both by the Athenians beene iniured, and by you neglected. If the Athenians lurking in ſome obſcure place, had done theſe wrongs vnto the Grecians, wee ſhould then haue needed to proue the ſame before you, as to men that knew it not. But now what cauſe haue wee to vſe long diſcourſe, when you ſee already that ſome are brought into ſeruitude, C and that they are contriuing the like againſt others, and eſpecially againſt our Confederates, and are themſelues, in caſe Warre ſhould be made againſt them, long ſince prepared for it? For elſe they would neuer haue taken Corcyra, and holden it from vs by force, nor haue beſieged Potidæa, whereof the one was moſt commodious for any action againſt Thrace; and the other had brought vnto the Peloponneſians a moſt faire Naue. And of all this, you are your ſelues the authors, in that you ſuffered them, vpon the end of the Perſian Warre, to fortifie their Citie, and againe afterwards to raiſe their Long Walles, whereby you haue hitherto depriued of their liberty, not D onely the States by them already ſubdued, but alſo your owne Confederates. For not he that bringeth into ſlauery, but he that being able to hinder it, neglects the ſame, is moſt truely ſaid to doe it; eſpecially if they aſſume the honour to be the eſteemed Deliuerers of Greece, [as you doe.] And for all that, we are hardly yet come together, and indeed not yet, with any certaine reſolution what to doe. For the queſtion ſhould not haue beene put, Whether, or not, wee haue receiued iniurie, but rather, in what manner we are to repaire it. For they that doe the wrong, hauing conſulted vpon it before-hand, vſe no delay at all, but come vpon them whom they meane to oppreſſe, whileſt they be yet irre- E ſolute. And we know, not onely that the Athenians haue incroached

vpon

A *vpon their neighbours, but also by what wayes they haue done it. And as long as they thinke they carry it closely, through your blindnesse, they are the lesse bold. But when they shall perceiue that you see, and will not see, they will then presse vs strongly indeed. For* (Lacedæmonians) *you are the onely men of all* Greece, *that sitting still, defend others, not with your Forces, but with promises; and you are also the onely men, that loue to pull downe the power of the Enemie, not when it beginneth, but when it is doubled. You haue indeede a report to bee sure; but yet it is more in fame that, then in fact. For we our selues know, that the* Persian *came against* Peloponnesus, *from the*
B *vtmost parts of the Earth, before you encountred him, as became your State. And also now you conniue at the* Athenians, *who are not as the* Medes, *farre off, but hard at hand; choosing rather to defend your selues from their inuasion, then to inuade them; and by hauing to doe with them when their strength is greater, to put your selues vpon the chance of Fortune. And yet wee know, that the* Barbarians *owne errour, and* (*in our Warre against the* Athenians) *their owne oversights, more then your assistance, was the thing that gaue vs victory. For the hope of your ayde, hath beene the destruction of some, that relying on you, made no preparation for themselues by other meanes. Yet*
C *let not any man thinke that we speak this out of malice, but only by way of expostulation: for* expostulation *is with friends that erre, but* accusation, *against enemies that haue done an iniurie. Besides, if there bee any that may challenge to exprobrate his neighbour, we thinke our selues may best doe it, especially on so great quarrels as these, whereof you neither seeme to haue any feeling, nor to consider what manner of men, and how different from you in euery kinde the* Athenians *bee, that you are to contend withall: For* they *loue innovation, and are swift to deuise, and also to execute what they resolue on. But* you *on the contrary are onely apt to saue your owne; not deuise any thing*
D *new, nor scarce to attaine what is necessary.* They *againe are bold beyond their strength, adventurous aboue their owne reason, and in danger hope still the best: Whereas* your *actions are euer beneath your power, and* you *distrust euen what your iudgement assures; and being in a danger, neuer thinke to bee deliuered.* They *are stirrers,* you *studiers:* they *loue to bee abroad, and* you *at home the most of any. For* they *make account by beeing abroad to adde to their estate;* you, *if you should goe forth against the State of another, would thinke to impayre your owne.* They, *when they ouercome their enemies, aduance the farthest, and when they are ouercome by*
E *their enemies, fall off the least; and as for their Bodies, they vse them in the seruice of the Common-wealth, as if they were none of their owne;*

but their minds, when they would ſerue the State, are right their owne. A
Vnleſſe they take in hand what they haue once aduiſed on, they account
ſo much loſt of their owne. And when they take it in hand, if they ob-
taine any thing, they thinke lightly of it, in reſpect of what they looke
to winne by their proſecution. If they faile in any attempt, they doe
what is neceſſary for the preſent, and enter preſently into other hopes.
For they alone, both haue and hope for at once, whatſoeuer they con-
ceiue, through their celerity in execution of what they once reſolue on.
And in this manner they labour and toyle, all the dayes of their liues.
What they haue, they haue no leaſure to enioy, for continuall getting
of more. Nor Holiday eſteeme they any, but whereon they effect ſome B
matter profitable; nor thinke they eaſe with nothing to doe, a leſſe tor-
ment, than laborious buſineſſe. So that, in a word, to ſay they are
men, borne neither to reſt themſelues, nor ſuffer others, is to ſay the
truth. Now notwithſtanding, (men of Lacedæmon) that this
Citie, your Aduerſary, bee ſuch, as wee haue ſaid; yet you ſtill delay
time; not knowing, that thoſe onely are they, to whom it may ſuffice
for the moſt part of their time to ſit ſtill, who (though they vſe not
their power to doe iniuſtice) yet bewray a minde vnlikely to ſwallow
injuries; but placing equity belike in this, that you neither doe any
harme to others, nor receiue it, in defending of your ſelues. But this is C
a thing, you hardly could attaine, though the States about you were of
the ſame condition. But (as we haue before declared) your Cuſtomes
are in reſpect of theirs antiquated, and of neceſsity (as it happeneth in
Artes) the new ones will preuaile. True it is, that for a City liuing
for the moſt part in peace, vnchanged cuſtomes are the beſt; but for
ſuch as bee conſtrained to vndergoe many matters, many deuices will
be needfull. Which is alſo the reaſon, why the Athenian Cuſtomes,
through much experience, are more new to you, then yours are to them.
Here therefore giue a Period to your ſlackneſſe, and by a ſpeedy inva-
ſion of Attica, as you promiſed, reliene both Potidæa, and the reſt: D
leſt otherwiſe you betray your friends and kindred to their cruelleſt ene-
mies; and leſt wee and others, be driuen through deſpaire, to ſeeke out
ſome other League. Which to doe, were no iniuſtice, neither againſt
the Gods, Iudges of mens Oathes, nor againſt Men, the hearers of
them. For not they breake the League, who being abandoned, haue re-
courſe to others; but they that yeeld not their aſsiſtance, to whom they
haue ſworne it. But if you meane to follow the buſineſſe ſeriouſly,
wee will ſtay; for elſe, wee ſhould doe irreligiouſly, neither
ſhould wee finde any other, more conformable to our manners, then
your ſelues. Therefore deliberate well of theſe points, and take E
ſuch a courſe, that Peloponneſus may not by your leading,

fall

A *fall into worſe eſtate, then it was left vnto you by your Progenitors.*

Thus ſpake the *Corinthians*.

The *Athenian* Ambaſſadours (who chanced to bee reſiding in *Lacedæmon*, vpon their buſineſſe) when they heard of this Oration, thought it fit to preſent themſelues before the *Lacedæmonians*, not to make Apologie for what they were charged with by the other Cities, but to ſhew in generall, that it was not fit for them in this caſe to take any ſudden reſolution, but further time to conſider. Alſo
B they deſired to lay open the power of their Citty; to the elder ſort, for a remembrance of what they knew already; and to the yonger, for an information of what they knew not: ſuppoſing, that when they ſhould haue ſpoken, they would encline to quietneſſe, rather then to Warre. And therefore they preſented themſelues before the *Lacedæmonians*, ſaying, That they alſo, if they might haue leaue, deſired to ſpeake in the Aſſembly; who willed them to come in: And the *Athenians* went into the Aſſembly, and ſpake to this effect.

The *Athenian* Ambaſſadours, reſiding in *Lacedæmon*, vpon their buſineſſe, deſire to make anſwer to the Oration of the *Corinthians*.

C

THE ORATION OF THE Ambaſſadours of ATHENS.

THough our Ambaſſage was not to this end, that wee ſhould argue againſt our Confederates, but about ſuch other Affaires as the Citie was pleaſed to employ vs in; yet hauing heard of the great exclamation againſt vs, wee came into the Court, not to make anſwer to the crimination of the Cities (for to pleade before you here, were not to pleade before the Iudges either of them
D *or vs) but to the end you may not be drawne many) to take the worſt reſolution, at the perſwaſion of the Confederates, in matters of ſo great importance. And withall, touching the ſumme of the Oration made againſt vs, to informe you, that what wee poſſeſſe, we haue it iuſtly, and that our Citie deſerueth reputation. But what needs wee now to ſpeake of matters long paſt, confirmed more by heare-ſay, then by the eyes of thoſe that are to heare vs relate them? But our actions againſt the* Perſian, *and ſuch as you your ſelues know as well as wee, thoſe, though it bee tedious to heare them euer obiected, wee muſt of neceſſity recite. For when wee did them, we*
E *hazarded our ſelues for ſome beneſit, of which you as had your parts in the ſubſtance, ſo muſt wee haue ours (if that be any beneſit) in the com-*

commemoration. And wee ſhall make recitall of them, not by way of deprecation, but of proteſtation, and declaration of what a Citty (in caſe you take ill advice) you haue to enter the liſt withall. Wee therefore ſay, that wee not onely firſt and alone, hazarded Battell againſt the Barbarian in the Fields of Marathon, but alſo afterwards, when hee came againe, beeing vnable to reſiſt him by Land, embarqued our ſelues, euery man that was able to beare Armes, and gaue him Battell amongſt the reſt, by Sea, at Salamis; which was the cauſe that kept him backe from ſailing to Peloponneſus, and laying it waſte Cittie after Cittie: for againſt ſo many Gallies, you were not able to giue each other mutuall ſuccour. And the greateſt proofe of this is the Perſian himſelfe, who when his Fleet was ouercome, and that hee had no more ſuch Forces, went away in haſte, with the greateſt part of his Armie. Which being ſo, and euident, that the whole State of the Grecians, was embarqued in their Fleet, we conferred to the ſame, the three things of moſt aduantage; namely, the greateſt number of Gallies, the moſt prudent Commander, and the moſt liuely courage. (For of 1200. Gallies in the whole, our owne were few leſſe then two thirds) and for Commander, Themiſtocles, who was the principall cauſe that the Battell was fought in the * ſtreight, whereby he cleerely ſaued the whole buſineſſe, and whom, though a Stranger, you your ſelues haue honoured for it, more then any man that came vnto you; and a forwardneſſe wee ſhewed, more aduenturous then any other, in this, that when none of them had ayded vs by Land before, and the reſt of the Cities, as farre as to our owne, were brought into ſeruitude, wee were neuertheleſſe content, both to quit our Citie, and loſe our goods, and euen in that eſtate, not to betray the Common Cauſe of the Confederates, or diuided from them, to bee vnſeſull; but to put our ſelues into our Naue, and vndergoe the danger with them, and that without paſſion againſt you, for not hauing formerly defended vs in the like manner. So that we may ſay, that wee haue no leſſe conferred a benefit vpon you, then wee receiued it from you. You came indeed to ayde vs, but it was from Cities inhabited, and to the end you might ſtill keepe them ſo; and when you were afraid, not of our danger, but your owne: whereas wee, comming from a Citty no more in * being, and putting our ſelues into danger, for a Citty, hopeleſſe euer to bee againe; ſaued both you (in part) and our ſelues. But if wee had ioyned with the Perſian, fearing (as others did) to haue our Territories waſted, or afterwards, as men loſt, durſt not haue put our ſelues into our Gallies, you muſt not haue fought with him by Sea, becauſe your Fleet had beene too ſmall, but his affaires had ſucceeded as hee would himſelfe. Therefore (men of Lacedæmon) we deſerue

not

* of Salamis.

* The Athenians, at the comming in of the Perſian, when they put themſelues into their Gallies, left their Citie to the Army of the Perſians by Land, and ſent their Wiues and children into Ægina, mis, and Trœzena.

A not so great envie of the Grecians, for our courage at that time, and for our prudence, and for the dominion wee hold, as wee now vndergoe. Which dominion wee obtained not by violence, but because the Confederates, when your selues would not stay out the reliquet of the Warre against the Barbarian, came in, and intreated vs to take the command, of their owne accord. So that at first wee were forced to aduance our Dominion to what it is, out of the nature of the thing it selfe; as chiefly for feare, next for honour, and lastly for profit. For when wee had the envie of many, and had reconquered some that had already revolted, and seeing you were no more our friends, as you had
B beene, but suspected and quarrelled vs, wee held it no longer a safe course, laying by our power, to put our selues into your danger. For the revolts from vs, would all haue beene made to you. Now it is no fault for men in danger, to order their affaires to the best. For you also (men of Lacedæmon) haue command ouer the Cities of Peloponnesus, and order them to your best advantage: and had you, * when the time was, by staying it out, beene envied in your Command, as wee know well, you would haue beene no lesse heavy to the Confederates, then wee, you must haue beene constrained to rule imperiously, or to haue falne into danger. So that, though ouercome by three the
C greatest things, honour, feare, and profit, wee haue both accepted the dominion deliuered vs, and refuse againe to surrender it, wee haue therein done nothing to be wondered at, nor beside the manner of men. Nor haue wee beene the first in this kinde, but it hath beene euer a thing fixed, for the weaker to be kept vnder by the stronger. Besides, we tooke the gouernment vpon vs, as esteeming our selues worthy of the same; and of you also so esteemed, till hauing computed the commodity, you now fall to allegation of equity; a thing which no man that had the occasion to atchieue any thing by strength, euer so farre preferred, as to diuert him from his profit. Those men are worthy of
D commendation, who following the naturall inclination of man, in desiring rule ouer others, are iuster, then for their power they need. And therefore if another had our power, we thinke it would best make appeare our owne moderation; and yet our moderation hath vndeseruedly incurred contempt, rather then commendation. For though in pleas of Couenants with our Confederates, when in our owne City we haue allowed them triall, by Laws equall both to them and vs, the Iudgement hath beene giuen against vs, we haue then neuertheless beene reputed contentious. None of them considering, that others, who in other places haue dominion, and are toward their subiects States lesse moderate
E then wee, yet are neuer vpbrayded for it. For they that haue the power to compell, need not at all to goe to Law. And yet these men hauing

* That is, when Pausanias, King of Lacedæmon, pursuing the Reliques of the Persian Warre, through his pride and insolent Command, procured the hatred of the Confederates so farre, as the Lacedemonian State calling him home, they put themselues under the leading of the Athenians.

beene vsed to converse with vs vpon equall termes, if they loue any thing which they thinke they should not, either by sentence, or by the power of our gouernment, they are not thankfull for the much they retaine, but take in worse part the little they forgoe, then if at first, laying Law aside, wee had openly taken their goods by violence. For in that kinde also, they themselues cannot deny, but the weaker must giue way to the stronger. And men, it seemes, are more passionate for iniustice, then for violence. For that, comming as from an equall, seemeth rapine; and the other, because from one stronger, but necessity. Therefore when they suffered worse things vnder the Medes dominion, they bore it, but thinke ours to bee rigorous. And good reason; for to men in subiection, the present is euer the worst estate. Insomuch as you also, if you should put vs downe, and reigne your selues, you would soone finde a change of the loue, which they beare you now for feare of vs, if you should doe againe, as you did for a while, when you were their Commanders against the Medes. For not onely your owne institutions are different from those of others, but also when any one of you comes abroad with charge, he neither vseth those of yours, nor yet those of the rest of Greece. Deliberate therefore of this a great while, as of a matter of great importance, and do not vpon the opinions and criminations of others, procure your owne trouble. Consider before you enter, how vnexpected the chances of Warre bee: for a long Warre for the most part endeth in calamity, from which wee are equally far off, and whether part it will light on, is to be tryed with vncertainety. And men when they goe to Warre, vse many times to fall first to action, the which ought to come behind, and when they haue already taken harme, then they fall to reasoning. But since we are neither in such errour our selues, nor doe finde that you are, wee aduise you, whilest good counsell is in both our elections, not to breake the peace, nor violate your Oathes; but according to the Articles, let the controuersie bee decided by Iudgement; or else wee call the Gods you haue sworne by to witnesse, that if you beginne the Warre, we will endeuour to reuenge our selues the same way that you shall walke in before vs.

* Meaning the Imperious and tyrannicall command of Pausanias.

Thus spake the Athenians.

The Lacedemonians amongst themselues take counsell how to proceed.

After the Lacedemonians had heard both the complaints of the Confederates against the Athenians, and the Athenians Answer, they put them euery one out of the Court, and consulted of the businesse amongst themselues. And the opinions of the greatest part concurred in this, That the Athenians had done iniurie, & ought speedily to be warred on. But Archidamus their King, a man reputed both wise and temperate, spake as followeth.

A

THE ORATION OF ARCHIDAMVS.

MEN *of* Lacedæmon, *both I my selfe haue the experience of many Warres, and I see you of the same age with mee, to haue the like; insomuch as you cannot desire this Warre, either through inexperience (as many doe) nor yet as apprehending it to bee profitable or safe. And whosoeuer shall temperately consider the Warre wee now deliberate of, will finde it to bee no small one. For* B *though in respect of the* Peloponnesians, *and our neighbour States, wee haue equall strength, and can quickly bee vpon them; yet against men, whose Territory is remote, and are also expert Seamen, and with all other things excellently furnished, as money, both priuate and publike, Shipping, Horses, Armes, and number, more then any one part of* Greece *besides; and that haue many Confederates, paying them Tribute; against such, I say, why should we lightly vndertake the Warre? And since wee are vnfurnished, whereon relying, should we make such haste to it? On our Nauie? But therein we are too weake. And if we will prouide and prepare against them, it will require time. On our* C *money? But therein also we are more too weake; for neither hath the State any, nor will priuate men readily contribute. But it may be, some rely on this, that wee exceed them in Armes, and multitude of Souldiers, so that we may waste their Territories with incursions. But there is much other Land vnder their dominion, and by Sea they are able to bring in whatsoeuer they shall stand in need of. Againe, if wee assay to alienate their Confederates, wee must ayde them with Shipping, because the most of them are Ilanders. What a Warre then will this of ours bee? For vnlesse we haue the better of them in Shipping, or take from them their reuenue, whereby their Nauy is maintained, we shall* D *doe the most hurt to our selues. And in this case to let fall the Warre againe, will be no honour for vs, when we are chiefly thought to haue begun it. As for the hope, that if we waste their Countrey, the Warre will soone be at an end; let that neuer lift vs vp: for I feare we shall transmit it rather to our children. For it is likely the* Athenians *haue the spirit not to be slaues to their earth, nor as men without experience, to be astonished at the Warre. And yet I doe not aduise that wee should stupidly suffer our Confederates to bee wronged, and not apprehend the* Athenians *in their plots against them, but onely, not yet to take vp Armes, but to send and expostulate with them, making no* E *great shew neither of war, nor of sufferance: and in this meane time to make our prouisiõ, and make friends, both of* Greeks *&* Barbarians,

ſuch as in any place wee can get, of power either in ſhipping or money (nor are they to be blamed, that being laid in wait for, as wee are by the Athenians, take vnto them, not Grecians only, but alſo Barbarians for their ſafety) and withall to ſet forth our owne. If they liſten to our Ambaſſadours, beſt of all; if not, then two or three yeeres paſſing ouer our heads, being better appointed, wee may warre vpon them, if we will. And when they ſee our preparation, and heare words that import no leſſe, they will perhaps relent the ſooner; eſpecially, hauing their grounds vnhurt, and conſulting vpon commodities extant, and not yet ſpoiled. For wee muſt thinke their Territorie to bee nothing but an Hoſtage, and ſo much the more, by how much the better husbanded. The which wee ought therefore to ſpare as long as wee may, leſt making them deſperate, we make them alſo the harder to expugne. For if vnfurniſhed as wee bee, at the inſtigation of the Confederates, we waſte their Territory, conſider if in ſo doing, we doe not make the Warre both more diſhonourable to the Peloponneſians, and alſo more difficult. For though accuſations, as well againſt Cities, as priuate men, may bee cleered againe, a warre for the pleaſure of ſome, taken vp by all, the ſucceſſe whereof cannot bee foreſeene, can hardly with honour be letten fall againe. Now let no man thinke it cowardiſe, that being many Cities, we goe not preſently, and inuade that one City; for of Confederates that bring them in money, they haue more then wee; and Warre is not ſo much Warre of Armes, as Warre of Money, by meanes whereof Armes are vſefull; eſpecially when it is a Warre of Land-men, againſt Sea-men. And therefore let vs firſt prouide our ſelues of money, and not firſt raiſe the Warre, vpon the perſwaſion of the Confederates. For wee that muſt be thought the cauſes of all euents, good or bad, haue alſo reaſon to take ſome leaſure, in part to foreſee them. As for the ſlackneſſe and procraſtination, wherewith wee are reproached by the Confederates, bee neuer aſhamed of it; for the more haſte you make to the Warre, you will bee the longer before you end it, for that you goe to it vnprouided. Beſides, our Citie hath beene euer free, and well thought of. And this which they obiect, is rather to be called a Modeſty proceeding vpon iudgement. For by that it is, that we alone, are neither arrogant vpon good ſucceſſe, nor ſhrinke ſo much as others in aduerſity. Nor are wee, when men prouoke vs to it with praiſe, through the delight thereof, moued to vndergoe danger, more then wee thinke fit our ſelues; nor when they ſharpen vs with reprehenſion, doth the ſmart thereof

A thereof a iot the more preuaile vpon vs. And this modesty of ours, maketh vs both good Souldiers, and good Counsellours: good Souldiers, because shame begetteth modesty, and valour is most sensible of shame; good Counsellours, in this, that wee are brought vp more simply, then to disesteeme the Lawes, and by seuerity, more modestly then to disobey them. And also in that, that wee doe not, like men exceeding wise in things needlesse, finde fault brauely with the preparation of the Enemie, and in effect not assault him accordingly; but doe thinke our neighbours cogitations like our owne, and that the euents of Fortune cannot be discerned by a speech; and doe therefore alwayes so
B furnish our selues really against the enemy, as against men well aduised. For we are not to build our hopes vpon the ouersights of them, but vpon the safe foresight of our selues. Nor must wee thinke that there is much difference betweene man and man, but him onely to bee the best, that hath beene brought vp amongst the most difficulties. Let vs not therefore cast aside the institutions of our Ancestours, which wee haue so long retained to our profit; nor let vs, of many mens liues, of much money, of many Cities, and much honour, hastily resolue in so small a part of one day, but at leasure; the which wee haue better commodity then any other to doe, by reason of our power. Send to the A-
C thenians, about the matter of Potidæa, send about that wherein the Confederates say they are iniured; and the rather, because they bee content to referre the cause to Iudgement: And one that offereth himselfe to Iudgement, may not lawfully be inuaded, as a doer of iniurie, before the iudgement be giuen; and prepare withall for the Warre; so shall you take the most profitable counsell for your selues, and the most formidable to the Enemy.

Thus spake *Archidamus*.

But *Sthenelaidas*, then one of the *Ephori*, stood vp last of all, and spake to the *Lacedæmonians* in this manner:

D

THE ORATION OF STHENELAIDAS.

FOr my part, I vnderstand not the many words vsed by the Athenians; for though they haue beene much in their owne praises, yet they haue said nothing to the contrary, but that they haue done iniury to our Confederates, and to Peloponnesus. And if they carried themselues well against the Medes, when time was, and now ill against vs, they deserue a double punishment, because they are not good
E as they were, and because they are euill, as they were not. Now are we the same we were, and meane not (if we be wise) either to conniue

at the wrongs done to our Confederates, or deferre to repaire them; for the harme they ſuffer, is not deferred. Others haue much money, many Gallies, and many Horſes; and wee haue good Confederates, not to be betrayed to the Athenians, *nor to bee defended with words, (for they are not hurt in words) but to be ayded with all our power, and with ſpeed. Let no man tell mee, that after wee haue once receiued the iniurie, wee ought to deliberate. No, it belongs rather to the doers of iniurie, to ſpend time in conſultation. Wherefore (men of* Lacedæmon) *decree the Warre, as becommeth the dignity of* Sparta; *and let not the* Athenians *grow yet greater; nor let vs betray our Confederates, but in the name of the Gods, proceed againſt the doers of iniuſtice.*

Hauing thus ſpoken, being himſelfe *Ephore*, hee put it to the queſtion in the Aſſembly of the *Lacedæmonians*; and ſaying afterwards, *that hee could not diſcerne whether was the greater cry* (for they vſed there to giue their votes *viua voce*, and not with * Balles) and deſiring that it might bee euident that their minds were enclined moſt to the Warre, he put it vnto them againe, and ſaid, *To whoſoeuer of you it ſeemeth that the Peace is broken, and that the* Athenians *haue done vniuſtly, let him ariſe, and goe yonder.* And withall he ſhewed them a certaine place: *And to whomſoeuer it ſeemeth otherwiſe, let him goe to the other ſide.* So they aroſe, and the Roome was diuided, wherein farre the greater number were thoſe, that held the Peace to bee broken.

Then calling in the Confederates, they told them, *that for their owne parts, their ſentence was, That the* Athenians *had done them wrong; But yet they deſired to haue all their Confederates called together, and then to put it to the queſtion againe, that if they would, the Warre might bee decreed by Common conſent.* This done, their Confederates went home, and ſo did alſo afterwards the *Athenians*, when they had diſpatched the buſineſſe they came about. This Decree of the Aſſembly, that the Peace was broken, was made in the foureteenth yeere of thoſe thirty yeeres, for which a Peace had beene formerly concluded, after the actions paſt in *Eubœa*.

THE *LACEDAEMONIANS* gaue Sentence, that the Peace was broken, and that Warre was to bee made, not ſo much for the words of the Confederates, as for feare the *Athenian* greatneſſe ſhould ſtill encreaſe: For they ſaw that a great part of *Greece* was falne

* ψῆφος. *Properly* lapillus, Calculus. *A Litle ſtone or ball, which hee that gaue his voyce, put into a Box, either on the affirmative or negatiue part, as he pleaſed. The* Athenians *vſed Beanes, white and blacke. The* Venetians *now vſe Balls, and the diſtinction is made by the Box inſcribed with* yea *and* no.

The *Lacedæmonians* by queſtion conclude that the *Athenians* had broken the Peace.

Negroponte.

The true cauſe of this Warre being the feare the *Lacedæmonians* had of the power of *Athens*, the Author digreſſeth, to ſhew how that power grew firſt vp.

A falne already into their hands. Now the manner how the *Athenians* came to the administration of those affaires, by which they so raised themselues, was this:

The meanes by which the *Athenians* came to haue the command of the common Forces of *Greece* against the *Persian*, by which they raised their Empire.

After that the *Medes*, ouercome by Sea and Land, were departed, and such of them as had escaped by Sea to * *Mycale*, were there also vtterly ouerthrowne, *Leotychides* King of the *Lacedemonians*, then Commander of the *Grecians* at *Mycale*, with their Confederates of *Peloponnesus*, went home: But the *Athenians* with their Confederates of *Ionia*, and the *Hellespont*, as many as were already reuolted from B the * King, staid behinde, and besieged *Sestus*, holden then by the *Medes*, and when they had layne before it all the Winter, they tooke it, abandoned by the *Barbarians*; and after this they set sayle from the *Hellespont*, euery one to his owne Cities. And the * body of the *Athenians*, assoone as their Territory was cleere of the *Barbarians*, went home also, and fetcht thither their Wiues and Children, and such goods as they had, from the places where they had bin put out to keep, and went about the reparation of their City & Walles. For there were yet standing some pieces of the C circuit of their Wall, and likewise a few houses, (though the most were downe) which the principall of the *Persians* had reserued for their owne lodgings. The *Lacedemonians* hearing what they went about, sent thither their Ambassadours, partly because they would themselues haue beene glad, that neyther the *Athenians*, nor any other had had Walles; but principally, as incited thereto by their Confederates, (who feared not only the greatnesse of their Nauie, which they had not before, but also their courage shewed against the *Persian*) and entreated them, not to D build their Walles, but rather to ioyne with them, in pulling downe the Walles of what Cities soeuer without *Peloponnesus* had them yet standing. Not discouering their meaning, and greatest ioule they had of the *Athenians*; but pretending this, that if the *Barbarian* returned, hee might finde no fortified Citie, to make the Seate of his Warre, as hee did of *Thebes*; and that *Peloponnesus* was sufficient for the all, whereunto to retire, and from whence to withstand the Warre. Perswaded *Athenians*, by the aduice of *Themistocles*, when the *Lacedemonian* Ambassadours had so said, E dismissed them presently with this Answer, That they would presently send Ambassadours about the businesse they

The *Lacedemonians* aduise them to the contrary, for their owne ends, pretending the Common good.

Themistocles aduiseth them to build on.

* *A Promontorie in Asia the lesse, where the remnant of* Xerxes *Fleet was defeated, the same day that his Land-forces were also defeated by* Pausanias *at Platea, with the slaughter of Mardonius their Generall, and almost their whole Armie of* 300000. *men.*

' *Of* Persia.

The *Athenians* returne to their City.

* τὸ κοινὸν, *the State. That is, they made* Athens *againe the Seate of their gouernment, whereas before it was in the Fleet and Campe still remouing.*

They repaire their Citie, and wall it.

His subtilty in deluding the *Lacedæmonians*,

The building hastened.

Themistocles goeth to *Lacedæmon* Ambassadour.

He adviseth the *Lacedæmonians* to send Ambassadours, to see if the Wall went vp, or not.

He sendeth Letters to *Athens* secretly, to have those Ambassadours stayed, till the returne of himselfe and his fellowes from *Lacedæmon*.

And hearing that the Walles were finished, he iustifieth it.

they spake of, to *Lacedæmon*. Now *Themistocles* willed them to send himselfe to *Lacedæmon* for one, and that as speedily as they could; but such as were chosen Ambassadours with him, not to send away presently, but to stay them till the Walles were so rayſed, as to fight vpon them from a sufficient height; and that all the men in the Citie, in the meane time, both they, and their Wiues and Children, sparing neither priuate nor publike edifice, that might aduance the worke: but pulling all downe whatsoeuer, should helpe to raise it. When hee had thus instructed them, adding, that hee would himselfe doe the rest at *Lacedæmon*, he tooke his Iourney. And when hee came to *Lacedæmon*, he went not to the State, but delaying the time, excused himselfe; and when any of those that were in Office, asked him why hee did not present himselfe to the State, answered, *That he stayed for his fellow-Ambassadours, who vpon some businesse that fell out, were left behind, but he expected them very shortly, and wondred they were not come already.* Hearing this, they gaue credit to *Themistocles*, for the loue they bore him; but when others comming thence, averred plainely, that the Wall went vp, and that it was come to good height already, they could not then choose but beleeue it. *Themistocles*, when hee saw this, wished them not to beeled by reports, but rather to send thither some of their owne, such as were honest men, and hauing informed themselues, would relate the truth. Which they also did. And *Themistocles* sendeth priuily to the *Athenians*, about the same men, to take order for their stay, with as little apparence of it as they could, and not to dismisse them, till their owne Ambassadours were returned. (For by this time were arriued those that were ioyned with him, namely, *Abrowychus*, the sonne of *Lysicles*, and *Aristides*, the sonne of *Lysimachus*, and brought him word that the Wall was of a sufficient height.) For hee feared lest the *Lacedæmonians*, when they knew the truth, would refuse to let them goe. The *Athenians* therefore kept there those Ambassadours, according as it was written to them to doe. *Themistocles* comming now to his audience before the *Lacedæmonians*, said plainely, *That the Citie of Athens was already walled, and that sufficiently, for the defence of those within: And that if it shall please the* Lacedæmonians, *vpon any occasion to send Ambassadours vnto them, they were to*

send

A And thence forward as to remember, vnderstood well enough both to their owne, and also to the common good of all Greece. For when they thought it best to quit the Cities, and put themselues into their Gallies, he said they were halfe made it, without hauing the aduis of them: And in their Councels, whatsoeuer was thought good, that did he first himself. And more of that mind then any other, that it did lye vpon him, and vpon all the Confederates in common, that their Cities should be walled. For that in strength and equall armes, all equality for the common benefit of Greece. Therefore (said he) they must all the
B Confederate Cities keep vnwalled, or rather like as they lie at this day. The Lacedemonians when they heard him, though they made shewes of being angry with the Athenians, (for they had not sent their Ambassadours to forbid them, but by way of aduice, to admonish them not to build the Wall; besides they bare them affection then, for their courage shewne against the Medes) yet they were inwardly offended, because they missed of their will. And the Ambassadours returned home of either side, without complaint. Thus the Athenians quickly raised
O their Walles, the structure it self wanting nothing, for the haste vsed in the building. For the Foundation consisteth of stones of all sorts, and those in some places vnwrought, and as they were brought to the place. Many Pillars also taken from * Sepulchers, and polished Stones, were piled together amongst the rest. For the circuit of the City was farre euery way further out, and therefore hastening, they tooke alike whatsoeuer came next to hand. Themistocles likewise perswaded them to build vp the rest of Peireus, (for it was begun in the yeare that himself was
D Archon of Athens) as conceiuing the place both beautifull, in that it had three naturall Hauens, and that being now Sea-men, it would very much conduce to the enlargement of their power. For hee was indeede the first man that durst tell them, that they ought to take vpon them the command of the Sea, and withall presently helped them in the obtaining it. By his counsell also it was, that they built the Wall of that breadth about Peireus, which is now to be seene. For two Carts carrying stones, met and passed vpon it one by another. And yet within
E it there was neither Rubbish nor Morter, to fill it vp, but it was made all of great stones, cut square, and bound

The Lacedemonians dissemble their dislike.

The Walles of Athens built in haste.

* The walles of Athens made of Church & Temple-Cost. Nepos in vita Themist.

* This was before a Village, and now made the Athenian Arsenall.

* The Gouernour of the City for that yeere.

Themistocles author to the Athenians of assuming the dominion of the Sea, and of fortifying Peireus.

together with Iron and Lead. But for height it was raised but to the halfe at the most of what he had intended. For hee would haue had it able to hold out the Enemie, both by the height and breadth; and that a few, and the leste seruiceable men might haue sufficed to defend it, and the rest haue serued in the Navie. For principally hee was addicted to the Sea, because (as I thinke) he had obserued, that the Forces of the King had easier accesse to inuade them by Sea, then by Land, and thought that Piræus was more profitable then the City aboue. And oftentimes hee would exhort the *Athenians*, that in case they were oppressed by Land, they should goe downe thither, and with their Gallies, make resistance against what Enemie soeuer. Thus the *Athenians* built their Walles, and fitted themselues in other kinds, immediately vpon the departure of the *Persians*.

The reason why *Themistocles* was most addicted to affaires by Sea.

Pausanias sent Generall of the *Grecians*, to pursue the reliques of the *Persian* Warre.

In the meane time was *Pausanias* the sonne of *Cleombrotus*, sent from *Lacedæmon* Commander of the *Grecians*, with twenty Gallies out of *Peloponnesus*. With which went also a Saile of *Athens*, besides a multitude of other Confederates, and making Warre on *Cyprus*, subdued the greatest part of the same: and afterwards, vnder the same Commander, came before * *Byzantium*, which they besieged, and wonne.

* *Constantinople.*

Pausanias growing insolent, the *Ionians* offended, desire the protection of the *Athenians*.

But *Pausanias* being now growne insolent, both the rest of the *Grecians*, and specially the *Ionians*, who had newly recouered their liberty from the King, offended with him, came vnto the *Athenians*, and requested them for consanguinities sake to become their Leaders, and to protect them from the violence of *Pausanias*. The *Athenians*, accepting the motion, applyed themselues both to the defence of these, and also to the ordering of the rest of the affaires there, in such sort as it should seeme best vnto themselues. In the meane time the *Lacedæmonians* sent for *Pausanias* home, to examine him of such things as they had heard against him. For great crimes had beene laid to his charge by the *Grecians* that came from thence, and his gouernment was rather an imitation of Tyranny, then a Command in Warre. And it was his hap to bee called home at the same time, that the Confederates, all but the Souldiers of *Peloponnesus*, out of hatred to him, had turned to the *Athenians*. When he came to *Lacedæmon*, though

* *The* Ionians *were all Colonies of the people of* Athens

Pausanias sent for home, to answer to certaine accusations.

In his absence, the *Grecians* giue the *Athenians* the leading of them.

A he were censured for some wrongs done to priuate men, yet of the greatest matters he was acquit, especially of Medizing, the which seemed to bee the most euident of all. Him therefore they sent Generall no more, but *Dorcis*, and some others with him, with no great Army; whose command the Confederates refused, and they finding that, went their wayes likewise. And after that, the *Lacedæmonians* sent no more; because they feared lest such as were out, would proue the worse for the State, (as they had seene by *Pausanias*,) and also because they desired to be rid
B of the *Persian* Warre, conceiuing the *Athenians* to bee sufficient Leaders, and at that time, their friends.

Pausanias acquit, but sent Generall no more.

The *Grecians* refuse the command of *Dorcis*, sent from *Sparta* to be their Generall.

When the *Athenians* had thus gotten the Command, by the Confederates owne accord, for the hatred they bare to *Pausanias*, they then set downe an order, which Cities should contribute money for this Warre against the *Barbarians*, and which, Gallies. For they pretended to repaire the iniuries they had suffered, by laying waste the Territories of the King. And then first came vp amongst the *Athenians*, the Office of * *Treasurers of Greece*, who were receiC uers of the * *Tribute*, (for so they called this *money contributed*.) And the first Tribute that was taxed, came to * 460. Talents. The Treasurie was at * *Delos*, and their meetings were kept there, in the * Temple.

The *Athenians* assesse their Confederates, for the sustaining of the Warre.

* Ἑλληνοταμίαι.

* φόρος.

The originall of the Tribute paid to the *Athenians*.

* 86250. pound sterling.

* *Not at* Athens, *because they would not seeme to challenge a propriety in that mony.*

* *Of* Apollo.

Now vsing their authority at first, in such maner, as that the Confederates liued vnder their own Laws, and were admitted to Cómon Councell; by the War, and administration of the common affaires of *Greece*, from the *Persian* War to this, what against the *Barbarians*, what against their own innouating Confederates, and what against such of the *Pe*D *loponnesians* as chanced alwaies in euery Warre to fall in, they effected those great matters following; which also I haue therefore written, both because this place hath beene pretermitted by all that haue written before me. (For they haue either compiled the *Grecian* acts before the invasion of the *Persians*, or that invasion only. Of which number is *Hellanicus*, who hath also touched them in his *Attique Historie*, but briefly, and without exact mention of the times;) and also because they carry with them a demonstration of how the *Athenian* Empire grew vp.

The Historie of the time betweene the *Persian* and *Peloponnesian* War, pretermitted by other Writers, briefly deliuered by *Thucydides*.

E And first, vnder the Conduct of *Cimon*, the sonne of *Miltiades*, they tooke *Eion*, vpon the Riuer *Strymon*, from the

The steps of the *Athenians* toward their great Dominion.

The *Athenians* take *Eion*.

Medes by ſiege, and carried away the Inhabitants Captiues. Then the Ile *Scyros*, in the *Aegean* Sea, inhabited by the *Dolopes*, the Inhabitants whereof they alſo carried away Captiues, and planted therein a Colony of their owne. Likewiſe they made Warre on the *Cariſtians*, (alone, without the reſt of the *Eubœans*) and thoſe alſo after a time, came in by compoſition. After this they warred on the reuolted *Naxians*, and brought them in by ſiege. And this was the firſt Confederate Citie, which contrary to the Ordinance, they depriued of their free eſtate; though afterwards, as it came to any of their turnes, they did the like by the reſt.

And *Scyros.*

And *Carystus.*

And *Naxus*, their Confederate, now *Nicsia.*

Amongſt other cauſes of reuolts, the principall was their failing to bring in their Tribute, and Gallies, and their refuſing (when they did ſo) to follow the Warres. For the *Athenians* exacted ſtrictly, and were grieuous to them, by impoſing a neceſsity of toyle, which they were neither accuſtomed nor willing to vndergoe. They were alſo otherwiſe not ſo gentle in their gouernment as they had beene, nor followed the Warre vpon equall termes, and could eaſily bring backe to their ſubiection, ſuch as ſhould reuolt. And of this the Confederates themſelues were the cauſes: for through this refuſall to accompanie the Armie, the moſt of them, to the end they might ſtay at home, were ordered to excuſe their Gallies with Money, as much as it came to. By which meanes, the Nauy of the *Athenians* was increaſed at the coſt of their Confederates, and themſelues vnprouided, and without meanes to make Warre, in caſe they ſhould reuolt.

The cauſe of reuolts from the *Athenians.*

After this, it came to paſſe, that the *Athenians* and their Confederates, fought againſt the *Medes*, both by Land and by Water, vpon the Riuer of *Eurymedon*, in *Pamphylia*; and in one and the ſame day, the *Athenians* had Victory in both; and tooke or ſunke all the *Phœnician* Fleet, to the number of 200. Gallies. After this againe happened the reuolt of *Thaſius*, vpon a difference about the places of Trade, and about the Mines they poſſeſſed in the oppoſite parts of *Thrace*. And the *Athenians* going thither with their Fleet, ouerthrew them in a Battell at Sea, and landed in the Iland; But hauing about the ſame time ſent 10000. of their owne and of their Confederates people, into the Riuer of *Strymon*, for a Colonie to be planted in a place

The *Athenians* defeate the *Perſian*, vpon the Riuer of *Eurymedon.*

They warre on *Thaſius.*

A place called then the *Nine-wayes*, now *Amphipolis*. They wonne the said *Nine-wayes*, which was held by the *Eidonians*; but advancing farther, towards the heart of the Countrey of *Thrace*, they were defeated at *Drabescus*, a Citie of the *Eidonians*, by the whole power of the *Thracians*, that were Enemies to this new-built Towne of the *Nine-wayes*. The *Thasians* in the meane time, being ouercome in diuers Battels, and besieged, sought ayde of the *Lacedæmonians*, and entreated them to divert the Enemie by an invasion of *Attica*: which, vnknowne to the *Athenians*, they B promised to doe, and also had done it, but by an Earthquake that then happened, they were hindred. In which Earth-quake, their * *Helotes*, and of neighbouring Townes the *Thuriatæ*, and *Aetheans*, reuolted, and seazed on *Ithome*. Most of these *Helotes* were the posterity of the ancient *Messenians*, brought into seruitude in former times; whereby also it came to passe, that they were called all *Messenians*. Against these had the *Lacedæmonians* a Warre now at *Ithome*. The *Thasians* in the third yeere of the Siege, rendred themselues to the *Athenians*, vpon condition *to raze* C *their Walles; to deliuer vp their Gallies; to pay both the money behinde, and for the future, as much as they were wont; and to quit both the Mines and the Continent.* The *Lacedæmonians*, when the Warre against those in *Ithome* grew long, amongst other their Confederates, sent for aide to the *Athenians*; who also came with no small Forces, vnder the command of *Cimon*. They were sent for principally, for their reputation in murall assaults, the long continuance of the Siege, seeming to require men of ability in that kinde; whereby they might perhaps haue gotten the place by force. And D vpon this Iourney, grew the first manifest dissension betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*. For the *Lacedæmonians*, when they could not take the place by assault, fearing lest the audacious and innovating humour of the *Athenians*, whom withall they esteemed of a * contrary Race, might, at the perswasion of those in *Ithome*, cause some alteration, if they staid; dismissed them alone of all the Confederates, not discouering their iealousie, but alledging, that they had no further need of their Seruice. But the *Athenians* perceiuing that they were not sent away E vpon good cause, but onely as men suspected, made it a heynous matter; and conceiuing that they had better de-

They take *Amphypolis*, and afterwards receiue a great ouerthrow at *Drabescus* in *Thrace*.

The *Lacedæmonians* intending to invade *Attica*, are hindred by an Earthquake.

* The Lacedæmonians employed the Captiues taken in Warre, and their posterity, in husbandry, and other seruile workes, which was all done by this kind of men, and they were called by them Helotes, because the first of them so employed, were Captiues of the Towne of Helos in Laconia.

Thasus rendred to the *Athenians*.

The *Lacedæmonians* send for ayde to the *Athenians*, in their Warre against *Ithome*.

The first dissention betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athenians*.

* The *Lacedæmonians* were *Dorians*, the *Athenians*, *Ionians*.

The *Athenians* being had in suspicion by the *Lacedæmonians*, ioyne with the *Argiues*.

ſerued at the *Lacedæmonians* hands, as ſoone as they were gone, left the League which they had made with the *Lacedæmonians* againſt the *Perſian*, and became Confederates with their Enemies the *Argiues*; and then both *Argiues* and *Athenians* tooke the ſame Oath, and made the ſame League with the *Theſſalians*.

The *Helotes* in *Ithome*, after ten yeeres ſiege, compound, and quit *Peloponneſus*.

Thoſe in *Ithome*, when they could no longer hold out, in the tenth yeere of the Siege, rendred the place to the *Lacedæmonians*, vpon condition *of ſecurity to depart out of* Peloponneſus, *and that they ſhould no more returne; and whoſoeuer ſhould bee taken returning, to bee the Slaue of him that ſhould take him.* For the *Lacedæmonians* had before beene warned by a certaine anſwer of the *Pythian* Oracle, *to let goe the Suppliant of Iupiter Ithometes.* So they came forth, they, and their Wiues, and their Children. And the *Athenians*, for hatred they bore to the *Lacedæmonians*, receiued them, and put them into * *Naupactus*, which Citie they had lately taken from the *Locrians* of *Ozolæ*. The *Megareans* alſo reuolted from the *Lacedæmonians*, and came to the League of the *Athenians*, becauſe they were holden downe by the *Corinthians*, with a Warre about the limits of their Territories. Whereupon *Megara* and *Pegæ* were put into the hands of the *Athenians*; who built for the *Megareans*, the long Walles, from the Citie to * *Niſæa*, and maintained them with a Garriſon of their owne. And from hence it was chiefly, that the vehement hatred grew of the *Corinthians* againſt the *Athenians*. Moreouer, *Inarus*, the ſonne of *Pſammetticus*, an *African*, King of the *Africans* that confine on Ægypt, making Warre from *Marea*, aboue *Pharus*, cauſed the greateſt part of *Ægypt* to rebell againſt the King *Artaxerxes*; and when hee had taken the gouernment of them vpon himſelfe, hee brought in the *Athenians* to aſſiſt him; who chancing to be then warring on *Cyrus*, with 200. Gallies, part their owne, and part their Confederates, left *Cyrus*, and went to him. And going from the Sea, vp the Riuer of *Nilus*, after they had made themſelues Maſters of the Riuer, and of two parts of the Citie of * *Memphis*, aſſaulted the third part, called the *White-Wall*. Within were of the *Medes* and *Perſians*, ſuch as had eſcaped, and of the *Ægyptians*, ſuch as had not reuolted amongſt the reſt. The *Athenians* came alſo with a Fleet to *Halias*, and landing their Souldiers, fought by Land with the *Corinthians* and *Epidau-*

The *Athenians* receiue them, and place them in *Naupactus*.

* *Lepanto.*

Megara reuolteth from the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Athenians*.

* *The Hauen and Arſenall of* Megara,

The *Athenians* ſend an Armie into *Egypt*, to ayde the Rebels againſt the King of *Perſia*.

* *Cairo.*

The *Athenians* fight by Sea, againſt the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*.

A B C D E

A *Epidaurians*, and the *Corinthians* had the Victory. After this, the *Athenians* fought by Sea against the Fleet of the *Peloponnesians*, at *Cecryphalea*, and the *Athenians* had the Victory. After this againe, the Warre being on foot of the *Athenians* against the *Aeginets*, a great Battell was fought betweene them by Sea, vpon the Coast of *Aegina*, the Confederates of both sides being at the same, in which the *Athenians* had the Victory; and having taken 70. Gallies, landed their Armie, and besieged the Iland, vnder the Conduct of *Leocrates*, the sonne of *Stroebus*. After this, the B *Peloponnesians* desiring to ayde the *Aeginets*, sent ouer into *Aegina* it selfe three hundred men of Armes, of the same that had before ayded the *Corinthians* and *Epidaurians*, and with other Forces, fiazed on the tops of * *Geranea*. And the *Corinthians*, and their Confederates, came downe from thence, into the Territory of *Megara*, supposing that the *Athenians*, hauing much of their Armie absent in *Aegina*, and in *Egypt*, would be vnable to ayde the *Megareans*, or if they did, would be forced to rise from before *Aegina*. But the *Athenians* stirred not from *Aegina*, but those that remained at *Athens*, both yong and old, vnder the conduct of C *Myronides*, went to *Megara*, and after they had fought with doubtfull victory, they parted asunder againe, with an opinion on both sides, not to haue had the worse in the Action. And the *Athenians* (who notwithstanding had rather the better) when the *Corinthians* were gone away, erected a Trophie. But the *Corinthians* hauing beene reuiled at their returne, by the ancient men of the Citie, about 12. dayes after, came againe prepared, and set vp their Trophie likewise, as if the Victorie had beene theirs. Heere- D vpon the *Athenians* sallying out of *Megara*, with a huge shout, both slew those that were setting vp the Trophie, and charging the rest, got the victory. The *Corinthians* being ouercome, went their way, but a good part of them, being hard followed, and missing their way, lighted into the inclosed ground of a priuate man, which fenced with a great Ditch, had no passage through: which the *Athenians* perceiuing, opposed them at the place by which they entred, with their men of Armes, and encompassing the ground with their light-armed Souldiers, killed those that E were entred, with stones. This was a great losse to the *Corinthians*; but the rest of their Armie got home againe.

About

After that, against the *Peloponnesians*.

* *Some Iland about Peloponnesus, whose situation is not now knowne.*

Then against the *Aeginets*.

The *Corinthians* ayde *Aegina*.

* *A ridge of a Hill lying before the entrance into the Isthmus.*

The *Corinthians* receiue a great losse in *Megara*.

The *Athenians* build their long Walles, from both sides of the City to the Sea.

About this time the *Athenians* began the building of their *long Walles*, from the Citie downe to the Sea; the one reaching to the Hauen called *Phalerum*, the other to *Pyreum*. The *Phocæans* also making Warre vpon *Doris*, *Cytinium*, and *Eritheas*, Townes belonging to the *Dorians*, of whom the *Lacedemonians* are descended, and hauing taken one of them, the *Lacedemonians* vnder the conduct of *Nicomedes* the sonne of *Cleombrotus*, in the place of *Pleistoanax* sonne of King *Pausanias*, who was yet in minority, sent vnto the ayde of the *Dorians* 1500. men of Armes of their owne, and of their Confederates three thousand. And when they had forced the *Phocæans* vpon composition to surrender the Towne they had taken, they went their wayes againe. Now, if they would go home by Sea through the *Crissæan Gulfe*, the *Athenians* going about with their Fleet would be ready to stop them; and to passe ouer *Geranea*, they thought vnsafe, because the *Athenians* had in their hands *Megara*, and *Pegæ*. For *Geranea* was not only a difficult passage of it selfe, but was also alwayes guarded by the *Athenians*. They thought good therefore to stay amongst the *Bœotians*, and to consider which way they might most safely go through. Whilest they were there, there waited not some *Athenians*, that priuily solicited them to come to the Citie, hoping to haue put the people out of Gouernment, and to haue demolished the *long Walles*, then in building. But the *Athenians*, with the whole power of their Citie, and 1000. *Argiues*, and other Confederates, as they could be gotten together, in all 14000. men, went out to meet them; for there was suspition that they came thither to depose the *Democracie*. There also came to the *Athenians* certaine Horsemen out of *Thessaly*, which in the Battell turned to the *Lacedæmonians*. They fought at *Tanagra* of *Bœotia*, and the *Lacedæmonians* had the Victory, but the slaughter was great on both sides. Then the *Lacedæmonians* entring into the Territories of *Megara*, and cutting downe the Woods before them, returned home by the way of *Geranea* and the *Isthmus*. Vpon the two and sixtieth day after this Battell, the *Athenians*, vnder the conduct of *Myronides*, made a Iourney against the *Bœotians*, and ouerthrew them at *Oenophyta*, and brought the Territories of *Bœotia* and *Phocis* vnder their obedience; and withall ra-

zed

* The Dorians, the Mother Nation of the Lacedæmonians, inhabited a little Country on the North side of Phocis, called Doris, and Terapolis, from the foure Cities it contained; of which those here mentioned were three, and the fourth was Pindus.

* Gulfe of Corinth.

The *Lacedæmonians* fight with the *Athenians* at *Tanagra*.

The *Athenians* ouerthrow the *Bœotians* at *Oenophyta*, [that is to say, the Vineyards] and subdue *Bœotia* and *Phocis*.

A zed the Walles of *Tanagra*, and tooke of the wealthiest of the *Locrians* of *Opus*, 100. Hostages; and finished also at the same time, their *long Walles*, at home. After this, *Aegina* also yeelded to the *Athenians*, on these conditions, *That they should haue their Walles pulled downe, and should deliuer vp their Gallies, and pay their taxed tribute for the time to come.* Also the *Athenians* made a Voyage about *Peloponnesus*, wherein they burnt the Arsenall of the *Lacedæmonians* Nauie, tooke * *Chalcis*, a Citie of the *Corinthians*; and landing their Forces in *Sycionia*, ouercame in fight those that made B head against them. All this while the *Athenians* stayed still in *Ægypt*, and saw much variety of Warre. First the *Athenians* were Masters of *Ægypt*. And the King of *Persia* sent one *Megabazus*, a *Persian*, with money to *Lacedæmon*, to procure the *Peloponnesians* to invade *Attica*, and by that meanes to draw the *Athenians* out of *Ægypt*. But when this tooke no effect, and money was spent to no purpose, *Megabazus* returned with the money he had left, into *Asia*. And then was *Megabazus* the sonne of *Zopirus*, a *Persian*, sent into *Ægypt*, with great Forces, and comming C in by Land, ouerthrew the *Ægyptians* and their Confederates in a Battell, draue the *Grecians* out of *Memphis*, and finally inclosed them in the Ile of *Prosopis*; There hee besieged them a yeere and a halfe, till such time as hauing dreined the Channell, and turned the Water another way, he made their Gallies lye aground, and the Iland for the most part Continent, and so came ouer, and wonne the Iland with Land-Souldiers. Thus was the Armie of the *Grecians* lost, after sixe yeeres Warre; and few of many passing through *Africa*, saued themselues in *Cyrene*: but D the most perished. So *Ægypt* returned to the obedience of the King, except onely *Amyrtæus*, that raigned in the *Fennes*, for him they could not bring in, both because the Fennes are great, and the people of the Fennes, of all the *Ægyptians* the most warlike. But *Inarus*, King of the *Africans*, and Author of all this stirre in *Ægypt*, was taken by treason, and crucified. The *Athenians* moreouer had sent fifty Gallies more into *Ægypt*, for a supply of those that were there already; which putting in at *Mendesium*, one of the mouthes of *Nilus*, knew nothing of what had happened to E the rest: and being assaulted from the Land by the Armie, and from the Sea by the *Phœnician* Fleet, lost the greatest

Ægina yeelded to the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* sayle round *Peloponnesus*, and waste it.

* *A Citie of* Corinthians, *neere the Riuer* Tænas.

The end of the *Athenian* Forces in *Ægypt*.

A supply of *Athenians* going to *Ægypt*, defeated by the forces of the King.

greateſt part of their Gallies, and eſcaped home againe with the leſſer part. Thus ended the great expedition of the *Athenians*, and their Confederates into *Aegypt*. A

The *Athenians* invade *Theſſaly*.

Alſo *Oreſtes* the ſonne of *Echecratidas*, King of the *Theſſalians*, driuen out of *Theſſaly*, perſwaded the *Athenians* to reſtore him: And the *Athenians*, taking with them the *Bœotians* and *Phocæans*, their Confederates, made Warre againſt * *Pharſalus*, a Citie of *Theſſaly*; and were Maſters of the Field, as farre as they ſtrayed not from the Armie, (for the *Theſſalian* Horſemen kept them from ſtraggling) but could not winne the Citie, nor yet performe any thing elſe of what they came for, but came backe againe without effect, and brought *Oreſtes* with them. Not long after this, a thouſand *Athenians* went aboard the Gallies that lay at *Pegæ*, (for *Pegæ* was in the hands of the *Athenians*) vnder the command of *Pericles* the ſonne of *Xantippus*, and ſayled into *Sicyonia*, and landing, put to flight ſuch of the *Sicyonians* as made head; and then preſently tooke vp forces in *Achæa*; and putting ouer, made Warre on *Oenias*, a Citie of *Acarnania*, which they beſieged; neuertheleſſe they tooke it not, but returned home. B C

* *Famous for the Battell betweene* Iul. Cæſar, *and* Cn. Pompeius.

The *Athenians* vnder *Pericles* beſiege *Oeniades*.

Truce for 5. yeere betweene the *Athenians* and *Peloponneſians*.

Three yeeres after this, was a Truce made betweene the *Peloponneſians* and *Athenians* for fiue yeeres; and the *Athenians* gaue ouer the *Grecian* Warre, and with 200. Gallies, part their owne, and part their Confederates, vnder the conduct of *Cimon*, made Warre on *Cyprus*. Of theſe, there went 60. Sayle into *Aegypt*, ſent for by *Amyrtæus*, that reigned in the Fennes, and the reſt lay at the Siege of *Citium*. But *Cimon* there dying, and a Famine ariſing in the Armie, they left *Citium*, and when they had paſſed *Salamine* in *Cyprus*, fought at once both by Sea and Land, againſt the *Phœnicians*, *Cyprians*, & *Cilicians* and hauing gotten victory in both, returned home, and with them the reſt of their Fleet, now come backe from *Aegypt*. After this, the *Lacedæmonians* tooke in hand the Warre, called the *Holy Warre*; and hauing wonne the Temple at *Delphi*, deliuered the poſſeſſion thereof to the *Delphians*. But the *Athenians* afterward, when the *Lacedæmonians* were gone, came with their Armie, and regaining it, deliuered the poſſeſſion to the *Phocæans*. Some ſpace of time after this, the Outlawes of *Bœotia*, being ſeazed of *Orchomenus* and *Chæronea*, and certaine other places of *Bœotia*, the *Athenians* made

The *Athenians* warre on *Cyprus*.

" dyeth.

The Holy Warre.

Warre

A Warre vpon thoſe places, being their Enemies, with a thouſand men of Armes of their owne, and as many of their Confederates as ſeuerally came in, vnder the conduct of *Tolmidas*, the ſonne of *Tolmæus*. And when they had taken *Chæronea*, they carried away the Inhabitants Captiues, and leauing a Garriſon in the Citie, departed. In their returne, thoſe Outlawes that were in *Orchomenus*, together with the *Locrians* of *Opus*, and the *Eubœan* Outlawes, and others of the ſame Faction, ſet vpon them at *Coronea*, and ouercomming the *Athenians* in Battell, ſome they ſlew,
B and ſome they tooke aliue. Wherevpon the *Athenians* relinquiſhed all *Bœotia*, and made peace, with condition to haue their Priſoners releaſed. So the Outlawes and the reſt, returned, and liued againe vnder their owne Lawes. Not long after, revolted *Eubœa* from the *Athenians*; and when *Pericles* had already paſſed ouer into it with the *Athenian* Armie, there was brought him newes, that *Megara* was likewiſe revolted, and that the *Peloponneſians* were about to invade *Attica*, and that the *Megareans* had ſlaine the *Athenian* Garriſon, except onely ſuch as fled into *Niſæa*.
C Now the *Megareans*, when they reuolted, had gotten to their ayd, the *Corinthians*, *Epidaurians*, and *Sicyonians*. Wherefore *Pericles* forthwith withdrew his Armie from *Eubœa*; and the *Lacedæmonians* afterward brake into *Attica*, and waſted the Countrey about *Eleuſine*, and *Thriaſium*, vnder the conduct of *Pleiſtoonax*, the ſonne of *Pauſanias*, King of *Lacedæmon*, and came no further on, but ſo went away. After which the *Athenians* paſſed againe into *Eubœa*, and totally ſubdued it; the *Heſtiæans* they put quite out, taking their Territory into their owne hands; but ordered the reſt of
D *Eubœa*, according to compoſition made. Being returned from *Eubœa*, within a while after, they made a Peace with the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, for thirty yeeres, & rendred *Niſæa*, *Achaia*, *Pegæ*, and *Trœzene*, (for theſe places the *Athenians* held of theirs) to the *Peloponneſians*. In the ſixth yeere of this Peace, fell out the Warre betweene the *Samians* and *Mileſians*, concerning *Priene*; and the *Mileſians* being put to the worſe, came to *Athens*, and exclaimed againſt the *Samians*; wherein alſo certaine priuate men of *Samos* it ſelfe, tooke part with the *Mileſians*, out of deſire
E to alter the forme of Gouernment. Wherevpon the *Athenians* went to *Samos* with a Fleet of forty Gallies, and ſet

The *Athenians* recouer *Chæronea*, taken by the *Bœotian* Outlawes.

The *Athenians* defeated at *Coronea* by the Outlawes, loſe *Bœotia*.

Eubœa reuolteth from the *Athenians*.

Megara reuolteth.

Eubœa ſubdued by the *Athenians*.

Peace for 30. yeeres, betweene the *Athenians* and *Peloponneſians*.

The *Athenians* warre vpon *Samos*.

vp the *Democratie* there, and tooke of the *Samians* 50. Boyes, A
and as many men, for Hoſtages; which when they had
Stalimine. put into *Lemnos*, and ſet a Guard vpon them, they came
home. But certaine of the *Samians* (for ſome of them, not
enduring the popular gouernment, were fled into the Con-
tinent) entring into a League with the mightieſt of them
in *Samos*, & with *Piſſuthnes*, the ſonne of *Hyſtaſpes*, who then
was Gouernour of *Sardis*, and leuying about 700. auxiliary
Souldiers, paſſed ouer into *Samos* in the euening, and firſt
ſet vpon the popular Faction, and brought moſt of them
into their power, and then ſtealing their Hoſtages out of B
Lemnos, they reuolted, and deliuered the *Athenian* Guard, and
ſuch Captaines as were there, into the hands of *Piſſuthnes*,
and withall prepared to make Warre againſt *Miletus*.
With theſe alſo reuolted the *Byzantines*. The *Athenians*,
when they heard of theſe things, ſent to *Samos* 60. Gallies,
16. whereof they did not vſe, (for ſome of them went into
Caria, to obſerue the Fleet of the *Phœnicians*, and ſome to
fetch in ſuccours from *Chius* and *Leſbos*;) but with the 44.
that remained, vnder the command of *Pericles* and 9. o-
thers, fought with 70. Gallies of the *Samians*, (whereof C
twenty were ſuch as ſerued for tranſport of Souldiers,) as
they were comming all together from *Miletus*; and the *A-
thenians* had the Victory. After this came a ſupply of
Sio. Mitilene. forty Gallies more from *Athens*, and from *Chios* and *Leſbos*
25. With theſe hauing landed their men, they ouerthrew
the *Samians* in Battell, and beſieged the City; which they
incloſed with a triple Wall, and ſhut it vp by Sea with
their Gallies. But *Pericles* taking with him 60. Gallies
out of the Road, made haſte towards *Caunus* and *Caria*,
vpon intelligence of the comming againſt them of the *Phœ-* D
nician Fleet. For *Stesagoras* with fiue Gallies, was already
gone out of *Samos*, and others out of other places, to meete
the *Phœnicians*. In the meane time, the *Samians* comming
ſuddenly forth with their Fleet, and falling vpon the
Harbour of the *Athenians*, which was vnfortified, ſunke
the Gallies that kept watch before it, and ouercame the
reſt in fight; inſomuch as they became Maſters of the
Sea neere their Coaſt, for about foureteene dayes together,
importing and exporting what they pleaſed. But *Pericles*
returning, ſhut them vp againe with his Gallies; and E
after this, there came to him from *Athens* a ſupply of forty

Sayle,

A Sayle, with * *Thucydides*, *Agnon*, and *Phormio*, and twenty with *Tlepolemus* and *Anticles*; and from *Chios* and *Lesbos*, forty more. And though the *Samians* fought against these a small battell at Sea, yet vnable to hold out any longer, in the ninth moneth of the Siege, they rendred the Citie vpon composition: *Namely, to demolish their Walles; to giue Hostages; to deliuer vp their Nauy; and to repay the money spent by the* Athenians *in the Warre, at dayes appointed.* And the *Byzantines* also yeelded, with condition *to remaine subiect to them, in the same manner as they had beene before their re-*
B *volt.*

* *Not the Writer of the History.*

Samos yeelded to the *Athenians.*

Now not many yeeres after this, happened the matters before related, of the *Corcyræans* and the *Potidæans*, and whatsoeuer other intervenient pretext of this Warre. These things done by the *Græcians*, one against another, or against the *Barbarians*, came to passe all within the compasse of fiftie yeeres, at most, from the time of the departure of *Xerxes*, to the beginning of this present Warre: In which time, the *Athenians* both assured their Gouernment ouer the Confederates, and also much enlarged their own parti-
C cular wealth. This the *Lacedæmonians* saw, & opposed not, saue now and then a little, but (as men that had euer before beene slow to Warre without necessity, and also for that they were hindred sometimes with domestique Warre) for the most part of the time stirred not against them; till now at last, when the power of the *Athenians* was advanced manifestly indeed, and that they had done iniury to their Confederates; they could forbeare no longer, but thought it necessary to goe in hand with the Warre with all diligence, and to pull downe, if they could, the *Athe-*
D *nian* greatnesse. For which purpose, it was by the *Lacedæmonians* themselues decreed, That the Peace was broken, and that the *Athenians* had done vniustly. And also hauing sent to *Delphi*, and enquired of *Apollo*, whether they should haue the better in the Warre, or not; they receiued (as it is reported) this Answer: *That if they warred with their whole power, they should haue victory; and that himselfe would be on their side, both called and vncalled.*

Betweene the *Persian* and *Peloponnesian* Warre, fifty yeeres.

The businesse about *Corcyra* and *Potidæa*, before related.

The Oracle consulted by the *Lacedæmonians*, encourageth them to the Warre.

Now when they had assembled their Confederates again, they were to put it to the question amongst them, *Whether*
E *they should make Warre, or not.* And the Ambassadours of the seuerall Confederates comming in, and the Councell set,

Consultation of the *Peloponnesians* in generall, whether they should enter into a Warre, or not.

aſwell the reſt ſpake what they thought fit, moſt of them accuſing the *Athenians* of iniurie, and deſiring the Warre; as alſo the *Corinthians*, who had before intreated the Cities, euery one ſeuerally to giue their Vote for the Warre, fearing leſt *Potidæa* ſhould bee loſt before helpe came, being then preſent, ſpake laſt of all to this effect.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambaſſadours of CORINTH.

CONfederates, *we can no longer accuſe the* Lacedæmonians, *they hauing both decreed the Warre themſelues, and alſo aſſembled vs to doe the ſame. For it is fit for them who haue the command in a common League, as they are honoured of all before the reſt, ſo alſo (adminiſtring their priuate affaires equally with others) to conſider before the reſt, of the Common buſineſſe. And though as many of vs as haue already had our turnes with the* Athenians, *need not bee taught to beware of them; yet it were good for thoſe that dwell vp in the Land, and not as wee, in places of traffique on the Sea ſide, to know, that vnleſſe they defend thoſe below, they ſhall with a great deale the more difficulty, both carry to the Sea, the commodities of the ſeaſons, and againe more hardly receiue the benefits afforded to the inland Countries from the Sea; and alſo not to miſtake what is now ſpoken, as if it concerned them not; but to make account, that if they neglect thoſe that dwell by the Sea, the calamity will alſo reach vnto themſelues; and that this conſultation concerneth them no leſſe then vs, and therefore not to bee afraid to change their Peace for Warre. For though it bee the part of diſcreet men to be quiet, vnleſſe they haue wrong, yet it is the part of valiant men, when they receiue iniury, to paſſe from Peace into Warre, and after ſucceſſe from Warre to come againe to compoſition: and neither to ſwell with the goood ſucceſſe of Warre, nor to ſuffer iniurie, through pleaſure taken in the eaſe of Peace. For hee whom pleaſure makes a Coward, if hee ſit ſtill, ſhall quickly loſe the ſweetneſſe of the eaſe that made him ſo. And hee that in Warre, is made proud by ſucceſſe, obſerueth not, that his pride is grounded vpon vnfaithfull confidence. For though many things ill aduiſed, come to good effect, againſt Enemies worſe aduiſed; yet more, thought well aduiſed, haue falne but badly out, againſt well-aduiſed enemies. For no man comes to execute a thing, with the ſame confidence hee premeditates it: for we deliuer opinions in ſafety, whereas in the Action it ſelfe, wee faile through feare. As for the Warre at this time, wee raiſe it, both vpon iniuries done*

vs,

A vs, and vpon other sufficient allegations; and when we haue repaired our wrongs vpon the Athenians, we will also in due time lay it down. And it is for many reasons probable, that wee shall haue the victory. First, because wee exceed them in number: and next, because when wee goe to any action intimated, we shall be all of one * fashion. And as for a Nauie, wherein consisteth the strength of the Athenians, wee shall prouide it, both out of euery ones particular wealth, and with the money at Delphi and Olympia. For taking this at interest, wee shall bee able to draw from them their forraigne Mariners, by offer of greater wages: for the Forces of the Athenians, are rather
B mercenarie then domesticke. Whereas our owne power is lesse obnoxious to such accidents, consisting more in the persons of men then in money. And if wee ouercome them but in one Battell by Sea, in all probability they are totally vanquished. And if they hold out, wee also shall with longer time apply our selues to Nauall affaires. And when wee shall once haue made our skill equall to theirs, we shall surely ouermatch them in courage. For the valour that wee haue by nature, they shall neuer come vnto by teaching; but the experience which they exceed vs in, that must wee attaine vnto by industry. And the money wherewith to bring this to passe, it must be all our parts to contribute.
C For else it were a hard case, that the Confederates of the Athenians should not sticke to contribute to their owne seruitude; and wee should refuse to lay out our money, to bee reuenged of our enemies, and for our owne preseruation, and that the Athenians take not our money from vs, and euen with that doe vs mischiefe. Wee haue also many other wayes of Warre; as the reuolt of their Confederates, which is the principall meanes of lessening their reuenue; * the building of Forts in their Territorie, and many other things which one cannot now foresee. For the course of Warre is guided by nothing lesse then by the points of our account; but of it selfe contriueth most things vpon the occasion.
D Wherein, he that complies with it, with most temper, standeth the firmest; and hee that is most passionate, oftenest miscarries. Imagine wee had differences each of vs about the limits of our Territorie, with an equall Aduersary; wee must vndergoe them. But now the Athenians are a match for vs all at once, and one Citie after another, too strong for vs. Insomuch that valesse wee oppose them ioyntly, and euery Nation and City set to it vnanimously, they will ouercome vs asunder, without labour. And know, that to be vanquished (though it trouble you to heare it) brings with it no lesse then manifest seruitude: which, but to mention as a doubt, as if so many Cities could suf-
E fer vnder one, were very dishonourable to Peloponnesus. For it must then bee thought, that wee are either punished vpon merit, or else that

* All Land Souldiers, all of one manner of Arming and discipline.

* Though this be here said in the person of a Corinthian, yet it was neuer thought on by any of that side, till Alcibiades put it into their heads, when he reuolted from his Country.

that wee endure it out of feare, and so appeare degenerate from our Ancestours; for by them the liberty of all Greece hath beene restored; whereas wee for our parts, assure not so much as our owne; but claiming the reputation of having deposed Tyrants in the seuerall Cities, suffer a Tyrant Citie to be established amongst vs. Wherein we know not how we can auoyd one of these three great faults, Fooliſhneſſe, Cowardiſe, or Negligence. For certainely, you auoyde them not, by imputing it to that which hath done most men hurt, Contempt of the Enemie: for Contempt, because it hath made too many men miscarry, hath gotten the name of Fooliſhneſſe. But to what end should wee obiect matters past, more then is necessary to the busines in hand? wee must now by helping the present, labour for the future. For it is peculiar to our Countrey to attaine honour by labour; and though you be now somewhat aduanced in honour and power, you must not therefore change the custome; for there is no reason that what was gotten in want, should be lost by wealth. But wee should confidently goe in hand with the Warre, as for many other causes, so also for this, that both the God hath by his Oracle aduiſed vs thereto, and promiſed to bee with vs himselfe: and also for that the rest of Greece some for feare, and some for profit, are ready to take our parts. Nor are you they that first breake the Peace, (which the God, in as much as hee doth encourage vs to the Warre, iudgeth violated by them) but you fight rather in defence of the same. For not hee breaketh the Peace, that taketh reuenge, but hee that is the first inuader. So that, Seeing it will be euery way good to make the Warre, and since in common wee perſwade the same; and seeing also that both to the Cities, and to priuate men, it will bee the most profitable course, put off no longer, neither the defence of the Potidæans, who are Doreans, and beſieged (which was wont to bee contrary) by Ionians, nor the recouery of the liberty of the rest of the Grecians. For it is a case that admitteth not delay, when they are some of them already oppreſsed: and others (after it shall be knowne wee met, and durst not right our selues) shall shortly after vndergoe the like. But thinke (Confederates) you are now at a neceſsity, and that this is the best aduice. And therefore giue your Votes for the Warre, not fearing the present danger, but coueting the long Peace proceeding from it. (For though by warre groweth the confirmation of Peace, yet for loue of ease to refuse the warre, doth not likewise auoyde the danger. But making account, that a Tyrant Citie set vp in Greece, is set vp alike ouer all, and reigneth ouer some already, and the rest in intention, we shall bring it againe into order by the warre; and not onely liue for the time to come out of danger our selues, but also deliuer

the

A *the already enthralled* Grecians *out of seruitude*. Thus said the *Corinthians*.

The *Lacedæmonians*, when they had heard the opinion of them all, brought the * *Balles* to all the Confederates present, in order, from the greatest State to the least. And the greatest part gaue their *Votes* for the Warre. Now after the War was decreed, though it were impossible for them to goe in hand with it presently, because they were vnprouided, and euery State thought good without delay, seuerally to furnish themselues of what was necessary, yet there B passed not fully a yeere in this preparation, before *Attica* was invaded, and the Warre openly on foot.

The Warre decreed by all the Confederates.

* Ψηφον ἐπιγραφον. The fashion it seemeth, as now in some places, to present a Box or Vrne, and a little Ball, or stone or beane, to him that gaue his Vote, to the end he might put his Ball into the part of the Vrne that was for affirmation or negation, as he saw cause.

IN THE MEANE TIME, they sent Ambassadours to the *Athenians*, with certaine Criminations, to the end that if they would giue eare to nothing, they might haue all the pretext that could bee, for raising of the Warre. And first the *Lacedæmonians*, by their Ambassadours to the *Athenians*, required them to * banish such as were vnder curse of the *Goddesse Minerua*, for Pollution of Sanctuary. Which Pollution was thus. There had C beene one *Cylon* an *Athenian*, a man that had beene Victor in the *Olympian* exercises, of much Nobility and power amongst those of old time, and that had married the Daughter of *Theagenes*, a *Megarean*, in those dayes Tyrant of *Megara*. To this *Cylon*, asking counsell at *Delphi*, the God answered, *That on the greatest Festiuall day, hee should seaze the Cittadell of* Athens. Hee therefore hauing gotten Forces of *Theagenes*, and perswaded his Friends to the Enterprize, seazed on the Cittadell, at the time of the *Olimpicke* Holidayes in *Peloponnesus*, with intention to take vpon him the D Tyranny: Esteeming the Feast of *Iupiter* to bee the greatest, and to touch withall on his Particular, in that he had beene Victor in the *Olympian* exercises. But whether the Feast spoken of, were † meant to be the greatest in *Attica*, or in some other place, neither did hee himselfe consider, nor the Oracle make manifest. For there is also amongst the *Athenians* the *Diasia*, which is called the greatest Feast of *Iupiter Meilichius*, and is celebrated without the City; wherein, in the confluence of the whole people, many men offered Sacrifices, not of liuing Creatures, but E * such as was the fashion of the Natiues of the place. But hee, supposing hee had rightly vnderstood the Oracle, laid

The *Lacedæmonians* send Ambassages to the *Athenians*, about expiation of Sacriledges, only to pick better quarrels for the Warre.

* Excommunication extending also to posterity.

† The Oracles were alwayes obscure, that euasion might be found to saue their credit; and whether they were the imposture of the Deuill, or of men, which is the more likely, they had no prosention, nor secure wise coniecture of the future.

* Images of liuing creatures, made of paste.

hand to the enterprise; and when the *Athenians* heard of it, they came with all their Forces out of the Fields, and lying before the Cittadell, besieged it. But the time growing long, the *Athenians* wearied with the Siege, went most of them away, and left both the Guard of the Cittadell, and the whole businesse to the nine *Archontes*, with absolute authority to order the same, as to them it should seeme good. For at that time, most of the affaires of the Common-weale were administred by those 9. *Archontes*. Now those that were besieged with *Cylon*, were for want both of victuall and Water, in very euill estate; and therefore *Cylon*, and a Brother of his, fled priuily out; but the rest, when they were pressed, and some of them dead with famine, sate downe as *suppliants*, by the * Altar that is in the Cittadell: And the *Athenians*, to whose charge was committed the guard of the place, raysing them, vpon promise to doe them no harme, put them all to the Sword. * Also they had put to death some of those that had taken Sanctuary at the Altars of the * *Seuere Goddesses*, as they were going away. And from this, the *Athenians*, both themselues and their posterity, were called * *accursed* and *sacrilegious persons*. Heereupon the *Athenians* banished those that were vnder the curse: and *Cleomenes*, a *Lacedæmonian*, together with the *Athenians*, in a Sedition banished them afterwards againe: and not onely so, but dis-enterred and cast forth the bodies of such of them as were dead. Neuertheless there returned of them afterwards againe, and there are of their race in the Citie vnto this day. This Pollution therefore the *Lacedæmonians* required them to purge their Citie of. Principally forsooth, as taking part with the Gods; but knowing withall, that *Pericles* the sonne of *Xantippus*, was by the Mothers side one of that Race. For they thought, if *Pericles* were banished, the *Athenians* would the more easily bee brought to yeeld to their desire. Neuertheless, they hoped not so much, that hee should bee banished, as to bring him into the enuie of the Citie, as if the misfortune of him, were in part the cause of the Warre. For being the most powerfull of his time, and hauing the sway of the State, hee was in all things opposite to the *Lacedæmonians*, not suffering the *Athenians* to giue them the least way, but inticing them to the Warre.

Contrariwise,

* The Gouernours or Rulers of the City.

* of Minerua.

* The Lacedæmonians that in the reigne of Codrus inuaded Athens, and were defeated, some of them being entred the City, could not get away, but sate at those Altars, and were dismissed safe, but some of them slaine as they went home.

* οἱερὰν θεὰν. Eumenides.
* ἐναγεῖς, καὶ ἀγεύστους.

Pericles alwayes aduerse to the Lacedæmonians.

A Contrariwise the *Athenians* required the *Lacedæmonians* to banish such as were guilty of breach of Sanctuary at *Tænarus*. For the *Lacedæmonians*, when they had caused their *Helots*, Suppliants in the Temple of *Neptune* at *Tænarus*, to forsake Sanctuary, slew them. For which cause, they themselues thinke it was, that the great Earthquake happened afterwards at *Sparta*.

The *Athenians* require the *Lacedæmonians* to expiate the violation of Sanctuary also on their parts.

Also they required them to purge their Citie of the pollutiõ of Sanctuary, in the Temple of *Pallas Chalciœca*, which was thus: After that *Pausanias* the *Lacedæmonian* was recalled by the *Spartans* from his charge in *Hellespont*, and having bin called in question by them, was absolued, though hee was no more sent abroad by the State, yet hee went againe into *Hellespont*, in a Gallie of *Hermione*, as a priuate man, without leaue of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the *Grecian* Warre, as hee gaue out, but in truth to negotiate with the King, as hee had before begunne, aspiring to the Principality of *Greece*. Now the benefit that hee had laid vp with the King, and the beginning of the whole businesse, was at first from this: When after his returne from *Cyprus* he had
C taken *Byzantium*, when he was there the first time, (which being holden by the *Medes*, there were taken in it, some neere to the King, and of his kindred) vnknowne to the rest of the Confederates, hee sent vnto the King those neere ones of his which hee had taken, and gaue out, they were runne away. This hee practised with one *Gongylus*, and *Eretrian*, to whose charge hee had committed both the Towne of *Byzantium*, and the Prisoners. Also he sent Letters vnto him, which *Gongylus* carried, wherein, as was afterwards knowne, was thus written.

The occasion and manner of the death of *Pausanias* in the Temple of *Iupiter Chalciœca*.

Pausanias practiseth with the King of *Persia*, against the State of *Greece*.

D

The Letter of *Pausanias* to the King.

PAVSANIAS, *Generall of the* Spartans, *being desirous to doe thee a courtesie, sendeth backe vnto thee these men, whom hee hath by Armes taken prisoners: And I haue a purpose, if the same seeme also good vnto thee, to take thy Daughter in marriage, and to bring* Sparta *and the rest of* Greece, *into thy subiection. These things I account my selfe able to bring to passe, if I may communicate my counsels with thee. If therefore any of*
E *these things doe like thee, send some trusty man to the Sea side, by whose mediation wee may conferre together.*

These were the Contents of the Writing. *Xerxes* being pleased with the Letter, sends away *Artabazus* the sonne of *Pharnaces*, to the Sea side, with commandement to take the gouernment of the Prouince of *Dascylis*, and to dismisse *Megabates*, that was Gouernour there before: and withall, giues him a Letter to *Pausanias*, which hee commanded him to send ouer to him with speed to *Byzantium*, and to shew him the Seale, and well and faithfully to performe, whatsoeuer in his affaires, he should by *Pausanias* be appointed to doe. *Artabazus*, after hee arriued, hauing in other things done as hee was commanded, sent ouer the Letter, wherein was written this answer.

The Letter of *Xerxes* to *Pausanias*.

THVS *saith King* Xerxes *to* Pausanias: *For the men which thou hast saued, and sent ouer the Sea vnto mee, from* Byzantium, *thy benefit is laid vp in our House, indelebly registred for euer: And I like also of what thou hast propounded: And let neither night nor day make thee remisse in the performance of what thou hast promised vnto mee. Neither bee thou hindred by the expence of Gold and Siluer, or multitude of Souldiers requisite, whithersoeuer it bee needfull to haue them come: But with* Artabazus, *a good man, whom I haue sent vnto thee, doe boldly both mine and thine owne businesse; as shall bee most fit, for the dignity and honour of vs both.*

Pausanias groweth proud vpon the receipt of these Letters.

Pausanias hauing receiued these Letters, whereas he was before in great authority, for his conduct at *Platæa*, became now many degrees more eleuated; and endured no more to liue after the accustomed manner of his Countrey, but went apparelled at *Byzantium*, after the fashion of *Persia*; and when hee went through *Thrace*, had a Guard of *Medes* and *Ægyptians*, and his Table likewise after the *Persian* manner. Nor was hee able to conceale his purpose, but in trifles made apparant before-hand, the greater matters hee had conceiued of the future. Hee became moreouer difficult of accesse, and would bee in such cholericke passions toward all men indifferently, that no man might indure to approch him; which was also none of the least causes why the Confederates turned from him to the *Athenians*. When the *Lacedæmonians* heard of it, they called him

A him home the firſt time. And when being gone out the ſecond time without their command, in a Gallie of *Hermione*, it appeared that hee continued ſtill in the ſame practices; and after hee was forced out of *Byzantium* by ſiege of the *Athenians*, returned not to *Sparta*, but newes came, that hee had ſeated himſelfe at *Colonæ*, in the Countrey of *Troy*, practiſing ſtill with the *Barbarians*, and making his abode there for no good purpoſe: Then the *Ephori* forbore no longer, but ſent vnto him a publique Officer, with the * *Scytale*, commanding him not to B depart from the Officer; and in caſe hee refuſed, denounced Warre againſt him. But he, deſiring as much as he could to decline ſuſpition, and beleeuing that with money hee ſhould bee able to diſcharge himſelfe of his accuſations, returned vnto *Sparta* the ſecond time. And firſt he was by the *Ephori* commited to ward; (for the *Ephori* haue power to doe this to their King,) but afterwards procuring his enlargement, hee came forth, and exhibited himſelfe to Iuſtice, againſt ſuch as had any thing to alledge againſt him. And though the *Spartans* had againſt C him no manifeſt proofe, neither his enemies, nor the whole Citie, whereupon to proceed to the puniſhment of a man, both of the Race of their Kings, and at that preſent in great authority: for *Pliſtarchus* the Sonne of *Leonidas* being King, and as yet in minority, *Pauſanias*, who was his Couſin german, had the tuition of him: yet by his licentious behauiour, and affectation of the *Barbarian* cuſtomes, hee gaue much cauſe of ſuſpicion, that hee meant not to liue in the equality of the preſent State. They conſidered alſo, that hee differed in manner of life, D from the diſcipline eſtabliſhed: amongſt other things, by this, that vpon the *Tripode* at *Delphi*, which the *Grecians* had dedicated, as the beſt of the ſpoile of the *Medes*, hee had cauſed to bee inſcribed of himſelfe in particular, this Elegiaque Verſe:

PAVSANIAS, Greeke *Generall*,
Hauing the Medes *defeated*,
To Phœbus *in record thereof*,
E *This gift hath conſecrated.*

* Scytale, properly a Staffe; here, a forme of Letter, vſed by the Lacedæmonians, in this manner; they had two round ſtaues of one bigneſſe, whereof the State kept one, and the man whom they employed abroad, kept the other; and when they would write, they wrapped about it a ſmall thong of Parchment; and hauing thereon written, tooke it off againe, and ſent onely that thong, which wrapped likewiſe about the other ſtaffe, the letters ioyned againe, and might be read. This ſerued in ſtead of Cypher. It ſeemes Pauſanias retained his Staffe, from the time he had charge at Byzantium.

Pauſanias his ambition, in dedication of the *Tripode* at Delphi.

But the *Lacedæmonians* then preſently defaced that inſcription of the *Tripode*, and engraued thereon by name, all the Cities that had ioyned in the ouerthrow of the *Medes*, and dedicated it ſo, This therefore was numbred amongſt the offences of *Pauſanias*, and was thought to agree with his preſent deſigne, ſo much the rather, for the condition hee was now in. They had information further, that hee had in hand ſome practice with the *Helotes*: and ſo hee had: For hee promiſed them, not onely manumiſsion, but alſo freedome of the Citie, if they would riſe with him, and coöperate in the whole buſineſſe. But neither thus, vpon ſome appeachment of the *Helotes*, would they proceed againſt him, but kept the cuſtome which they haue in their owne caſes, not haſtily to giue a peremptory Sentence againſt a *Spartan*, without vnqueſtionable proofe. Till at length (as it is reported) purpoſing to ſend ouer to *Artabazus* his laſt Letters to the King, hee was bewrayed vnto them by a man of *Argilus*, in time paſt, his * Minion, and moſt faithfull to him: who being terrified with the cogitation, that not any of thoſe which had beene formerly ſent, had euer returned, got him a Seale like to the Seale of *Pauſanias*, (to the end that if his iealouſie were falſe, or that hee ſhould need to alter any thing in the Letter, it might not bee diſcouered) and opened the Letter, wherein (as he had ſuſpected the addition of ſome ſuch clauſe) hee found himſelfe alſo written downe to bee murdered. The *Ephori*, when theſe Letters were by him ſhewne vnto them, though they beleeued the matter much more then they did before, yet deſirous to heare ſomewhat themſelues from *Pauſanias* his owne mouth; (the man being vpon deſigne gone to *Tænarus* into Sanctuary, and hauing there built him a little Roome with a partition, in which hee hid the *Ephori*; and *Pauſanias* comming to him, and asking the cauſe of his taking Sanctuary,) they plainely heard the whole matter. For the man both expoſtulated with him, for what hee had written about him, and from point to point diſcouered all the practice: ſaying, that though hee had neuer boaſted vnto him theſe and theſe ſeruices concerning the King, hee muſt yet haue the honour, as well as many other of his ſeruants, to bee ſlaine. And *Pauſanias* himſelfe both confeſſed the ſame things, and alſo bade the man not

to

Pauſanias accuſed of practice with the *Helotes*.

* παιδικά, taken both in good and bad ſenſe, for a man with whom another man is in loue.

Hee ſends Letters to the King, which are opened by the way.

Pauſanias, by the arte of the *Ephori*, made to betray himſelfe.

A to be troubled at what was paſt, and gaue him aſſurance to leaue Sanctuary, entreating him to goe on in his iourney with all ſpeed, and not to fruſtrate the buſineſſe in hand.

Now the *Ephori*, when they had diſtinctly heard him, for that time went their way, and knowing now the certaine truth, intended to apprehend him in the Citie. It is ſaid, that when hee was to bee apprehended in the Street, hee perceiued by the countenance of one of the *Ephori* comming towards him, what they came for: and when B another of them had by a ſecret becke, ſignified the matter for good will, he ranne into the * Cloſe of the Temple of *Pallas Chalciæca*, and got in before they ouertooke him. Now the * Temple it ſelfe was hard by, and entring into a Houſe belonging to the Temple, to auoyd the iniurie of the open ayre, there ſtaid. They that purſued him, could not then ouertake him: but afterwards they tooke off the roofe and the doores of the houſe, and watching a time when hee was within, beſet the Houſe, and mured him vp, and leauing a Guard there, famiſhed him. When C they perceiued him about to giue vp the Ghoſt, they carried him as hee was, out of the Houſe, yet breathing, and being out, hee dyed immediately. After hee was dead, they were about to throw him into the * *Caada*, where they vſe to caſt in Malefactors: yet afterwards they thought good to bury him in ſome place thereabouts: But the Oracle of *Delphi* commanded the *Lacedæmonians* afterward, both to remoue the Sepulcher from the place where hee dyed, (ſo that he lyes now in the entry of the Temple, as is euident by the inſcription of the Piller) D and alſo (as hauing beene a Pollution of the Sanctuary,) to render two bodies to the Goddeſſe of *Chalciæca*, for that one. Whereupon they ſet vp two brazen Statues, and dedicated the ſame vnto her for *Pauſanias*. Now the *Athenians* (the God himſelfe hauing iudged this a Pollution of Sanctuary) required the *Lacedæmonians* to baniſh out of their Citie, ſuch as were touched with the ſame.

At the ſame time that *Pauſanias* came to his end, the *Lacedæmonians* by their Ambaſſadours to the *Athenians*, accuſed *Themiſtocles*, for that hee alſo had medized together E with *Pauſanias*, hauing diſcouered it by proofes againſt *Pauſanias*, and deſired that the ſame puniſhment might be like-

He flyeth into Sanctuary

* Ἱερόν. Both the Temple, & the ground conſecrated, wherin ſtandeth the Temple, Altar, and edifices for the vſe of their Religion.

* Τὸ ναῶ. The Temple or Church of the Goddeſſe.

* Caada, a pit neere Lacedæmon.

Themiſtocles in the ſame Treaſon.

likewiſe inflicted vpon him. Whereunto conſenting, (for A
he was at this time in baniſhment by * Oſtraciſme, and
though his ordinary reſidence was at *Argos*, hee trauelled
to and fro in other places of *Peloponneſus*,) they ſent certaine
men in company of the *Lacedæmonians*, who were willing
to purſue him, with command to bring him in, whereſo-
euer they could finde him. But *Themiſtocles* hauing had
notice of it before-hand, flyeth out of *Peloponneſus* into *Cor-*
cyra, to the people of which Citie, he had formerly beene
beneficiall. But the *Corcyræans* alleaging that they durſt
not keep him there, for feare of diſpleaſing both the *Lace-* B
dæmonians and the *Athenians*, conuey him into the oppoſite
Continent: and being purſued by the men thereto appoin-
ted, asking continually which way hee went, hee was
compelled at a ſtreight, to turne in vnto *Admetus*, King
of the *Moloſſians*, his enemie. The King himſelfe beeing
then from home, hee became a *ſuppliant* to his Wife, and
by her was inſtructed, to take their * Sonne with him,
and ſit downe at the Altar of the Houſe. When *Admetus*
not long after returned, hee made himſelfe knowne to
him, and deſired him, that though hee had oppoſed him C
in ſome ſuite at *Athens*, not to reuenge it on him now, in
the time of his flight: ſaying, that being now the wea-
ker, he muſt needes ſuffer vnder the ſtronger; whereas
noble reuenge is of equals, vpon equall termes: and that
hee had beene his Aduerſary but in matter of profit, not
of life; whereas, if hee deliuered him vp (telling him
withall, for what, and by whom hee was followed) hee
depriued him of all meanes of ſauing his life. *Admetus*
hauing heard him, bade him ariſe, together with his
Sonne, whom he held as he ſate: which is the moſt ſub- D
miſſe *ſupplication* that is.

Not long after came the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Athe-*
nians, and though they alledged much to haue him, yet
hee deliuered him not, but ſent him away by Land to
Pydna, vpon the * other Sea (a City belonging to * *Alexan-*
der) becauſe his purpoſe was to goe to the * King: where
finding a Ship bound for *Ionia*, hee embarqued, and
was carried by foule weather vpon the the Fleet of the
Athenians, that beſieged *Naxus*. Being afraid, hee diſco-
uered to the Maſter (for hee was vnknowne) who hee E
was, and for what hee fled, and ſaid, that vnleſſe hee
would

* *A kinde of banishment, wherein the* Athenians *wrote vpon the ſhell of an Oyſter the name of him they would baniſh: vſed principally againſt great men, whoſe power or faction they feared might breed alteration in the State: and was but for certaine yeeres.*

Themiſtocles, purſued by the *Athenians* and *Peloponneſians*, flyeth to *Corcyra*.

Thence is put ouer to the maine Land, and goeth to the King of the *Moloſſians*.

* *Gr.* τῶν Ἀ. Cornelius Nepos *in the life of* Themiſtocles, *ſaies it was their daughter.*

Thence he is conueyed to *Pydna*.
* *The* Ægean *Sea.*
* *King of* Macedonia.
* *Of* Perſia.

In danger to be caſt vpon the *Athenians* Fleet at *Naxus*, he maketh himſelfe knowne to the Maſter of the Ship.

A would ſaue him, hee meant to ſay, that hee had hired him to carry him away for money. And that to ſaue him, there needed no more but this, to let none goe out of the Ship, till the weather ſerued to bee gone. To which if hee conſented, hee would not forget to requite him according to his merit. The Maſter did ſo; and hauing lyen a day and a night at Sea, vpon the Fleet of the *Athenians*, he arriued afterward at *Epheſus*. And *Themiſtocles* hauing liberally rewarded him with money, (for hee receiued there, both what was ſent him from his friends at *Athens*, and alſo B what he had put out at *Argos*,) hee tooke his iourney vpwards, in company of a certaine *Perſian* of the * Low-Countries, and ſent Letters to the King *Artaxerxes*, the Sonne of *Xerxes*, newly come to the Kingdome, wherein was written to this purpoſe:

He arriueth at *Epheſus*.

* *The Low-countries of* Aſia *lying to the* Ægean *Sea.*

His Letter to *Artaxerxes*.

C I THEMISTOCLES *am comming vnto thee, who, of all the* Grecians, *as long as I was forced to reſiſt thy Father that inuaded mee, haue done your Houſe the manieſt damages; yet the beneſits I did him, were more, after once I with ſafety, hee with danger was to make retreat. And both a good turne is already due vnto mee,* (writing here, how hee had forewarned him of the *Grecians* departure out of *Salamis*, and aſcribing the then not breaking of the Bridge, falſely vnto himſelfe.) *and at this time to doe thee many other good ſeruices, I preſent my ſelfe, perſecuted by the* Grecians *for thy friendſhips ſake. But I deſire to haue a yeeres reſpite, that I may* D *declare vnto thee the cauſe of my comming my ſelfe.*

The King, as is reported, wondred what his purpoſe might bee, and commanded him to doe as he had ſaid. In this time of reſpite, hee learned as much as hee could of the Language and faſhions of the place; and a yeere after comming to the Court, he was great with the King, more then euer had beene any *Grecian* before; both for his former dignity, and the hope of *Greece*, which hee promiſed to bring into his ſubiection; but eſpecially for E the tryall hee gaue of his wiſdome. For *Themiſtocles* was a man, in whom moſt truely was manifeſted the ſtrength

The praiſe of *Themiſtocles*.

of naturall iudgement, wherein hee had ſomething worthy admiration, different from other men. For by his naturall prudence, without the helpe of inſtruction before or after, he was both of extemporary matters, vpon ſhort deliberation, the beſt diſcerner, and alſo of what for the moſt part would bee their iſſue, the beſt coniecturer. What hee was perfect in, hee was able alſo to explicate: and what hee was vnpractiſed in, he was not to ſeeke how to iudge of conueniently. Alſo hee foreſaw, no man better, what was beſt or worſt in any caſe that was doubtfull. And (to ſay all in few words) this man, by the naturall goodneſſe of his wit, and quickneſſe of deliberation, was the ableſt of all men, to tell what was fit to bee done vpon a ſudden. But falling ſicke, hee ended his life: ſome ſay hee dyed voluntarily by Poyſon, becauſe hee thought himſelfe vnable to performe what hee had promiſed to the King. His monument is in * *Magneſia* in *Aſia*, in the Market place: for hee had the gouernment of that Countrey, the King hauing beſtowed vpon him *Magneſia*, which yeelded him fifty Talents by yeere for his * bread; and *Lampſacus* for his Wine, (for this City was in thoſe dayes thought to haue ſtore of Wine,) and the Citty of *Myus* for his meate. His bones are ſaid, by his Kindred to haue beene brought home by his owne appointment, and buryed in *Attica*, vnknowne to the *Athenians*: for it was not lawfull to bury one there, that had fled for Treaſon. Theſe were the ends of *Pauſanias* the *Lacedæmonian*, and *Themiſtocles* the *Athenian*, the moſt famous men of all the *Grecians* of their time. And this is that which the *Lacedæmonians* did command, and were commanded, in their firſt Ambaſſage, touching the baniſhment of ſuch as were vnder the curſe.

His death.

* *There is another Citie of that name in* Greece.

* Cornelius Nepos *in the life of* Themiſtocles, *ſayes that the King gaue him theſe Cities with theſe words,* Magneſia *to finde him bread,* Lampſacus *wine, and* Myus *meat.*

AFTER THIS, they ſent Ambaſſadours againe to *Athens*, commanding them to leuy the Siege from before *Potidæa*, and to ſuffer *Ægina* to bee free; but principally, and moſt plainely telling them, that the Warre ſhould not bee made, in caſe they would abrogate the Act concerning the *Megareans*. By which Act, they were forbidden both the Fayres of *Attica*, and all Ports within the *Athenian* dominion. But the *Athenians* would not obey them, neither in the reſt of their Commands,

The *Athenians by* Ambaſſadours command the abrogation of the Act againſt the *Megareans*.

to nor

A nor in the abrogation of that Act; but recriminated the *Megareans*, for hauing tilled holy ground, and vnſet-out with bounds: and for receiuing of their Slaues that reuolted. But at length, when the laſt Ambaſſadours from *Lacedæmon* were arriued, namely, *Rhamphias*, *Meleſippus*, and *Ageſander*, and ſpake nothing of that which formerly they were wont, but onely this, That *the* Lacedæmonians *deſire that there ſhould be Peace, which may bee had, if you will ſuffer the* Grecians *to bee gouerned by their owne Lawes.* The *Athenians* called an Aſſembly, and propounding their opinions a-
B mongſt themſelues, thought good, after they had debated the matter, to giue them an anſwer once for all. And many ſtood forth, and deliuered their mindes on eyther ſide, ſome for the Warre, and ſome, that this Act concerning the *Megareans*, ought not to ſtand in their way to Peace, but to bee abrogated. And *Pericles* the ſonne of *Xantippus*, the principall man, at that time, of all *Athens*, and moſt ſufficient both for ſpeech and action, gaue his aduice in ſuch manner as followeth.

The laſt Ambaſſadours from *Lacedæmon*, require the *Athenians* to lay down their dominion.

The *Athenians* conſult what to anſwer.

C

THE ORATION OF PERICLES.

MEN *of* Athens, *I am ſtill not onely of the ſame opinion, not to giue way to the* Peloponneſians (*notwithſtanding, I know that men haue not the ſame paſſions in the Warre it ſelfe, which they haue when they are incited to it, but change their opinions with the euents*) *but alſo I ſee, that I muſt now aduiſe the ſame things, or very neere to what I haue before deliuered. And I require of you, with whom my counſell ſhall take place, that*
D *if wee miſcarry in ought, you will eyther make the beſt of it, as decreed by Common Conſent, or if wee proſper, not to attribute it to your owne wiſdome onely. For it falleth out with the euents of Actions, no leſſe then with the purpoſes of man, to proceed with vncertainety: which is alſo the cauſe, that when any thing happeneth contrary to our expectation, wee vſe to lay the fault on Fortune. That the* Lacedæmonians *both formerly, and eſpecially now, take counſell how to doe vs miſchiefe, is a thing manifeſt. For whereas it is ſaid, [in the Articles] that in our mutuall controuerſies, we ſhall giue and receiue trials of Iudgement, and in the meane time, eyther*
E *ſide hold what they poſſeſſe, they neuer yet ſought any ſuch tryall themſelues, nor will accept of the ſame offered by vs. They will*

cleere themselues of their accusations, by Warre rather then by words: A
and come hither no more now to expostulate, but to command. For they
command vs to arise from before Potidæa, and to restore the Æginetæ to the liberty of their owne Lawes, and to abrogate the Act concerning the Megareans. And they that come last, command vs to restore all the Grecians to their liberty. Now let none of you conceiue that wee shall goe to Warre for a trifle, by not abrogating the Act concerning Megara, (yet this by them is pretended most, and that for the abrogation of it, the Warre shall stay;) nor retaine a scruple in your mindes, as if a small matter moued you to the Warre: for
euen this small matter containeth the tryall and constancy of your re- B
solution. Wherein if you giue them way, you shall hereafter bee commanded a greater matter, as men that for feare will obey them likewise in that. But by a stiffe deniall, you shall teach them plainely, to come to you heereafter on termes of more equality. Resolue therefore from this occasion, eyther to yeeld them obedience, before you receiue damage; or if wee must haue Warre, (which for my part I thinke is best,) be the pretence weighty or light, not to giue way, nor keepe what wee possesse, in feare. For a great and a little claime, imposed by e-
quals vpon their neighbours, before Iudgement, by way of command,
hath one and the same vertue to make subiect. As for the Warre, C
how both wee and they be furnished, and why wee are not like to haue the worse, by hearing the particulars, you shall now vnderstand. The
* αὐτόεργοι. Peloponnesians are* men that liue by their labour, without money, eyther in particular, or in common stocke. Besides, in long Warres, and by Sea, they are without experience; for that the Warres which they haue had one against another, haue beene but short, through po-
* as liue by their labour. uerty; and* such men can neither man their Fleets, nor yet send out their Armies by Land very often, because they must bee farre from their owne wealth, and yet by that be maintained; and be besides bar-
* ἀφετέται. red the vse of the Sea. It must bee a* stocke of money, not forced D
Contributions, that support the Warres, and such as liue by their labour, are more ready to serue the Warres with their bodies, then with their money. For they make account that their bodies will outliue the danger, but their money they thinke is sure to bee spent; especially if the Warre (as it is likely) should last. So that the Peloponnesians and their Confederates, though for one Battell they bee able to stand out against all Greece besides, yet to maintaine a Warre against such as haue their preparations of another kinde, they are not able; in as much as not hauing one and the same counsell, they can
* Of the Peloponnesians and their Confederates, some were Doreans, some Æolians, some Bœotians. speedily performe nothing vpon the occasion; and hauing equality of E
vote, and being of seuerall* races, euery one will presse his particular

A *intereſt; whereby nothing is like to bee fully executed. For ſome will deſire moſt to take reuenge on ſome enemie, and others to haue their eſtates leaſt waſted; and being long before they can aſſemble, they take the leſſer part of their time to debate the Common buſineſſe, and the greater, to diſpatch their owne priuate affaires. And euery one ſuppoſeth that his owne neglect of the Common eſtate, can doe little hurt, and that it will bee the care of ſome body elſe to looke to that, for his owne good: Not obſeruing how by theſe thoughts of euery one in ſeuerall, the Common buſineſſe is ioyntly ruined. But their greateſt hindrance of all, will be their want of money, which being raiſed ſlow-*
B *ly, their actions muſt bee full of delay, which the occaſions of warre will not endure. As for their fortifying here, and their Nauie, they are matters not worthy feare. For it were a hard matter for a Citie equall to our owne, in time of peace to fortifie in that manner, much leſſe in the Countrey of an Enemie, and bee no leſſe fortified againſt them. And if they had a Garriſon here, though they might by excurſions, and by the receiuing of our Fugitiues, annoy ſome part of our Territory; yet would not that bee enough both to beſiege vs, and alſo to hinder vs from ſayling into their Territories, and from taking reuenge with our Fleet, which is the thing wherein our ſtrength lyeth.*
C *For wee haue more experience in Land-ſeruice, by vſe of the Sea, then they haue in Sea-ſeruice, by vſe of the Land. Nor ſhall they attaine the knowledge of nauall affaires eaſily. For your ſelues, though falling to it immediately vpon the* Perſian *warre, yet haue not attained it fully. How then ſhould husbandmen, not Sea-men, whom alſo wee will not ſuffer to apply themſelues to it, by lying continually vpon them with ſo great Fleets, performe any matter of value? Indeed, if they ſhould bee oppoſed but with a few Ships, they might aduenture, encouraging their want of knowledge, with ſtore of men; but awed by many, they will not ſtirre that way; and not applying themſelues to it,*
D *will bee yet more vnskilfull, and thereby more cowardly. For knowledge of Nauall matters, is an Art as well as any other, and not to be attended at idle times, and on the * by; but requiring rather, that whileſt it is a learning, nothing elſe ſhould bee done on the by. But ſay they ſhould take the money at* Olympia *and* Delphi, *and therewith, at greater wages, goe about to draw from vs the Strangers employed in our Fleet; this indeed, if going aboard both our ſelues, and thoſe that dwell amongſt vs, wee could not match them, were a dangerous matter. But now, wee can both doe this, and (which is the principall thing) wee haue Steereſmen, and other neceſſary men for the*
E *ſeruice of a Ship, both more and better of our owne Citizens, then are in all the reſt of* Greece. *Beſides that, not any of theſe Strangers,*

* ἐν τῷ παρέργῳ.

vpon tryall, would bee found content to fly his owne Countrey, and withall vpon leſſe * hope of victory, for a few dayes increaſe of wages, take part with the other ſide. In this manner, or like to this, ſeemeth vnto mee to ſtand the caſe of the Peloponneſians: Whereas ours is both free from what in theirs I haue reprehended, and hath many great aduantages beſides. If they inuade our Territory by Land, wee ſhall inuade theirs by Sea. And when wee haue waſted part of Peloponneſus, and they all Attica, yet ſhall theirs bee the greater loſſe. For they, vnleſſe by the ſword, can get no other Territory in ſtead of that wee ſhall deſtroy: Whereas for vs, there is other Land, both in the Ilands, and Continent: For the dominion of the Sea is a great matter. Conſider but this; If we dwelt in the Ilands, whether of vs then were more inexpugnable? Wee muſt therefore now, drawing as neere as can bee to that imagination, lay aſide the care of Fields and Villages, and not for the loſſe of them, out of paſſion, giue battell to the Peloponneſians, farre more in number then our ſelues; (for though wee giue them an ouerthrow, wee muſt fight againe with as many more: and if wee bee ouerthrowne, we ſhall loſe the helpe of our Confederates, which are our ſtrength; for when we cannot warre vpon them, they will reuolt) nor bewaile yee the loſſe of Fields or Houſes, but of mens bodies: for men may acquire theſe, but theſe cannot acquire men. And if I thought I ſhould preuaile, I would aduiſe you to goe out, and deſtroy them your ſelues, and ſhew the Peloponneſians, that you will neuer the ſooner obey them for ſuch things as theſe. There be many other things that giue hope of victory, (*in caſe you doe not, whileſt you are in this Warre, ſtriue to enlarge your dominion, and vndergoe other voluntary dangers; for I am afraid of our owne errours, more then of their deſignes,) but they ſhall bee ſpoken of at another time, in proſecution of the Warre it ſelfe. For the preſent, let vs ſend away theſe men with this Anſwer: That the Megareans ſhall haue the liberty of our Fayres and Ports, if the Lacedæmonians will alſo make no baniſhment of vs nor of our Confederates, as of Strangers. For neither our Act concerning Megara, nor their baniſhment of Strangers, is forbidden in the Articles. Alſo, that we will let the Grecian Cities be free, if they were ſo when the Peace was made; and if the Lacedæmonians will alſo giue leaue vnto their Confederates, to vſe their freedome, not as ſhall ſerue the turne of the Lacedæmonians, but as they themſelues ſhall euery one thinke good. Alſo, that wee will ſtand to Iudgement according to the Articles, and will not beginne the Warre, but bee reuenged on thoſe that ſhall. For this is both iuſt, and

A B C D E

* That is, of victory by Sea, where they were to be employed.

*Thucydides hath his mind here, vpon the Defeat in Sicily, which fell out many yeeres after the death of Pericles. Whereby it ſeemes, he frameth his ſpeech more to what Pericles might haue ſaid, then to what he did ſay. Which alſo he profeſſeth in general of his courſe in ſetting downe Speeches. Beſides, he maketh Pericles here to anſwer point by point to the Oration of the Corinthians at Lacedæmon, as if hee had beene by, whenit was deliuered: and vſeth the ſame manner in all oppoſite Orations.

A *and for the dignity of the City to anſwer. Neuertheleſſe, you muſt know, that of neceſsity Warre there will bee; and the more willingly wee embrace it, the leſſe preſsing we ſhall haue our enemies; and that out of greateſt dangers, whether to Cities or priuate men, ariſe the greateſt honours. For our Fathers, when they vndertooke the* Medes, *did from leſſe beginnings, nay abandoning the little they had, by wiſdome rather then Fortune, by courage rather then ſtrength, both repell the* Barbarian, *and aduance this State to the height it now is at. Of whom wee ought not now to come ſhort, but rather to reuenge vs by all meanes vpon our enemies, and doe*
B *our beſt to deliuer the State vnimpayred by vs, to poſterity.*

Thus ſpake *Pericles.*

The *Athenians* liking beſt of his aduice, decreed as hee would haue them, anſwering the *Lacedæmonians* according to his direction, both in particular as hee had ſpoken, and generally, *That they would doe nothing on command, but were ready to anſwer their accuſations vpon equall termes, by way of arbitrement.* So the Ambaſſadours went home, and after theſe, there came no more.

The Anſwer of the *Athenians* to the Ambaſſadours of *Lacedæmon.*

Theſe were the Quarels and differences on eyther ſide,
C before the Warre: which Quarels beganne preſently vpon the buſineſſe of *Epidamnus* and *Corcyra.* Neuertheleſſe, there was ſtill commerce betwixt them, and they went to each other without any Herald, though not without iealouſie. For the things that had paſſed, were but the confuſion of the Articles, and matter of the Warre to follow.

FINIS.

THE SECOND BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF *THVCYDIDES.*

The principall Contents.

The entry of the Theban *Souldiers into* Platæa, *by the Treaſon of ſome within. Their repulſe and ſlaughter. The irruption of the* Peloponneſians *into* Attica. *The waſting of the Coaſt of* Peloponneſus *by the* Athenian *Fleet. The Publike Funerall of the firſt ſlaine. The ſecond inuaſion of* Attica. *The* Peſtilence *in the City of* Athens. *The* Ambraciotes *warre againſt the* Amphilochi. Platæa *aſſaulted. Beſieged. The* Peloponneſian *Fleet beaten by* Phormio, *before the Straight of the Gulfe of* Criſſa. *The ſame Fleet repaired, and re-inforced and beaten againe by* Phormio, *before* Naupactus. *The attempt of the* Peloponneſians *on* Salamis. *The fruitleſſe expedition of the* Thracians *againſt the* Macedonians. *This in the firſt 3. yeeres of the Warre.*

D THE Warre betweene the *Athenians* and the *Peloponneſians* beginneth now, from the time they had no longer commerce one with another without a Herald, and that hauing once begun it, they warred without intermiſsion. And it is written in order by Summers and Winters, according as from time to time the ſeuerall matters came to paſſe.

THE FIRST YEERS OF THE WARRE.

E The Peace, which after the winning of *Euboea*, was

concluded for thirty yeeres, laſted foureteene yeeres: but in the fifteenth yeere, being the forty eighth of the Prieſthood of * *Chryas*, in *Argos*, *Euclas* being the Ephor at *Sparta*, and *Pythodorus* Archon of *Athens*, hauing then two moneths of his gouernment to come, about the ſixth moneth after the Battell at *Potidæa*, and in the beginning of the Spring, three hundred and odde *Thebans*, led by *Pythangelus* the Sonne of *Philides*, and *Diemporus*, the ſonne of *Oenotoridas*, * *Bœotian* Rulers, about the firſt Watch of the night, entred with their Armes into *Plataa*, a Citie of *Bœotia*, and Confederate of the *Athenians*. They were brought in, and the Gates opened vnto them, by *Nauclides* and his Complices, men of *Plataa*, that for their owne priuate ambition, intended both the deſtruction of ſuch Citizens as were their enemies, and the putting of the whole City vnder the ſubiection of the *Thebans*. This they negotiated with one *Eurymachus*, the Sonne of *Leontiadas*, one of the moſt potent men of *Thebes*. For the *Thebans* foreſeeing the Warre, deſired to præoccupate *Plataa* (which was alwayes at variance with them) whileſt there was yet Peace, and the Warre not openly on foot. By which meanes, they more eaſily entred vndiſcouered, there being no order taken before for a Watch. And * making a ſtand in their Armes in the Market place, did not (as they that gaue them entrance would haue had them) fall preſently to the buſineſſe, and enter the Houſes of their Aduerſaries, but reſolued rather to make fauourable Proclamation, and to induce the Cities to compoſition and friendſhip. And the Herald proclaimed, *That if any man, according to the ancient cuſtome of all the* Bœotians, *would enter into the ſame league of Warre with them, hee ſhould come, and bring his Armes to theirs*: ſuppoſing the Citie by this meanes would eaſily be drawne to their ſide. The *Plataans*, when they perceiued that the *Thebans* were already entred, and had ſurpriſed the Citie, through feare, and opinion that more were entred then indeed were, (for they could not ſee them in the night) came to compoſition, and accepting the condition, reſted quiet; and the rather, for that they had yet done no man harme. But whileſt that theſe things were treating, they obſerued that the *Thebans* were not many, and thought that if they ſhould let vpon them, they might eaſily haue the victory. For the *Plataan* Com-

mons

* Prieſteſſe of Iuno. By whoſe Prieſthood they reckoned their yeeres.

* The Athenians began their yeeres about the Summer Solſtice.

Plataa ſurpriſed by the *Thebans* by Treaſon.

* Βοιωταρχοῦντες. There were 11. of them in all, and had the abſolute command of the Bœotians in their Warres, in turnes.

* Διδόντες τὰ ὅπλα. The *Thebans* execute not the deſigne of the Traytors.

But offer compoſition.

The *Plataans* accept it.

The *Plataans* take heart.

A mons were not willing to haue reuolted from the *Athenians*. Wherefore it was thought fit to vndertake the matter; and they vnited themſelues, by digging through the Common Walles, betweene houſe and houſe, that they might not be diſcouered as they paſſed the Streets. They alſo placed Carts in the Streets (without the Cattell that drew them) to ſerue them inſtead of a Wall; and euery other thing they put in readineſſe, as they ſeuerally ſeemed neceſſary for the preſent enterprize. When all things according to their meanes, were ready, they marched from
B their Houſes, towards the enemies; taking their time whileſt it was yet night, and a little before breake of day; becauſe they would not haue to charge them, when they ſhould bee emboldned by the light, and on equall termes, but when they ſhould by night bee terrified, and inferiour to them in knowledge of the places of the Citie. So they forthwith ſet vpon them, and came quickly vp to hand-ſtroakes. And the *Thebans* ſeeing this, and finding they were deceiued, caſt themſelues into a round figure, and beat them backe in that part where the aſſault was made:
C and twice or thrice they repulſed them. But at laſt, when both the *Plateans* themſelues charged them with a great clamour, and their Wiues alſo and Families ſhouted, and ſcreeched from the Houſes; and withall threw ſtones and Tyles amongſt them; the night hauing beene alſo very wet, they were afraid, and turned their backes, and fled heere and there about the Cittie; ignorant for the moſt part, in the darke and durt, of the wayes out, by which they ſhould haue beene ſaued (for this accident fell out vpon the change of the Moone)
D and purſued by ſuch as were well acquainted with the wayes to keepe them in; inſomuch as the greateſt part of them periſhed. The Gate by which they entred, and which onely was left open, a certaine *Plateän* ſhut vp againe, with the head of a Iaueline, which hee thruſt into the Staple, in ſtead of a bolt: ſo that this way alſo their paſſage was ſtopped. As they were chaſed vp and downe the City, ſome climbed the Walles, and caſt themſelues out, and for the moſt part dyed; ſome came to a deſart Gate of the City, and with a
E Hatchet giuen them by a Woman, cut the ſtaple, and got forth vnſeene: but theſe were not many: for the

And vnite themſelues by digging through the Common Walles of their Houſes.

They aſſault the *Thebans*.

The *Thebans* fly, but cannot get out.

thing was soone discouered: others againe were slaine, A
dispersed in seuerall parts of the Citie. But the greatest
The *Thebans* penned vp in a House, which they entred into, by mistaking the doore for the City Gate,
part, and those especially who had cast themselues before
into a Ring, happened into a great Edifice, adioyning
to the Wall, the doores whereof being open, they thought
had beene the Gates of the Citie, and that there had beene
a direct way through to the other side. The *Plateans* see-
ing them now pend vp, consulted whether they should
burne them as they were, by firing the House, or else re-
solue of some other punishment. At length, both these,
and all the rest of the *Thebans* that were straggling in the B
They yeeld to discretion
Citie, agreed to yeeld themselues and their Armes to the
Plateans, at discretion. And this successe had they that
entred into *Platæa*.

The whole power of *Thebes* come to rescue their Fellowes.
But the rest of the *Thebans*, that should with their
whole power haue beene there before day, for feare the
surprize should not succeed with those that were in, came
so late with their ayde, that they heard the newes of
what was done, by the way. Now *Platæa* is from *Thebes*,
70. Furlongs, and they marched the slowlier, for the
raine which had falne the same night. For the Riuer *A-* C
sopus was swolne so high, that it was not easily passable;
so that what by the foulenesse of the way, and what by
the difficulty of passing the Riuer, they arriued not, till
their men were already some slaine, and some taken priso-
ners. When the *Thebans* vnderstood how things had gone,
The *Thebans* seeke to intercept the *Plateans* in the Villages.
they lay in waite for such of the *Plateans* as were without:
(for there were abroad in the Villages, both men, and
houshold stuffe, as was not vnlikely, the euill happening
vnexpectedly, and in time of peace;) desiring, if they
could take any Prisoners, to keepe them for exchange for D
those of theirs within, which (if any were so) were saued
aliue. This was the *Thebans* purpose. But the *Plateans*,
The *Plateans* send to the *Thebans*, to be gone, and promise to release their prisoners.
whilest they were yet in Councell, suspecting that some
such thing would bee done, and fearing their case without,
sent a Herald vnto the *Thebans*, whom they commanded
to say, *That what they had already done, attempting to surprize*
their Citie in time of Peace, was done wickedly, and to forbid
them *to doe any iniury to those without, and that otherwise they*
would kill all those men of theirs that they had aliue; which, if they
would withdraw their forces out of their Territory, they would E
againe restore vnto them. Thus the *Thebans* say, and that

the

A the *Plateans* did ſweare it. But the *Plateans* confeſſe not that they promiſed to deliuer them preſently, but vpon treaty, if they ſhould agree, and deny that they ſwore it. Vpon this the *Thebans* went out of their Territory; and the *Plateans*, when they had ſpeedily taken in whatſoeuer they had in the Countrey, immediately ſlew their Priſoners. They that were taken were 180. and *Eurymachus*, with whom the Traytors had practiſed, was one. When they had done, they ſent a Meſſenger to *Athens*, and gaue truce to the *Thebans* to fetch away the bodies of their dead, B and ordered the City as was thought conuenient for the preſent occaſion.

The *Thebans* goe off, and the *Plateans* fetch in their men and goods, and kill their priſoners.

The newes of what was done, comming ſtraightway to *Athens*, they inſtantly laid hands on all the *Bœotians* then in *Attica*, and ſent an Officer to *Platæa*, to forbid their further proceeding with their *Theban* Priſoners, till ſuch time as they alſo ſhould haue adviſed of the matter: for they were not yet aduertiſed of their putting to death. For the firſt Meſſenger was ſent away when the *Thebans* firſt entred the Towne; and the ſecond, when they were ouercome, C and taken priſoners. But of what followed after, they knew nothing. So that the *Athenians* when they ſent, knew not what was done, and the Officer arriuing, found that the men were already ſlaine. After this, the *Athenians* ſending an Armie to *Platæa*, victualled it, and left a Garriſon in it, and tooke thence both the Women and Children, and alſo ſuch men as were vnſeruiceable for the Warre.

The *Athenians* lay hands on ſuch *Bœotians* as were in *Attica*.

They victuall *Platæa*, and put a Garriſon into it, and take out their vnneceſſary people.

This action falling out at *Platæa*, & the Peace now cleerly diſſolued, the *Athenians* prepared themſelues for Warre; D ſo alſo did the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates; intending on either part to ſend Ambaſſadours to the * King, and to other *Barbarians*, whereſoeuer they had hope of ſuccours; and contracting Leagues with ſuch Cities as were not vnder their owne command. The **Lacedæmonians*, beſides thoſe Gallies which they had in *Italy* and *Sicily*, of the Cities that tooke part with them there, were ordered to furniſh, proportionably to the greatneſſe of their ſeuerall Cities, ſo many more, as the whole number might amount to 500. Sayle, and to prouide a Summe of money E aſſeſſed, and in other things not to ſtirre farther, but to receiue the *Athenians*, comming but with one Gally at once,

Preparation of both ſides for the Warre.

* *of* Perſia.

**The* Lacedæmonian *League*, *or* Lacedæmonian party, not particularly that State.

once, till ſuch time as the ſame ſhould be ready. The *Athenians* on the other ſide, ſurueyed their preſent Confederates, and ſent Ambaſſadours to thoſe places that lay about *Peloponneſus*, as *Coreyra*, *Cephalonia*, *Acarnania*, and *Zacynthus*, knowing that as long as theſe were their friends, they might with the more ſecurity make Warre round about vpon the Coaſt of *Peloponneſus*.

Neither ſide conceiued ſmall matters, but put their whole ſtrength to the Warre. And not without reaſon. *For all men in the beginnings of enterpriſes, are the moſt eager.* Beſides, there were then in *Peloponneſus* many youngmen, and many in *Athens*, who for want of experience, not vnwillingly vndertooke the Warre. And not onely the reſt of *Greece* ſtood at gaze, to behold the two principall States in Combate, but many * Prophecies were told, and many * ſung by the Prieſts of the Oracles, both in the Cities about to warre, and in others.

Prophecies and Oracles preceding the Warre.
* Λόγια Prophecies in Proſe.
* Ἄδοντο, Sung. For thoſe Prophecies which the Oracles deliuered by their Prieſts, were in verſe, and were not called λόγια, but χρησμοί.

There was alſo a little before this, an Earthquake in *Delos*, which in the memory of the *Grecians*, neuer ſhooke before; and was interpreted for, and ſeemed to bee a ſigne of what was to come afterwards to paſſe. And whatſoeuer thing then chanced of the ſame nature, it was all ſure to bee enquired after. But mens affections for the moſt part went with the *Lacedæmonians*; and the rather, for that they gaue out, they would recouer the *Grecians* liberty. And euery man, both priuate and publike perſon, endeuoured as much as in them lay, both in word and deede to aſsiſt them; and thought the buſineſſe ſo much hindred, as himſelf was not preſent at it. In ſuch paſsiō were moſt men againſt the *Athenians*; ſome for deſire to be deliuered from vnder their gouernment, and others for feare of falling into it. And theſe were the preparations and affections brought vnto the Warre.

The affections of the *Grecians* to wards the combatant States.

The Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians*.

But the Confederates of either party, which they had when they began it, were theſe: The *Lacedæmonians* had all *Peloponneſus* within the Iſthmus, except the *Argiues* and *Achæans*: (for theſe were in amity with both, ſaue that the *Pellenians* at firſt, onely of all *Achaia*, tooke their part; but afterwards all the reſt did ſo likewiſe) and without *Peloponneſus*, the *Megareans*, *Locrians*, *Bœotians*, *Phocæans*, *Ambraciotes*, *Leucadians*, and *Anactorians*. Of which the *Corinthians*, *Megareans*, *Sicyonians*, *Pellenians*, *Eleans*, *Ambraciotes*, and

A and *Leucadians* found Shipping. The *Bœotians*, *Phocæans*, and *Locrians*, Horsemen and the rest of the Cities, Footmen. And these were the Confederates of the *Lacedemonians*. The *Athenian* Confederates were these. The *Chians*, *Lesbians*, *Plateans*, the *Messenians* in *Naupactus*, most of the *Acarnanians*, the *Corcyreans*, *Zacynthians*, and other Cities their Tributaries amongst these Nations. Also that part of *Caria* which is on the Sea Coast, and the *Dorians* adioyning to them, *Ionia*, *Hellespont*, the Cities bordering on *Thrace*, all the Ilands from *Peloponnesus* to *Creta* on the East, B and all the rest of the *Cyclades*, except *Melus* and *Thera*. Of these the *Chians*, *Lesbians*, and *Corcyreans* found Gallies, the rest Footmen and money. These were their Confederates, and the preparation for the Warre on both sides.

The Confederates of the *Athenians*.

The *Lacedemonians*, after the businesse of *Plateæ*, sent Messengers presently vp and downe *Peloponnesus*, and to their Confederates without, to haue in readinesse their Forces, and such things as should bee necessary for a Forraigne expedition, as intending the inuasion of *Attica*. And when they were all ready, they came to the Rendezuous in the *Isthmus*, at a day appointed, two thirds of the C Forces of euery Citie. When the whole Army was gotten together, *Archidamus*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, Generall of the Expedition, called together the Commanders of the seuerall Cities, and such as were in authority, and most worthy to bee present, and spake vnto them as followeth:

The *Lacedemonian* league meete in the *Isthmus*, inuade *Attica*.

THE ORATION OF ARCHIDAMVS.

D

The Oration of *Archidamus* in the Councell of Warre, in the Army of the League.

MEn *of* Peloponnesus, *and Confederates, not onely our Fathers haue had many Warres, both within and without* Peloponnesus, *but wee our selues also, such as are any thing in yeeres, haue beene sufficiently acquainted therewith; yet did wee neuer before set forth with so great a preparation as at this present. And now, not onely wee are a numerous and puissant Armie that inuade, but the State also is puissant, that is inuaded by vs. We haue reason therefore to shew our selues, neither worse then our Fathers, nor short of the opinion conceiued of our selues. For all* E *Greece, is vp at this Commotion, obseruing vs: and through their hatred to the Athenians, doe wish that we may accomplish*

whatsoeuer

whatsoeuer wee intend. And therefore though wee seeme to inuade them with a great Army, and to haue much assurance, that they will not come out against vs, to battell, yet wee ought not for this, to march the lesse carefully prepared, but of euery City, as well the Captaines as the Souldier, to expect alwayes some danger or other, in that part wherein hee himselfe is placed. For the accidents of Warre are vncertaine; and for the most part the Onset begins from the lesser number, and vpon passion. And oftentimes the lesser number, being afraid, hath beaten backe the greater with the more ease, for that through contempt they haue gone vnprepared. And in the Land of an Enemie, though the Souldiers ought alwaies to haue bold hearts, yet for action, they ought to make their preparations, as if they were afraid. For that will giue them both more courage to goe vpon the enemy, and more safety in fighting with him. But wee inuade not now a Citie that cannot defend it selfe, but a City euery way well appointed. So that wee must by all meanes expect to be fought withall, though not now, because we be not yet there, yet hereafter, when they shall see vs in their Countrey, wasting and destroying their possessions. For all men, when in their owne sight, and on a sudden, they receiue any extraordinary hurt, fall presently into choler, and the lesse they consider, with the more stomach they assault. And this is likely to hold in the Athenians somewhat more then in others, for they thinke themselues worthy to haue the command of others, and to inuade and waste the territory of their neighbours, rather then to see their neighbours waste theirs. Wherefore, as being to Warre against a great Citie, and to procure, both to your Ancestours and your selues, a great fame, eyther good or bad, as shall bee the event; follow your Leaders in such sort, as aboue all things you esteeme of order and watchfulnesse. For there is nothing in the world more comely, nor more safe, then when many men are seene to obserue one and the same order.

Archidamus hauing thus spoken, and dismissed the Councell, first sent *Melesippus*, the Sonne of *Diacritus*, a man of *Sparta*, to *Athens*, to try if the *Athenians*, seeing them now on their iourney, would yet in some degree remit of their obstinacy. But the *Athenians* neither receiued him into their Citie, nor presented him to the State: for the opinion of *Pericles* had already taken place, not to receiue from the *Lacedæmonians* neither Herald nor Ambassadour, as long as their Armie was abroad. Therefore they sent him backe without audience, with commandment to be out of their

Archidamus sends before him an Ambassadour to the *Athenians*.

And tryes all other meanes to right his Country, before Warre.

A their borders the selfe-same day; and that hereafter if they would any thing with them, they should returne euery one to his home, and send their Ambassadours from thence. They sent with him also certaine persons, to conuoy him out of the Countrey, to the end that no man should conferre with him: who when hee came to the limits, and was to bee dismissed, vttered these words: *This day is the beginning of much euill vnto the* Grecians: and so departed.

The Ambassadours from *Archidamus* conveyed backe without Conference.

When hee returned to the Campe, *Archidamus* perceiB uing that they would not relent, dislodged, and marched on with his Armie into their Territory. The *Bœotians* with their appointed part, and with Horsemen, ayded the *Peloponnesians*; but with the rest of their Forces, went and wasted the Territorie of *Platæa*.

Archidamus marcheth forward.

Whilest the *Peloponnesians* were comming together in the *Isthmus*, and when they were on their March, before they brake into *Attica*, *Pericles* the sonne of *Xantippus*, (who with nine others was Generall of the *Athenians*) when he saw they were about to breake in, suspecting that *Archida*C *mus*, either of priuate courtesie, or by command of the *Lacedæmonians*, to bring him into iealousie (as they had before for his sake commanded the excommunication) might oftentimes leaue his Lands vntouched, told the *Athenians* before-hand in an Assembly, *That though* Archidamus *had beene his guest, it was for no ill to the State, and howsoeuer, if the Enemie did not waste his Lands and Houses, as well as the rest, that then hee gaue them to the Common-wealth.* And therefore desired *That for this hee might not bee suspected.* Also hee aduised them concerning the businesse in hand, the same

Pericles imagining *Archidamus* might spare his grounds, promiseth, if he did, to giue them to the State.

D things hee had done before, *That they should make preparation for the Warre, and receiue their goods into the City; that they should not goe out to Battell, but come into the City, and guard it. That they should also furnish out their Nauy, wherein consisted their power, and hold a carefull hand ouer their Confederates,* telling them, how *that in the money that came from these, lay their strength, and that the Victory in Warre consisted wholly in Counsell, and store of money. Further,* hee bade them bee confident, *in that there was yeerely comming in to the State, from the Confederates, for Tribute, besides other reuenue* * 600. *Talents, and remaining yet then in the Citadell*

The speech of *Pericles* to the Assembly at *Athens*, touching the meanes of the Warre, &c.

The Treasure of the people of *Athens.*

E * 6000. *Talents of siluer coine.* (for the greatest summe there had beene, was * 10000. Talents, wanting 300. out of

* 600. *Talents, of our money about* 112500. *pounds.*
* 6000 *Talents of our money about* 1125000 *pounds.*
* 9700. *Talents,* 1818758. *pounds sterling.*

which was taken that which had beene expended vpon A
the Gate-houses of the Cittadell, and vpon other buil-
dings, and for the charges of *Potidæa*.) *Besides the vncoyned gold and siluer of priuate and publike Offerings; and all the dedicated Vessels, belonging to the Shewes and Games, and the spoiles of the* Persian, *and other things of that nature, which amounted to no lesse then* *500. *Talents.* Hee added further, that *much money might bee had out of other Temples without the Citie, which they might vse: And if they were barred the vse of all these, they might yet vse the ornaments of gold about the Goddesse her selfe; and said, that the Image had about it, the weight of* * 40. *Talents of most pure Gold, and* B
which might all bee taken off: but hauing made vse of it for their safety, hee said, they were to make restitution of the like quantity againe. Thus hee encouraged them, touching matter of money. *Men of Armes* he said *they had* 13000. *besides the* 1600. *that were employed for the guard of the Citie, and vpon the Walles,* (for so many at the first kept watch at the comming in of the Enemy, young and old together, and Strangers that dwelt amongst them, as many as could beare Armes.) For the length of the *Phalerian* Wall, to that part of the cir- C
cumference of the Wall of the City where it ioyned, was 35. Furlongs; and that part of the circumference which was guarded (for some of it was not kept with a Watch, namely the part betweene the *Long Walles* and the *Phalerian*) was 43. Furlongs and the length of the *Long-Walles* downe to *Piræus*, (of which there was a Watch onely on the outmost) was 40. Furlongs: and the whole compasse of *Piræus*, together with *Munychia*, was 60. Furlongs, (whereof that part that was watched, was but halfe.) He said further, *they had of Horsemen, accounting Archers on horse-backe*, 1200, *and* 1600. *Archers, and of Gallies fit for the Sea,* D
300. All this and no lesse had the *Athenians*, when the inuasion of the *Peloponnesians* was first in hand, and when the warre beganne. These and other words spake *Pericles*, as hee vsed to doe, for demonstration, that they were likely to outlast this Warre.

When the *Athenians* had heard him, they approued of his words, and fetcht into the Citie their Wiues and Children, and the furniture of their houses, pulling downe the very Timber of the houses themselues. Their sheepe and Oxen they sent ouer into *Eubœa*, and into the Ilands ouer E
against them. Neuertheless this remouall, in respect they

* 500. *Talents.* 93750. *pound.*

* Minerua.

* *The weight of* 40. *Talents in gold, at* 3. *pound an ounce, comes to* 9000. *pound.*

The length of the walles to which the Watchmen were appointed.

Their Gallies.

The *Athenians* fetch in their Wiues and Children and substance into the Citie.

A they had most of them beene accustomed to the Countrey life, grieued them very much.

This custome was from great antiquity, more familiar with the *Athenians*, then any other of the rest of *Greece*. For in the time of *Cecrops*, and the first Kings, downe to *Theseus*, the Inhabitants of *Attica* had their seuerall * Bourghes, and therein their * Common-Halles, and their Gouernours; and, vnlesse they were in feare of some danger, went not together to the King for aduice, but euery City administred their owne affaires, and deliberated by themselues. And
B some of them had also their particular Warres, as the *Eleusinians*, who ioyned with *Eumolpus* against * *Erectheus*. But after *Theseus* came to the Kingdome, one who besides his wisdome, was also a man of very great power; hee not onely set good order in the Countrey in other respects, but also dissolued the Councels and Magistracies of the rest of the Townes; and assigning them all one Hall, and one Councell-house, brought them all to cohabite in the Citie that now is; and constrained them, enioying their owne as before, to * vse this one for their Citie, which (now,
C when they all paide their duties to it) grew great, and was by *Theseus* so deliuered to posterity. And from that time to this day, the *Athenians* keepe a holiday at the publique charge to the * Goddesse, and call it * *Synœcia*. That which is now the Cittadell, and the part which is to the South of the Cittadell, was before this time the Citie. An argument whereof is this, That the Temples of the Gods are all set either in the Cittadell it selfe; or, if without, yet in that quarter. As, that of *Iupiter Olympius*, and of *Apollo Pythius*, and of *Tellus*, and of *Bacchus* in *Lymnæ*, (in honour of
D whom, the old * *Bacchanals* were celebrated on the twelfth day of the moneth of * *Anthesterion*, according as the *Ionians*, who are deriued from *Athens*, doe still obserue them) besides other ancient Temples scituate in the same part. Moreouer, they serued themselues with water for the best vses, of the Fountaine, which, now the *Nine-pipes*, built so by the Tyrants, was formerly, when the Springs were open, called *Callirŏe*, and was neere. And from the old custome, before Marriages, and other holy Rites, they ordaine the vse of the same water to this day. And the
E Cittadell, from the ancient habitation of it, is also by the *Athenians* still called the Citie.

The *Athenians* accustomed euer to liue in the Countrey.

* Δήμοι.

* πρυτανεῖα. Guild-Halles, places where thos. that administred the State did meete: where also some, for honours cause and service, were allowed diet, and wherein Vesta was worshipped, and a light continually burned; so that some thence deriue the name, making πρυλανεῖον quasi πυρος ταμιεῖον.

* King of the Athenians. Theseus first brought the inhabitants of Attica to make Athens their capitall Citie.

* Not that they must needes dwell in it, but make it the seate of the gouernment, and pay their duties to it. This caused the Citie to grow both populous and potent, because now the whole Nation vnited into one Citie, made vse of the Sea, which deuided they could not haue done.

* Minerua.

* Cohabitation.

* There were in Athens 3. Bacchanals; whereof this of Bacchus in Limnæ, [that is, in the Marishes] was principall; another were the Rurall Bacchanals, and the third the City Bacchanals.

* This Moneth fell about our Ianuary, and was the second of their Winter quarter.

The *Athenians* remoue out of the Borough Townes into the Citie, vnwillingly.

The *Athenians* therefore had liued a long time, gouerned by Lawes of their owne in the Countrey Townes; and after they were brought into one, were neuertheleſſe (both for the cuſtome which moſt had, as well of the ancient time, as ſince, till the *Perſian* Warre, to liue in the Countrey with their whole families; and alſo eſpecially, for that ſince the *Perſian* Warre, they had already repayred their Houſes and furniture) vnwilling to remoue. It preſſed them likewiſe, and was heauily taken, beſides their Houſes, to leaue the [a] things that pertained to their Religion, (which, ſince their old forme of gouernment, were become patriall,) and to change their manner of life, and to bee no better then baniſhed euery man his Citie. After they came into *Athens*, there was habitation for a few, and place of retire, with ſome friends or kindred. But the greateſt part ſeated themſelues in the empty places of the City, and in Temples, and in all the Chappells of the [b] *Heroes*, (ſauing in ſuch as were in the Cittadell, and the [c] *Eleuſinium*, and other places ſtrongly ſhut vp.) The [d] *Pelaſgicum* alſo, vnder the Cittadell, though it were a thing accurſed to dwell in it, and forbidden by the end of a verſe in a *Pythian* Oracle, in theſe words, ——*Beſt is the Pelaſgicon empty*, was neuertheleſſe for the preſent neceſsity inhabited. And in my opinion, this Prophecie now fell out contrary to what was lookt for. For the vnlawfull dwelling there, cauſed not the calamities that befell the Citie, but the Warre cauſed the neceſsity of dwelling there: which Warre the Oracle not naming, foretold onely, that it ſhould one day bee inhabited vnfortunately. Many alſo furniſhed the Turrets of the Walles, and whatſoeuer other place they could any of them get. For when they were come in, the Citie had not place for them all: But afterwards they had the *Long-Walles* diuided amongſt them, and inhabited there, and in moſt parts of *Piræus*. Withall they applyed themſelues to the buſineſſe of the Warre, leuying their Confederates, and making ready a hundred Gallies to ſend about *Peloponneſus*. Thus were the *Athenians* preparing.

[a] *Altars, Chappels, Houſehold gods.*

Athens thronged with the comming in of the Countrey.

[b] *Men ſuppoſed to be gotten betweene a Deity, and a Mortall, or ſuch as exceed the reſt of men by many degrees in Magnanimity.*

[c] Eleuſinium, *a Temple in Athens, vſed with great religion.*

[d] Pelaſgicum, *a place by the Cittadell, where the* Pelaſgians *once fortified themſelues againſt the* Athenians, *and for that cauſe there was laid a curſe vpon the habitation of it.* Pauſ. in Atticis.

An old Prophecy againſt dwelling in the *Pelaſgicũ*.

The *Athenians* make ready 100. Gallies to ſend about *Peloponneſus*.

The Armie of the *Peloponneſians* marching forward, came firſt to *Oenoe*, a Towne of *Attica*, the place where they intended to breake in; and encamping before it, prepared with Engines, and by other meanes, to aſſault the Wall.

The *Peloponneſians* Armie aſſault *Oenoe*, a frontier Towne of *Attica*, in vain.

A Wall. For *Oenoe* lying on the Confines betweene *Attica* and *Bœotia*, was walled about, and the *Athenians* kept a Garriſon in it for defence of the Countrey, when at any time there ſhould bee Warre. For which cauſe they made preparation for the aſſault of it, and alſo ſpent much time about it otherwiſe.

Archidamus taxed of backwardneſſe, and fauour to the *Athenians*.

And *Archidamus* for this was not a little taxed, as thought to haue bin both ſlow in gathering together the forces for the Warre, and alſo to haue fauoured the *Athenians*, in that he encouraged not the Army to a forwardneſſe in it. And
B afterwards likewiſe, his ſtay in the *Iſthmus*, and his ſlowneſſe in the whole iourney, was laid to his charge, but eſpecially his delay at *Oenoe*. For in this time the *Athenians* retired into the Citie: whereas it was thought, that the *Peloponeſians* marching ſpeedily, might but for his delay, haue taken them all without. So paſsionate was the Armie of *Archidamus*, for his ſtay before *Oenoe*. But expecting that the *Athenians*, whileſt their Territory was yet vnhurt, would relent, and not endure to ſee it waſted, for that cauſe (as it is reported) hee held his hand. But after, when they had aſ-
C ſaulted *Oenoe*, and tryed all meanes, but could not take it, and ſeeing the *Athenians* ſent no Herald to them, then at length ariſing from thence, about 80. dayes after that which happened to the *Thebans* that entred *Plataea*, the Summer, and Corne being now at the higheſt, they fell into *Attica*; led by *Archidamus*, the ſonne of *Zeuxidamus*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*. And when they had pitched their Campe, they fell to waſting of the Countrey, firſt about *Eleuſis*, and then in the plaine of *Thriaſia*; and put to flight a few *Athenian* Horſemen, at the Brookes called
D *Rheiti*. After this, leauing the *Aegaleon* on the right hand, they paſſed through *Cecropia*, till they came vnto *Acharnis*, which is the greateſt towne in all *Attica*, of thoſe that are called * *Demoi*; and pitching there, both fortified their Campe, and ſtaid a great while waſting the Countrey thereabout.

Archidamus with his Armie entreth into *Attica*.

And comes to *Acharnas*, and ſtayes there long, cutting downe their Corne and Trees.
* *Burroughes.*

Archidamus was ſaid to haue ſtaid ſo long at *Acharnas*, with his Armie in Battell array, and not to haue come downe all the time of his invaſion, into the Champaigne, with this intention: Hee hoped that the *Athenians* flou-
E riſhing in number of young men, and better furniſhed for Warre, then euer they were before, would perhaps haue come

The Deſigne of *Archidamus* in ſtaying ſo long at *Acharnas*.

comte forth againſt him, and not endured to ſee their fields A
cut downe and waſted; and therefore ſeeing they met him
not in *Thriaſia*, hee thought good to try if they would
come out againſt him lying now at *Acharnus*. Beſides, the
place ſeemed vnto him commodious for the Army to lye
in; and it was thought alſo that the *Acharnans* beeing a
great piece of the Citie (for they were 3000. men of
Armes) would not haue ſuffered the ſpoiling of their
Lands, but rather haue vrged all the reſt to goe out and
fight. And if they came not out againſt him at this inua-
ſion, they might hereafter more boldly, both waſte the B
Champaigne Countrey, and come downe euen to the
Walles of the Citie. For the *Acharnans*, after they ſhould
haue loſt their owne, would not bee ſo forward to hazard
themſelues for the goods of other men: But there would
bee thoughts of Sedition in one towards another in the
Citie. Theſe were the cogitations of *Archidamus*, whileſt he
lay at *Acharnas*.

The *Athenians*, as long as the Armie of the Enemie lay
about *Eleuſis*, and the Fields of *Thrius*, and as long as they
had any hope it would come on no further, (remembring C
that alſo *Pliſtoanax* the ſonne of *Pauſanias*, King of *Lacedæ-
mon*, when 14. yeeres before this Warre, hee entred *Attica*
with an Armie of the *Peloponneſians*, as farre as *Eleuſis*, and
Thriaſia, retired againe, and came no further; for which
hee was alſo baniſhed *Sparta*, as thought to haue gone
backe for money) they ſtirred not. But when they ſaw
the Army now at *Acharnis*, but 60. Furlongs from the
Citie, then they thought it no longer to bee endured; and
when their Fields were waſted (as it was likely) in their
ſight, (which the yonger ſort had neuer ſeene before, nor D
the elder, but in the *Perſian* Warre) it was taken for a hor-
rible matter; and thought fit, by all, eſpecially by the
youth, to goe out, and not to endure it any longer. And
holding Councels apart one from another, they were at
much contention, ſome to make a ſally, and ſome to hinder
it. And the Prieſts of the Oracles, giuing out Prophe-
cies of all kindes, euery one made the interpretation accor-
ding to the ſway of his owne affection. But the *Acharnans*
conceiuing themſelues to bee no ſmall part of the *Athenians*,
were they that whileſt their owne Lands were waſting, E
moſt of all vrged their going out. Inſomuch as the Citie

The *Athenians* hardly containe themſelues from going out to fight.

was

A was euery way in tumult, and in choler against *Pericles*, remembring nothing of what hee had formerly admonished them; but reuiled him, for that being their Generall, hee refused to leade them into the Field, and imputing vnto him the cause of all their euill: but *Pericles* seeing them in passion for their present losse, and ill aduised, and being confident hee was in the right touching not sallying, assembled them not, nor called any Councell, for feare lest being together, they might vpon passion rather then iudgement commit some error. But looked to the guar-
B ding of the Citie, and as much as hee could, to keepe it in quiet. Neuertheless he continually sent out Horse-men, to keepe the Scowts of the Armie from entring vpon, and doing hurt to the Fields neere the Citie. And there happened at *Phrygij* a small Skirmish, between one troope of Horse of the *Athenians* (with whom were also the *Thessalians*) and the Horsemen of the *Bœotians*; wherein the *Athenians* and *Thessalians* had not the worse, till such time as the *Bœotians* were ayded by the comming in of their men of Armes, and then they were put to flight, and a few of
C the *Athenians* and *Thessalians* slaine; whose bodies notwithstanding they fetcht off the same day, without leaue of the Ehemie: and the *Peloponnesians* the next day erected a Trophie. This ayde of the *Thessalians* was vpon an ancient League with the *Athenians*, and consisted of *Larissæans*, *Pharsalians*, *Parasians*, *Cranonians*, *Peirasians*, *Gyrtonians*, *Pheræans*. The Leaders of the *Larissæans*, were *Polymedes* and *Aristonus*, men of contrary factions in their Citie. Of the *Pharsalians*, *Meno*. And of the rest, out of the seuerall Cities, seuerall Commanders.

A Skirmish betweene the *Athenian* and *Bœotian* Horse.

D The *Peloponnesians* seeing the *Athenians* would not come out to fight, dislodging from *Acharnæ*, wasted certaine other Villages, betweene the Hils *Parnethus*, and *Brelissus*.

Archidamus remoues from *Acharnæ*.

Whilest these were in *Attica*, the *Athenians* sent the hundred Gallies which they had prouided, and in them 1000. men of Armes, and 400. Archers, about *Peloponnesus*; the Commanders whereof were *Chartinus*, the sonne of *Xenotimus*; *Proteus*, the sonne of *Epicles*; and *Socrates*, the sonne of *Antigenes*: who thus furnished, weighed Anchor, and went their way.

The *Athenians* send 100. Gallies to infest the Sea-Coast of *Peloponnesus*.

E The *Peloponnesians*, when they had stayd in *Attica* as long as their prouision lasted, went home through *Bœotia*, not the

The *Peloponnesians* goe home.

the way they came in; but paſsing by *Oropus*, waſted the Countrey (called *Peiraice* which is of the tillage of the *Oropians*, Subiects to the *People of Athens*;) and when they were come backe into *Peloponneſus*, they disbanded, and went euery man to his owne Citie.

The *Athenians* ſet by 1000 Talents and 100. Gallies, for defence againſt an inuaſion by Sea.

When they were gone, the *Athenians* ordained Watches both by Sea and Land, ſuch as were to continue to the end of the Warre. And made a Decree, to take out a thouſand Talents of the money in the Cittadell, and ſet it by, ſo as it might not bee ſpent, but the charges of the Warre bee borne out of other monies; and made it capitall for any man to moue, or giue his vote for the ſtirring of this money, for any other vſe, but onely (if the Enemie ſhould come with an Armie by Sea to inuade the Citie) for neceſsity of that defence. Together with this money, they likewiſe ſet apart 100. Gallies, and thoſe to be euery yeere the beſt; and Captaines to be appointed ouer them, which were to bee employed for no other vſe then the money was, and for the ſame danger, if need ſhould require.

The *Athenians* that were with the 100. Gallies about *Peloponneſus*, and with them the *Corcyræans* with the ayde of 50. Sayle more, and certaine others of the Confederates thereabout, amongſt other places which they infeſted in their courſe, landed at *Methone*, a Towne of *Laconia*, and aſſaulted it, as being but weake, and few men within. But it chanced that *Braſidas*, the ſonne of *Tellis*, a *Spartan*, had a Garriſon in thoſe parts, and hearing of it, ſuccoured thoſe of the Towne with 100. men of Armes: wherewith running through the *Athenian* Army, diſperſed in the Fields, directly towards the Towne, hee put himſelfe into *Methone*; and with the loſſe of few of his men in the paſſage, hee ſaued the place, and for this aduenture, was the firſt that was praiſed at *Sparta*, in this Warre. The *Athenians* putting off from thence, ſailed along the Coaſt, and put in at *Pheia*, of *Elis*, where they ſpent two dayes in waſting the Countrey, and in a Skirmiſh ouerthrew 300. choice men of the lower *Elis*, together with other *Eleans* thereabouts, that came forth to defend it. But the Wind ariſing, and their Gallies being toſſed by the weather, in a harbourleſſe place, the moſt of them imbarqued, and ſayled about the Promontory called *Icthys*, into the Hauen of *Pheia*. But the *Meſſenians* and certaine others that could

The *Athenians* aſſault *Methone*.

Braſidas defendeth it.

They take Pheia, a Town of *Elis*.

not

A not get aboard, went by Land to the Towne of *Pheia*, and rifled it: and when they had done, the Gallies that now were come about tooke them in, and leauing *Pheia*, put forth to Sea againe: by which time a great Army of *Eleans* was come to succour it; but the *Athenians* were now gone away, and wasting some other Territory.

About the same time the *Athenians* sent likewise thirty Gallies about * *Locris*, which were to serue also for a Watch about *Eubœa*. Of these, *Cleopompus* the sonne of *Clinias* had the conduct, and landing his Souldiers in diuers B parts, both wasted some places of the Sea-coast, and won the Towne of *Thronium*, of which hee tooke Hostages; and ouercame in fight at *Alope*, the *Locrians* that came out to ayde it.

* *That* Locris *whose chiefe Citie is* Opus, *not that where the* Locri Ozolæ *dwelt.*

The same Summer, the *Athenians* put the *Æginetæ*, man, woman, and childe, out of *Ægina*, laying to their charge, that they were the principall cause of the present Warre. And it was also thought the safer course to hold *Ægina*, being adjacent to *Peloponnesus*, with a Colonie of their own people; and not long after they sent Inhabitants into the C same. When the *Æginetæ* were thus banished, the *Lacedæmonians* gaue them *Thyræa* to dwell in, and the occupation of the Lands belonging vnto it, to liue on; both vpon hatred to the *Athenians*, and for the benefits receiued at the hands of the *Æginetæ*, in the time of the Earthquake, and insurrection of their *Helotes*. This Territory of *Thyræa*, is in the border betweene *Argolica* and *Laconica*, and reacheth to the Sea side. So some of them were placed there, and the rest dispersed into other parts of *Greece*.

The inhabitants of *Ægina* remoued by the *Athenians*.

And receiued by the *Peloponnesians*.

Also the same Summer, * on the first day of the Moon D neth, according to the Moone, (at which time it seemes onely possible) in the afternoone, happened an Eclipse of the Sunne; the which after it had appeared in the forme of a crescent, and withall some Starres had been discerned, came afterwards againe to the former brightnesse.

Eclipse of the Sunne and Starres discerned.

* *πρώτῃ νεομηνίᾳ σελήνης. The first day of the moneth, according to the Moone, in distinction of the Moneth Ciuill: for though their yeere were lunar, yet was it not so exact, as that the Moone changed euer on the first day.*

The same Summer also the *Athenians* made *Nymphodorus* the sonne of *Pythos*, of the Citie of *Abdera*, (whose Sister was married to *Sitalces*, and that was of great power with him) their * Host, though before they tooke him for an Enemie, and sent for him to *Athens*, hoping by his meanes E to bring *Sitalces* the sonne of *Teres*, King of *Thrace*, into their League. This *Teres*, the Father of *Sitalces*, was the

The *Athenians* seeke the fauour of *Sytalces*, King *Thrace*, and *Perdiccas*, King of *Macedonia*.

* *That is, the man at whose house, and by whom any publike person was to be entertained that came from* Athens *to* Abdera.

first that aduanced the Kingdome of the *Odryſians*, aboue the power of the reſt of *Thrace*. For much of *Thrace* conſiſteth of free States; And * *Tereus* that tooke to wife (out of *Athens*) *Procne* the Daughter of *Pandion*, was no kinne to this *Teres*, nor of the ſame part of *Thrace*. But that *Tereus* was of the Citie of *Daulia*, in the Countrey now called *Phocis*, then inhabited by the *Thracians*. (And the fact of the Women concerning *Itys* was done there; and by the Poets, where they mention the Nightingall, that Bird is alſo called *Daulias*. And it is more likely that *Pandion* matched his Daughter with this man for vicinity, and mutuall ſuccour, then with the other, that was ſo many dayes iourney off, as to *Odryſæ*.) And *Teres*, which is alſo another name, was the firſt that ſeazed on the Kingdome of *Odryſæ*. Now *Sitalces*, this mans ſonne, the *Athenians* got into their League, that they might haue the Townes lying on *Thrace*, and * *Perdiccas* to bee of their party. *Nymphodorus*, when hee came to *Athens*, made this League betweene them and *Sytalces*, and cauſed *Sadocus*, the ſonne of *Sitalces*, to bee made free of *Athens*, and alſo vndertooke to end the Warre in * *Thrace*. For hee would perſwade *Sitalces* to ſend vnto the *Athenians*, a *Thracian* Armie of Horſemen and Targettiers. Hee likewiſe reconciled *Perdiccas* to the *Athenians*, and procured of him the reſtitution of *Therme*. And *Perdiccas* preſently ayded the *Athenians* and *Phormio*, in the Warre againſt the *Chalcideans*. Thus were *Sitalces*, the ſonne of *Teres*, King of *Thrace*, and *Perdiccas* the ſonne of *Alexander*, King of *Macedonia*, made Confederates with the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* being yet with their hundred Gallies about *Peloponneſus*, tooke *Solium*, a Towne that belonged to the *Corinthians*, and put the *Palirenſes* onely of all the *Acarnanians*, into the poſſeſsion both of the Towne and Territorie Hauing alſo by force taken *Aſtacus*, from the Tyrant *Euarchus*, they draue him thence, and ioyned the place to their League. From thence they ſayled to *Cephalonia*, and ſubdued it without battell. This *Cephalonia* is an Iland lying ouer againſt *Acarnania*, and *Leucas*, and hath in it theſe foure Cities, the *Pallenſes*, *Cranij*, *Samei*, and *Pronæi*. And not long after returned with the Fleet to *Athens*.

About the end of the Autumne of this Summer, the *Athenians*, both themſelues, and the Strangers that dwelt amongſt

* See the Fable of Tereus and Procne in Ouids Metam.

* King of Macedon.

Sadocus the Sonne of Sitalces, King of Thrace, made a Citizen of Athens.

* The Warre about Potidæa.

The Athenians take Solium and Aſtacus, and the Ile of Cephalonia.

The Athenians inuade Megaris.

A amongst them, with the whole power of the Citie, vnder the conduct of *Pericles* the sonne of *Xantippus*, inuaded the Territory of *Megara*. And those *Athenians* likewise that had beene with the hundred Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, in their returne (being now at *Egina*) hearing that the whole power of the Citie was gone into * *Megaris*, went and ioyned with them. And this was the greatest Armie that euer the *Athenians* had together in one place before; the Citie being now in her strength, and the Plague not yet amongst them; (For the *Athenians* of themselues were no
B lesse then 10000. men of Armes, (besides the 3000. at *Potidæa*) and the Strangers that dwelt amongst them, and accompanyed them in this inuasion, were no fewer then 3000. men of Armes more, besides other great numbers of light-armed Souldiers. And when they had wasted the greatest part of the Countrey, they went backe to *Athens*. And afterwards, yeere after yeere, during this Warre, the *Athenians* often inuaded *Megaris*, sometimes with their Horsemen, and sometimes with their whole Armie, vntill such time as they had wonne * *Nisæa*.

The Territory of Megara.

The *Athenians* greatest Armie.

The *Athenians* duely once a yeere inuade *Megaris*.

*The Arsenall of Megara.

C Also in the end of this Summer, they fortified *Atalante*, an Iland lying vpon the *Locrians* of *Opus*, desolate till then, for a Garrison against Theeues, which passing ouer from *Opus*, and other parts of *Locris*, might annoy *Eubœa*. These were the things done this Summer, after the retreat of the *Peloponnesians* out of *Attica*.

The end of the first Summer.

The Winter following, *Euarchus* of *Acarnania*, desirous to returne to *Astacus*, prailleth with the *Corinthians*, to goe thither with 40. Gallies, and 1500. men of Armes, to re-establish him; to which he hired also certaine other
D Mercenaries for the same purpose. The Commanders of this Armie were *Eupha[illegible]das* the sonne of *Aristonymus*, *Timoxenes* the sonne of *Timocrates*, and *Eumachus* the sonne of *Chrysis*. When they had re-established him, they endeuoured to draw to their party some other places on the the Sea-Coast of *Arcanania*, but missing their purpose, they set sayle homeward. As they passed by the Coast of *Cephalonia*, they disbarqued in the Territory of the *Cranij*, where, vnder colour of Composition, they were deceiued, and lost some part of their Forces. For the assault made
E vpon them by the *Cranij*, being vnexpected, they got off, with much adoe, and went home.

Euarchus the Tyrant recouereth *Astacus*.

The same Winter the *Athenians*, according to their ancient custome, solemnized a publike Funerall of the first slaine in this Warre, in this manner: Hauing set vp a Tent, they put into it the * bones of the dead, three dayes before the Funerall, and euery one bringeth * whatsoeuer he thinkes good to his * owne. When the day comes of carrying them to their buriall, certaine Cypresse Coffins are carried along in Carts, for euery Tribe one, in which are the bones of the men of euery Tribe by themselues. There is likewise borne an empty Hearse couered ouer, for such as appeare not, nor were found amongst the rest when they were taken vp. The Funerall is accompanied by any that will, whether Citizen or Stranger; and the Women of their Kindred are also by at the buriall, lamenting and mourning. Then they put them into a publique Monument, which standeth in the faireſt * Suburbs of the Citie, (in which place they haue euer interred all that dyed in the Warres, except those that were slaine in the Fields of *Marathon*; who, because their vertue was thought extraordinary, were therefore buried there-right) and when the earth is throwne ouer them, some one, thought to exceede the rest in wisdome and dignity, chosen by the Citie, maketh an Oration, wherein hee giueth them such praises as are fit: which done, the Companie depart. And this is the forme of that Buriall; and for the * whole time of the Warre, whensoeuer there was occasion, they obserued the same. For these first, the man chosen to make the Oration, was *Pericles*, the sonne of *Xantippus*, who when the time serued, going out of the place of buriall into a high Pulpit, to be heard the further off by the multitude about him, spake vnto them in this manner:

The manner of the *Athenians*, in burying the bones of the first slaine the Warres.

* *The custome was when a man dyed, to burne him, and the Buriall after, was onely of his bones, or (the powder of them) his ashes.*

* *Offerings, Incense, and rites of buriall.*

* *To his owne friends slaine.*

* *The* Ceramicum.

* *By the first slaine in the Warre, is vnderstood either the first euery yeere in the same Warre, or else the seuerall actions of this great Warre, are counted as seuerall Warres, and so the first slaine in any of them, had the honour of this buriall.*

THE FVNERALL ORATION made by PERICLES.

THough most that haue spoken formerly in this place, haue commended the man that added this Oration to the Law, as honourable for those that dye in the Warres; yet to mee it seemeth sufficient, that they who haue shewed their valour by action, should also by an action haue their honour, as now you see they haue, in this their sepulture performed by the State; and not to haue the vertue of many

A *many hazarded on one, to be beleeued as that one shall make a good or bad Oration. For, to speake of men in a iust measure, is a hard matter, and though one do so, yet he shall hardly get the truth firmely beleeued. the fauourable hearer, and hee that knowes what was done, will perhaps thinke what is spoken, short of what hee would haue it, and what it was; and hee that is ignorant, will finde somewhat on the other side, which hee will thinke too much extolled; especially if hee heare ought aboue the pitch of his owne nature. For to heare another man praised, findes patience so long onely, as each man shall thinke he could himselfe haue done somewhat of that hee heares. And if one ex-*

B *ceed in their praises, the hearer presently through enuie thinkes it false. But since our Ancestors haue so thought good, I also, following the same ordinance, must endeuour to bee answerable to the desires and opinions of euery one of you, as farre forth as I can. I will beginne at our Ancestours, being a thing both iust and honest, that to them first bee giuen the honour of remembrance in this kinde: For they hauing beene alwayes the inhabitants of this Region, by their valour haue deliuered the same to succession of posterity, hitherto, in the state of liberty: For which they deserue commendation; but our Fathers de-*

C *serue yet more; for that besides what descended on them, not without great labour of their owne, they haue purchased this our present Dominion, and deliuered the same ouer to vs that now are. Which in a great part also, wee our selues, that are yet in the strength of our age here present, haue enlarged, and so furnished the Citie with euery thing, both for peace and warre, as it is now all sufficient in it selfe. The actions of Warre, whereby all this was attained, and the deedes of Armes, both of our selues and our Fathers, in valiant opposition to the Barbarians, or Grecians, in their Warres against vs, amongst you that are well acquainted with the summe, to auoide prolixity, I will passe ouer. But by what institutions wee arriued at this, by what*

D *forme of gouernment, and by what meanes we haue aduanced the State to this greatnesse, when I shall haue laide open this, I will then descend to these mens praises. For I thinke they are things both fit for the purpose in hand, and profitable to the whole company, both of Citizens and Strangers, to heare related. Wee haue a forme of gouernment, not fetched by imitation from the Lawes of our neighbouring States, (nay, wee are rather a patterne to others, then they to vs) which, because in the administration, it hath respect, not to a few, but to the multitude, is called a Democracie. Wherein though there bee an equality amongst all men in point of Law, for their priuate con-*

E *trouersies; yet in conferring of dignities, one man is preferred before another to publique charge, and that according to the reputation, not*

of

of his * House, but of his vertue, and is not put backe through pouer- A
tie, for the obſcurity of his perſon, as long as hee can doe good ſeruice to the Common wealth. And we liue not onely free in the adminiſtration of the State, but alſo one with another, voyd of iealouſie, touching each others daily courſe of life; not offended at any man for following his owne humour, nor caſting on any man * cenſorious lookes, which though they bee no puniſhment, yet they grieue. So that conuerſing one with another for the priuate without offence, wee ſtand chiefly in feare to tranſgreſſe againſt the publique; and are obedient alwayes to thoſe that gouerne, and to the Lawes, and principally to ſuch Lawes as are written for protection againſt iniurie, and ſuch vnwritten, as B
bring vndeniable ſhame to the tranſgreſſours. Wee haue alſo found out many wayes to giue our mindes recreation from labour, by publike inſtitution of Games and Sacrifices for all the dayes of the yeere, with a decent pompe and furniture of the ſame by priuate men; by the daily delight whereof, wee expell ſadneſſe. Wee haue this further, by the greatneſſe of our City, that all things, from all parts of the Earth are imported hither; whereby we no leſſe familiarly enioy the commodities of all other Nations, then our owne. Then in the ſtudies of Warre, wee excell our Enemies in this: wee leaue our Citie open to all men, C
nor was it euer ſeene, that by *baniſhing of ſtrangers, we denyed them the learning or ſight of any of thoſe things, which if not hidden, an Enemie might reape aduantage by, not relying on ſecret preparation and deceipt, but vpon our owne courage in the action. They in their diſcipline hunt after valour, preſently from their youth, with laborious exerciſe, and yet wee that liue remiſſely, vndertake as great dangers as they. For example, the Lacedæmonians inuade not our dominion by themſelues alone, but with the ayde of all the reſt. But when wee inuade our neighbours, though wee fight in hoſtile ground, againſt ſuch as in their owne ground, fight in defence of their owne ſubſtance, yet for the moſt part wee get the victorie. D
Neuer Enemie yet fell into the hands of our whole Forces at once, both becauſe wee apply our ſelues much to Nauigation, and by Land alſo ſend many of our men into diuers Countries abroad. But when fighting with a part of it, they chance to get the better, they boaſt they haue beaten the whole; and when they get the worſe, they ſay they are beaten by the whole. And yet when from eaſe, rather then ſtudious labour, and vpon naturall, rather then doctrinall valour, wee come to vndertake any danger, wee haue this oddes by it, that we ſhall not faint before hand with the meditation of future trouble, and in the action wee ſhall appeare no leſſe confident then they that are euer E
toyling, procuring admiration to our Citie, as well in this, as in

diuers

* μέρος, A part. But here he meanes a part or family in the Common wealth. Carping ſecretly at the Lacedæmonians, that had none came to the ſupreme Office, but the Heracleides.

* He glanceth againe at the Lacedæmonians, becauſe they euer looked ſowrely on ſoft and looſe behauiour.

The *Athenians* had Sacrifices and Games, publike or priuate, for euery-day of the yeere.

* This is ſpoken with enuie towards the Lacedæmonians that prohibited Strangers to dwell amongſt them.

A *diuers other things. For we also giue our selues to brauery, and yet with thrift; and to Philosophy, and yet without mollification of the minde. And we vse riches rather for opportunities of action, then for verball ostentation: And hold it not a shame to confesse pouerty, but not to haue auoided it. Moreouer there is in the same men, a care, both of their owne, and of the publique affaires, and a sufficient * knowledge of State matters, euen in those that labour with their hands. For we onely, thinke one that is vtterly ignorant therein, to be a man not that meddles with nothing, but that is good for nothing. We likewise, weigh what we vndertake, and apprehend it*
B *perfectly in our mindes; not accounting words for a hindrance of action, but that it is rather a hindrance to action, to come to it without instruction of words before. For also in this we excell others; daring to vndertake as much as any, and yet examining what wee vndertake; whereas with other men, ignorance makes them dare, and consideration, dastards; and they are most rightly reputed valiant, who though they perfectly apprehend, both what is dangerous, and what is easie, are neuer the more thereby diuerted from aduenturing. Againe, we are contrary to most men in matter of bounty. For we purchase our friends, not by receiuing, but by bestowing bene-*
C *fits. And he that bestoweth a good turne, is euer the most constant friend, because hee will not lose the thankes due vnto him, from him whom he bestowed it on. Whereas the friendship of him that oweth a benefit is dull and flat, as knowing his benefit not to be taken for a fauor, but for a debt; So that we onely, doe good to others, not vpon computation of profit, but freenesse of trust. In summe, it may be said, both that the City is in generall a Schoole of the* Grecians, *and that the men here, haue euery one in particular, his person disposed to most diuersity of actions, and yet all with grace and decency. And that this is not vow, rather a brauery of words, vpon*
D *the occasion, then reall truth, this power of the Citie, which by these institutions we haue obtained, maketh euident. For it is the onely power now found greater in proofe, then fame; and the onely power, that neither grieueth the inuader when he miscarries, with the quality of those he was hurt by, nor giueth cause to the subiected States to murmure, as being in subiection to men vnworthy. For both with present and future Ages we shall be in admiration, for a power, not without testimony, but made euident by great arguments, and which needeth not either a* Homer *to praise it, or any other such, whose Poems may indeed for the present, bring delight, but the truth*
E *will after wards confute the opinion conceiued of the actions. For we haue opened vnto vs by our courage, all Seas, and Lands, and*

set

* *In* Athens *no man so poore but was a Statesman. So* S. Luke, Act. 17. 21. *All the Atheuians spend their time in nothing but hearing and telling of newes. The true Character of politicians without employment.*

Hee magnifies the *Atheuian* power aboue that which the *Grecians* had at *Troy*, which needed *Homer* to make it shew great, but this power would seeme great by Trophies and reall monumeats of their actions.

set vp eternall Monuments on all sides, both of the euill we haue done to our enemies, and the good wee haue done to our friends. Such is the Citie for which these men (thinking it no reason to lose it) valiantly fighting, haue dyed. And it is fit that euery man of you that bee left, should bee like-minded, to vndergoe any trauell for the same. And I haue therefore spoken so much concerning the Citie in generall, as well to shew you, that the stakes betweene vs and them, whose Citie is not such; are not equall; as also to make knowne by effects, the worth of these men I am to speake of; the greatest part of their praises being therein already deliuered. For what I haue spoken of the Citie, hath by these and such as these beene atchieued: Neither would praises and actions appeare so leuelly concurrent in many other of the Grecians, as they doe in these; the present revolution of these mens liues seeming vnto mee an argument of their vertues, noted in the first act thereof, and in the last confirmed. For euen such of them as were worse then the rest, doe neuertheless deserue that for their valour shewne in the Warres for defence of their Countrey, they should bee preferred before the rest. For hauing by their good actions abolished the memory of their euill, they haue profited the State thereby, more then they haue hurt it by their priuate behauiour. Yet there was none of these, that preferring the further fruition of his wealth, was thereby growne cowardly, or that for hope to ouercome his pouerty at length, and to attaine to riches, did for that cause withdraw himselfe from the danger. For their principall desire was not wealth, but reuenge on their Enemies, which esteeming the most honourable cause of danger, they made account through it, both to accomplish their reuenge, and to purchase wealth withall; putting the vncertainety of successe, to the account of their hope; but for that which was before their eyes, relying vpon themselues in the Action; and therein chusing rather to fight and dye, then to shrinke and bee saued. They fled from shame, but with their bodies, they stood out the Battell; and so in a moment, whilest Fortune inclineth neither way, left their liues not in feare, but in opinion of victory. Such were these men, worthy of their Country; and for you that remaine, you may pray for a safer fortune; but you ought not to bee lesse venturously minded against the enemie; not weighing the profit by an Oration onely, which any man amplifying, may recount, to you that know as well as hee, the many commodities that arise by fighting valiantly against your enemies, but contemplating the power of the Citie in the actions of the same from day to day performed, and thereby becomming enamoured of it. And when this power of the Citie shall seeme great to you, consider then, that the same was purchased by valiant men, and by men that know their duty, and

by

A *by men that were ſenſible of diſhonour when they were in fight; and by ſuch men, as though they failed of their attempt, yet would not bee wanting to the Citie with their vertue, but made vnto it a moſt honourable contribution. For hauing euery one giuen his body to the Common-wealth, they receiue in place thereof, an vndecaying commendation, and a moſt remarkeable Sepulcher; not wherein they are buried ſo much, as wherein their glory is laid vp, vpon all occaſions, both of ſpeech and action, to bee remembred for euer. For to famous men, all the earth is a Sepulcher: and their vertues ſhall bee teſtified, not onely by the inſcription in ſtone at home, but by an vnwritten record of*
B *the minde, which more then of any Monument, will remaine with euery one for euer. In imitation therefore of theſe men, and placing happineſſe in liberty, and liberty in valour, bee forward to encounter the dangers of Warre. For the miſerable and deſperate men, are not they that haue the moſt reaſon to bee prodigall of their liues, but rather ſuch men, as if they liue, may expect a change of fortune, and whoſe loſſes are greateſt, if they miſcarry in ought. For to a man of any ſpirit, Death, which is without ſenſe, arriuing whileſt hee is in vigour, and common hope, is nothing ſo bitter, as after a tender life to bee brought into miſerie. Wherefore I will not ſo much bewaile, as comfort you*
C *the parents, that are preſent, of theſe men. For you know that whileſt they liued, they were obnoxious to manifold calamities, whereas whileſt you are in griefe, they onely are happy, that dye honourably, as theſe haue done: and to whom it hath beene granted, not only to liue in proſperity, but to dye in it. Though it bee a hard matter to diſſwade you from ſorrow, for the loſſe of that, which the* happineſſe of others, wherein you alſo when time was, reioyced your ſelues, ſhall ſo often bring into your remembrance (for ſorrow is not for the want of a good neuer taſted, but for the priuation of a good wee haue beene vſed to) yet ſuch of you as are of the age to haue children, may beare the loſſe*
D *of theſe, in the hope of more. For the later children will both draw on with ſome the oblition of thoſe that are ſlaine, and alſo doubly conduce to the good of the Citie, by population and ſtrength. For it is not likely that they ſhould equally giue good counſell to the State, that haue not children to bee equally expoſed to danger in it. As for you that are paſt hauing of children, you are to put the former and greater part of your life, to the account of your gaine, and ſuppoſing the remainder of it will bee but ſhort, you ſhall haue the glory of theſe for a conſolation of the ſame. For the loue of honour neuer groweth old, nor doth that vnprofitable part of our life take delight (as ſome haue ſaid) in gathering of*
E *wealth, ſo much as it doth in being honoured. As for you that are the children or brethren of theſe men, I ſee you ſhall haue a difficult taske*

* Children.

of æmulation. For euery man vſeth to praiſe the dead; ſo that A
with oddes of vertue, you will hardly get an equall reputation, but
ſtill be thought a little ſhort. For men enuy their Competitors in
glory, while they liue, but to ſtand out of their way, is a thing honou-
red with an affection free from oppoſition. And ſince I muſt ſay
ſomewhat alſo of feminine vertue, for you that are now Widdowes:
I ſhall expreſſe it all in this ſhort admonition. It will bee much for
your honour, not to recede from your Sexe, and to giue as little occa-
ſion of rumour amongſt the men, whether of good or euill, as you can.
Thus alſo haue I, according to the preſcript of the Law, deliuered in
word what was expedient; and thoſe that are here interred, haue in B
fact beene already honoured; and further, their children ſhall bee
The children of ſuch as were the firſt ſlaine in any Warre, were kept at the charge of the Citie, till they came to mans eſtate.
maintained till they be at mans eſtate, at the charge of the Citie,
which hath therein propounded both to theſe, and them that liue, a
profitable Garland in their matches of valour. For where the re-
wards of vertue are greateſt, there liue the worthieſt men. So now
hauing lamented euery one his owne, you may be gone. Such was
the Funerall made this Winter, which ending, ended the
firſt yeere of this Warre.

THE SECOND YEERE. C
The ſecond inuaſion of *Attica*, by the *Lacedæmonians*.

In the very beginning of Summer, the *Peloponneſians*, and
their *Confederates*, with two thirds of their forces, as before
inuaded *Attica*, vnder the conduct of *Archidamus*, the ſonne
of *Zeuxidamas*, King of *Lacedæmon*, and after they had en-
camped themſelues, waſted the countrey about them.

The plague at *Athens*.

They had not beene many dayes in *Attica*, when the
plague firſt began amongſt the *Athenians*, ſaid alſo to haue
ſeazed formerly on diuers other parts, as about *Lemnos*, and
elſewhere; but ſo great a plague, and mortality of men,
was neuer remembred to haue hapned in any place before.
For at firſt, neither were the Phyſicians able to cure it, D
through ignorance of what it was, but dyed faſteſt them-
ſelues, as being the men that moſt approached the ſicke,
nor any other art of man auailed whatſoeuer. All ſuppli-
cations to the *Gods*, and enquiries of *Oracles*, and whatſoeuer
other meanes they vſed of that kind, proued all vnprofita-
ble; inſomuch as ſubdued with the greatneſſe of the euill,
they gaue them all ouer. It began (by report) firſt, in
It began in *Æthiopia*.
that part of *Æthiopia* that lyeth vpon *Ægypt*, and thence
fell downe into *Ægypt* and *Afrique*, and into the greateſt part
* of Perſia.
of the Territories of the * *King*. It inuaded *Athens* on a E
ſudden; and touched firſt vpon thoſe that dwelt in
Piræus;

A *Pyræus*; insomuch as they reported that the *Peloponnesians* had cast poyson into their Welles, for Springs there were not any in that place. But afterwards it came vp into the high City, and then they dyed a great deale faster. Now let euery man, Physitian, or other, concerning the ground of this sickenesse, whence it sprung, and what causes hee thinkes able to produce so great an alteration, speake according to his owne knowledge, for my owne part, I will deliuer but the manner of it, and lay open onely such things, as one may take his marke by, to discouer the same

The *Peloponnesians* supposed to haue poysoned their Welles

B if it come againe, hauing beene both sicke of it my selfe, and seene others sicke of the same. This yeere, by confession of all men, was of all other, for other diseases, most free and healthfull. If any man were sicke before, his disease turned to this; if not, yet suddenly, without any apparant cause preceding, and being in perfect health, they were taken first with an extreame ache in their heads, redneſſe and inflammation of the eyes; and then inwardly, their throats and tongues, grew presently bloody, and their breath noysome, and vnsauory. Vpon this, followed a sneezing and

The Author sicke of this disease.

The discription of the Disease.

Ache of the head.

Redneſſe of the eyes.
Sore throat.
Vnsauourie breath.

C hoarseneſſe, and not long after, the paine, together with a mighty cough, came downe into the breast. And when once it was settled in the * stomacke, it caused vomit, and with great torment came vp all manner of bilious purgation that Physitians euer named. Most of them had also the Hickeyexe, which brought with it a strong conuulsion, and in some ceased quickly, but in others was long before it gaue ouer. Their bodies outwardly to the touch, were neither very hote nor pale, but reddish liuid, and beflowred with little pimples and whelkes; but so burned in-

Vomitings.
* κεφάλια. *were taken for the stomach.*

Hickyexe.

Extreme heate of their bodies.
Liuid pustules.

D wardly, as not to endure any the lightest cloathes or linnen garment, to be vpon them, nor any thing but meere nakedneſſe, but rather, most willingly, to haue cast themselues into the cold water. And many of them that were not looked to, possessed with insatiate thirst, ranne vnto the Welles, and to drinke much, or little, was indifferent, being still, from ease, and power to sleepe, as farre as euer. As long as the disease was at the height, their bodies wasted not, but resisted the torment beyond all expectation, insomuch, as the most of them either dyed of their inward

Insatiate thirst.

Want of sleepe.

E burning, in nine or seuen dayes, whilest they had yet strength, or if they escaped that, then the disease falling

After 7. or 9. dayes, death.

Disease in the belly.

Looseneſſe.

Losse of the parts where the diseases brake out.

Oblivion of all things done before their sickeneſſe.

Birds and Beasts perished that fed on Carkasses.

Want of attendance.

Dejection of mind.

downe into their bellies, and causing there great exulcera- A
tions, and immoderate looseneſſe, they dyed many of them afterwards through weakeneſſe. For the disease (which tooke first the head) began aboue, and came downe, and passed through the whole body; and he that ouercame the worst of it, was yet marked with the losse of his extreme parts; for breaking out both at their priuy members, and at their fingers and toes, many with the losse of these escaped. There were also some that lost their eyes, and many that presently vpon their recouery, were taken with such an obliuion of all things B
whatsoeuer, as they neither knew themselues, nor their acquaintance. For this was a kind of sickeneſſe which farre surmounted all expresion of words, and both exceeded humane nature, in the cruelty wherwith it handled each one, and appeared also otherwise to be none of those diseases that are bred amongst vs, and that especially by this. For all both birds and beasts, that vse to feed on humane flesh, though many men lay abroad vnburied, either came not at them, or tasting perished. An argument whereof as touching the birds, is the manifest defect of such fowle, C
which were not then seene, neither about the Carcasses, or any where else; But by the dogges, because they are familiar with men, this effect was seene much cleerer. So that this disease (to passe ouer many strange particulars, of the accidents, that some had differently, from others) was in generall such as I haue shownе, and for other vsuall sickeneſſes, at that time, no man was troubled with any. Now they died, some for want of attendance, and some againe with all the care and Physicke that could be vsed. Nor was there any, to say, certaine medicine, that applied D
must haue helped them; for if it did good to one, it did harme to another; nor any difference of body, for strength or weakneſſe that was able to resist it; but it carried all away, what Physicke soeuer was administred. But the greatest misery of all was, the deiection of mind, in such as found themselues beginning to be sicke (for they grew presently desperate, and gaue themselues ouer without making any resistance) as also their dying thus like sheepe, infected by mutuall visitation, for the greatest mortality proceeded that way. For if men forbore to vi- E
site them, for feare, then they dyed forlorne, whereby many

A ny Families became empty, for want of ſuch as ſhould take care of them. If they forbore not, then they died themſelues, and principally the honeſteſt men. For out of ſhame, they would not ſpare themſelues, but went in vnto their friends, eſpecially after it was come to this paſſe, that euen their domeſtiques, wearied with the lamentations of them that died, and ouercome with the greatneſſe of the calamity, were no longer moued therewith. But thoſe that were recouered, had much compaſsion both on them that died, and on them that lay ſicke, as hauing both knowne
B the miſery themſelues, and now no more ſubiect to the danger. For this diſeaſe neuer tooke any man the ſecond time, ſo as to be mortall. And theſe men were both by others counted happy, and they alſo themſelues, through exceſſe of preſent ioy, conceiued a kind of light hope, neuer to die of any other ſickeneſſe hereafter. Beſides the preſent affliction, the reception of the countrey people, and of their ſubſtance into the Citie, oppreſſed both them, and much more the people themſelues that ſo came in. For hauing no houſes, but dwelling at that time of the yeere in
C ſtifling boothes, the mortality was now without all forme; and dying men lay tumbling one vpon another in the ſtreetes, and men halfe dead, about euery Conduit through deſire of water. The Temples alſo where they dwelt in Tents, were all full of the dead that died within them; for oppreſſed with the violence of the Calamitie, and not knowing what to doe, men grew careleſſe both of holy, and prophane things alike. And the Lawes which they formerly vſed touching Funerals, were all now broken; euery one burying where hee could finde
D roome. And many for want of things neceſſary, after ſo many deathes before, were forced to become impudent in the Funerals of their friends. For when one had made a Funeral *Pile, another getting before him, would throw on his dead, and giue it fire. And when one was in burning, another would come, and hauing caſt thereon him whom he carried, goe his way againe. And the great licentiouſneſſe, which alſo in other kindes was vſed in the Citie, began at firſt from this diſeaſe. For that which a man before would diſſemble, and not acknowledge to be done for vo-
E luptuouſneſſe, he durſt now doe freely, ſeeing before his eyes ſuch quicke reuolutions of the rich dying, and men worth

No man ſicke of it mortally the ſecond time.

Men dyed in the ſtreets.

Diſorder in their Funerals.

* *A pile of wood, which when they had laid the Corpes on it, they fired, and afterwards buried the bones.*

Licentiouſneſſe of life iuſtified.

worth nothing, inheriting their estates; insomuch as they A
iustified a speedy fruition of their goods, euen for their
pleasure; as men that thought they held their liues
but by the day. As for paines, no man was forward in any
action of honour, to take any, because they thought it vn-
certaine whether they should dye or not, before they at-
chieued it. But what any man knew to bee delightfull,
and to bee profitable to pleasure, that was made both pro-
fitable and honourable. Neither the feare of the Gods,
Neglect of Religion and Law. nor Lawes of men, awed any man. Not the former, be-
cause they concluded it was alike to worship or not wor- B
ship, from seeing that alike they all perished: nor the lat-
ter, because no man expected that liues would last, till he
receiued punishment of his crimes by iudgement. But
they thought there was now ouer their heads, some farre
greater Iudgement decreed against them; before which
fell, they thought to enioy some little part of their liues.
Such was the misery into which the *Athenians* being falne,
were much oppressed; hauing not onely their men killed
by the Disease within, but the enemy also laying waste
Predictions called to minde. their Fields and Villages without. In this sickenesse also, C
(as it was not vnlikely they would) they called to minde
this Verse, said also of the elder sort to haue beene vttered
of old:

A Dorique *Warre shall fall,*
And a great * *Plague withall.*

* λοιμὸς.

An ambiguous Prophecie expounded by the euent. Now were men at variance about the word, some say-
ing it was not λοιμὸς, (*i. the Plague*) that was by the An-
cients, mentioned in that verse, but λιμὸς, (*i. Famine.*) But D
vpon the present occasion the word λοιμὸς, deseruedly ob-
tained. For as men suffered, so they made the Verse to
say. And I thinke, if after this, there shall euer come an-
other *Dorique Warre*, and with it a Famine, they are like
to recite the Verse accordingly. There was also reported
by such as knew, a certaine answer giuen by the Oracle to
the *Lacedæmonians*, when they enquired whether they
should make this Warre, or not, *That if they warred with all*
their power, they should haue the Victorie, and that the * *God him-*
selfe would take their parts? and thereupon they thought E
the present misery to bee a fulfilling of that Prophecie.

* Apollo, *to whom the Heathen attributed the immission of all epidemicke or ordinary diseases.*

The

A The *Peloponnesians* were no sooner entred *Attica*, but the sickenesse presently began, and neuer came into *Peloponnesus*, to speake of, but raigned principally in *Athens*, and in such other places afterwards as were most populous. And thus much of this Disease.

After the *Peloponnesians* had wasted the Champaigne Countrey, they fell vpon the Territory called * *Paralos*, as farre as to the Mountaine *Laurius*, where the *Athenians* had Siluer Mines, and first wasted that part of it which looketh towards *Peloponnesus*, and then that also which ly-
B eth toward *Andros* and *Eubœa*: and *Pericles*, who was also then Generall, was still of the same minde hee was of in the former inuasion, that the *Athenians* ought not to goe out against them to battell.

* by the Sea coast.

Whilst they were yet in the Plaine, & before they entred into the Maritime Country, he furnished an hundred Gallies to goe about *Peloponnesus*, and as soone as they were ready, put to Sea. In these Gallies hee had foure thousand men of Armes; and in Vessels then purposely first made to carry Horses, three hundred Horsemen. The *Chi-*
C *ans* and *Lesbians* ioyned likewise with him with fiftie Gallies. This Fleet of the *Athenians*, when it set foorth, left the *Peloponnesians* still in *Paralia*, and comming before *Epidaurus*, a Citie of *Peloponnesus*, they wasted much of the Country therabout, and assaulting the Citie, had a hope to take it, though it succeeded not. Leauing *Epidaurus*, they wasted the Territories about, of *Trœzene*, *Halias*, and *Hermione*, places all on the Sea-coast of *Peloponesus*. Putting off from hence, they came to *Prasiæ*, a small maritime Citie of *Laconica*, and both wasted the Territory about it, and tooke and razed
D the Towne it selfe: and hauing done this, came home, and found the *Peloponnesians* not now in *Attica*, but gone backe.

Pericles with 100. sayle of *Athenians*, about *Peloponnesus*.

All the while the *Peloponnesians* were in the Territorie of the *Athenians*, and the *Athenians* abroad with their Fleet, the sickenesse, both in the Armie and Citie, destroyed many, in so much as it was said, that the *Peloponnesians*, fearing the sickenesse (which they knew to bee in the Citie, both by fugitiues, and by seeing the *Athenians* burying their dead) went the sooner away out of the Countrey. And yet they stayed there longer in this inuasion, then they
E had done any time before, and wasted euen the whole Territory: for they continued in *Attica* almost forty daies.

The *Peloponnesians* depart out of *Attica*.

The

The *Athenian* Fleet returned from *Peloponneſus*, go to *Potidæa* with ill ſucceſſe, by reaſon of the ſickeneſſe.

The ſame Summer, *Agnon* the ſonne of *Nicias*, and *Cleopompus* the Sonne of *Clinias*, who were ioynt Commanders with *Pericles*, with that Armie which hee had employed before, went preſently and made Warre vpon the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and againſt *Potidæa*, which was yet beſieged. Arriuing, they preſently applyed Engins, and tryed all meanes poſsible to take it; but neither the taking of the Citie, nor any thing elſe, ſucceeded worthy ſo great preparation. For the ſickeneſſe comming amongſt them, afflicted them mightily indeed, and euen deuoured the Army. And the *Athenian* Souldiers which were there before, and in health, catched the ſickeneſſe from thoſe that came with *Agnon*. As for *Phormio*, and his 1600. they were not now amongſt the *Chalcideans*; and *Agnon* therefore came backe with his Fleet, hauing of 4000 men in leſſe then 40. dayes, loſt 1050. of the plague. But the Souldiers that were there before, ſtaid vpon the place, and continued the ſiege of *Potidæa*.

The *Athenian* people vexed at once both with the Warre & Peſtilence, grow impatient toward *Pericles*.

After the ſecond inuaſion of the *Peloponneſians*, the *Athenians* (hauing their fields now the ſecond time waſted, and both the ſickeneſſe, and warre, falling vpon them at once) changed their mindes, and accuſed *Pericles*, as if by his meanes they had been brought into theſe calamities, and deſired earneſtly to compound with the *Lacedæmonians*, to whom alſo they ſent certaine Ambaſſadours, but they returned without effect. And being then at their wits end, they kept a ſtirre at *Pericles*. And hee, ſeeing them vexed with their preſent calamity, and doing all thoſe things which he had before expected, called an Aſſembly (for he was yet Generall) with intention to put them againe into heart, and aſſwaging their paſsion, to reduce their mindes to a more calme, and leſſe diſmayed temper; and ſtanding forth, he ſpake vnto them, in this manner.

THE ORATION OF PERICLES.

YOur anger towards me, commeth not vnlooked for, (for the cauſes of it I know) and I haue called this Aſſembly therefore, to remember you, and reprehend you for thoſe things, wherin you haue either beene angry with me, or giuen way to your aduerſity, without reaſon. For I am of this opinion, that the publike proſperity of the Citie,

A *Citie, is better for priuate men, then if the priuate men themselues were in prosperity, and the publique wealth in decay. For a priuate man, though in good estate, if his Countrey come to ruine, must of necessity be ruined with it; whereas hee that miscarrieth, in a flourishing Common-wealth, shall much more easily be preserued. Since then the Common-wealth is able to beare the calamities of priuate men, and euery one cannot support the calamities of the Common-wealth, why should not euery one striue to defend it? and not (as you now, astonished with domestique misfortune) forsake the common safety, and fall a censuring both me that counselled the Warre, and your selues, that de-*
B *creed the same as well as I. And it is I you are angry with all, one, as I thinke my selfe, inferiour to none, either in knowing what is requisite, or in expressing what I know, and a louer of my Countrey, and superior to money. For he that hath good thoughts, and cannot cleerely expresse them, were as good to haue thought nothing at all. He that can do both, and is ill affected to his Countrey, will likewise not giue it faithfull counsell. And he that will doe that too, yet if he be superable by mony, will for that alone set all the rest to sale. Now if you followed my aduice in making this Warre, as esteeming these vertues to bee in mee, somewhat aboue the rest, there is sure no reason I should now be accu-*
C *sed of doing you wrong. For though to such as haue it in their owne election (being otherwise in good estate) it were madnesse to make choice of Warre; yet when we must of necessitie, either giue way, and so without more adoe, be subiect to our Neighbours, or else saue our selues from it by danger, he is more to be condemned that declineth the danger, then he that standeth to it. For mine owne part, I am the man I was, and of the minde I was, but you are changed, wonne to the Warre, when you were entire, but repenting it vpon the dammage, and condemning my counsell, in the weakenesse of your owne iudgement. The reason of this is, because you feele already euery one in particular, that which afflicts*
D *you, but the euidence of the profit to accrew to the Citie in generall, you see not yet. And your mindes deiected with the great and sudden alteratoin, cannot constantly maintaine what you haue before resolued. For that which is sodaine and vnexpected, and contrary to what one hath deliberated, enslaueth the spirit; which by this disease principally, in the necke of the other incommodities, is now come to passe in you. But you that are borne in a great Citie, and with education suteable, how great soeuer the affliction be, ought not to shrinke at it, and eclipse your reputation (for men doe no lesse condemne those that through cowardize lose the glory they haue, then hate those that*
E *through impudence, arrogate the glory they haue not) but to set aside the griefe of your priuate losses, and lay your hands to the common*

ſafety. As for the toyle of the Warre, that it may perhaps be long, A
and we in the end neuer the nearer to the victory, though that may
ſuffice which I haue demonſtrated at other times, touching your
cauſeleſſe ſuſpition that way; yet this I will tell you moreouer, tou-
ching the greatneſſe of your meanes for dominion, which neither you
your ſelues ſeeme to haue euer thought on, nor I touched in my for-
mer Orations; nor would I alſo haue ſpoken it now, but that I ſee
your mindes deiected more then there is cauſe for. That though you
take your dominion to extend onely to your Confederates, I affirme
that of the two parts of the world of manifeſt vſe, the Land and the
Sea, you are of the one of them, entire Maſters, both of as much of it, B
as you make vſe of, and alſo of as much more as you ſhall thinke fit
your ſelues. Neither is there any King or Nation whatſoeuer, of
thoſe that now are, that can impeach your Nauigation, with the Fleet
and ſtrength you now goe. So that you muſt not put the vſe of
Houſes, and Lands, (wherein you now thinke your ſelues depriued
of a mighty matter) into the ballance with ſuch a power as this, nor
take the loſſe of theſe things heauily in reſpect of it, but rather ſet lit-
tle by them, as but a light ornament and embelliſhment of wealth, and
thinke, that our libertie, as long as we hold faſt that, will eaſily reco-
uer vnto vs, theſe things againe; whereas ſubiected once to others, C
euen that which we poſſeſſe beſides will be diminiſhed. Shew not
your ſelues both mayes inferiour to your Anceſtors, who not onely
held this (gotten by their owne labours, not left them) but haue alſo
preſerued, and deliuered the ſame vnto vs, (For it is more diſhonour
to loſe what one poſſeſſeth, then to miſcarrie in the acquiſition of it)
and encounter the enemie not onely with magnanimitie, but alſo with
diſdaine: for a coward may haue a high minde, vpon a proſperous
ignorance, but he that is confident vpon iudgement to be ſuperiour
to his enemy, doth alſo diſdaine him, which is now our caſe. And cou-
rage (in equall fortune) is the ſafer for our diſdaine of the enemy, D
where a man knowes what he doth. For he truſteth leſſe to hope,
which is of force onely in vncertainties, and more to iudgement vpon
certainties, wherein there is a more ſure foreſight. You haue reaſon
beſides to maintaine the dignitie the Citie hath gotten for her Domi-
nion, (in which you all triumph) and either not decline the paines, or
not alſo purſue the honour. And you muſt not thinke the queſtion
is now of your liberty, and ſeruitude onely: Beſides the loſſe of your
rule ouer others, you muſt ſtand the danger you haue contracted, by
offence giuen in the adminiſtration of it. Nor can you now giue it
ouer (if any fearing at this preſent, that that may come to paſſe, en- E
courage himſelfe with the intention of not to meddle hereafter) for

A already your gouernment is in the nature of a tyranny, which is both vniust for you to take vp, and vnsafe to lay downe. And such men as these, if they could perswade others to it, or liued in a free Citie by themselues, would quickly ouerthrow it. For the quiet life can neuer be preserued, if it be not ranged with the actiue life; nor is it a life conducible to a Citie that reigneth, but to a subiect Citie, that it may safely serue. Be not therfore seduced by this sort of men, nor angry with me, together with whom your selues did decree this Warre, because the enemy inuading you hath done what was likely he would, if you obeyed him not. And as for the sickenesse (the onely thing that exceeded
B the imagination of all men) it was vnlooked for, and I know you hate me somewhat the more for that, but vniustly, vnlesse when any thing falleth out aboue your expectation fortunate, you will also dedicate vnto me that. Euils that come from heauen, you must beare necessarily, and such as proceed from your enemies valiantly; for so it hath beene the custome of this Citie to doe heretofore, which custome let it not bee your part to reuerse: Knowing that this Citie hath a great name amongst all people, for not yeelding to aduersity, and for the mighty power it yet hath, after the expence of so many liues, and so much labour in the Warre, the memory whereof, though we should now at
C length miscarry (for all things are made with this Law, to decay againe) will remaine with posterity for euer. How that being Grecians, most of the Greekians were our subiects, That we haue abidden the greatest Warres against them, both vniuersally and singly, And haue inhabited the greatest and wealthiest Citie, Now this, hee with the quiet life will condemne, the actiue man will æmulate, and they that haue not attained to the like, will enuy. But to be hated, and to displease, is a thing that happeneth for the time to whosoeuer hee be that hath the command of others, and he does well that vndergoeth hatred for matters of great consequence. For the hatred lasteth not,
D and is recompenced both with a present splendor, and an immortall glory hereafter. Seeing then you foresee both what is honourable for the future, and not dishonourable for the present, procure both the one, and the other by your courage now. Send no more Heraulds to the Lacedæmonians, nor let them know that the euill present does any way afflict you, for they whose mindes least feele, and whose actions most oppose a calamity, both amongst States, and priuate persons are the best.

In this speech did *Pericles* endeauour to appeale the an
E ger of the *Athenians* towards himselfe, and withall to withdraw their thoughts from the present affliction; But

they, though for the State in generall, they were won, and A
ſent to the *Lacedæmonians* no more, but rather enclined to
the Warre, yet they were euery one in particular, grieued
for their ſeuerall loſſes. The poore, becauſe entring the
Warre with little, they loſt that little, and the rich, be-
cauſe they had loſt faire poſſeſsions, together with good-
ly houſes, and coſtly furniture in them, in the Countrey;
but the greateſt matter of all was, that they had Warre
Pericles fined in a ſumme of money. in ſtead of Peace. And altogether, they depoſed not their
anger, till they had firſt fined him in a ſumme of money.
Neuertheleſſe, not long after, (as is the faſhion of the B
multitude) they made him Generall againe, and commit-
ted the whole State to his adminiſtration. For the ſenſe
of their domeſtique loſſes was now dulled, and for the need
of the Common-wealth, they priſed him more then any
other whatſoeuer. For as long as he was in authority
Athens at the greateſt in the time of *Pericles*. in the Citie, in time of Peace, he gouerned the ſame with
moderation, and was a faithfull watchman of it, and in his
time it was at the greateſt. And after the Warre was on
foot, it is manifeſt that he therein alſo fore-ſaw what it
The death of *Pericles*. could doe. Hee liued after the Warre began, two yeeres C
* Plutarch *ſayes, he died of the Plague.* and ſixe moneths. And his foreſight in the Warre was
beſt knowne after his * death. For he told them, that if
they would be quiet, and looke to their Nauy, and during
this Warre, ſeeke no further dominion, nor hazzard the
Citie it ſelfe, they ſhould then haue the vpper hand. But
they did contrary in all, and in ſuch other things beſides,
as ſeemed not to concerne the Warre, managed the State,
according to their priuate ambition and couetouſneſſe, per-
nitiouſly both for themſelues, and their Confederates.
What ſucceeded well, the honour and profit of it, came D
moſt to priuate men; and what miſcarried, was to the
Cities detriment in the Warre. The reaſon whereof was
The commendation of *Pericles*. this, that being a man of great power, both for his dignity
and wiſdome, & for bribes, manifeſtly the moſt incorrupt,
he freely controuled the multitude, and was not ſo much
led by them, as he led them. Becauſe (hauing gotten his
power by no euill Artes) he would not humour them in
his ſpeeches, but out of his authority, durſt anger them
with contradiction. Therefore whenſoeuer he ſaw them
out of ſeaſon inſolently bold, he would with his Orations E
put them into a feare, and againe when they were afraid
without

A without reason, he would likewise erect their spirits, and imbolden them. It was in name a State *Democraticall*, but in fact, *A gouernment of the principall Man*. But they that came after, being more equall amongst themselues, and affecting euery one to be the chiefe, applyed themselues to the people, and let goe the care of the Common-wealth. From whence, amongst many other errours, as was likely in a great and dominant Citie, proceeded also the voyage into *Sicily*, which was not so much vpon mistaking those whom they went against, as for want of knowledge in the B senders, of what was necessary for those that went the voyage. For through priuate quarrels about, who should beare the greatest sway with the people, they both abated the vigour of the Armie, and then also first troubled the State at home with diuision. Being ouerthrowne in *Sicily*, and hauing lost, besides other ammunition, the greatest part of their Nauy, and the Citie being then in sedition, yet they held out 3 yeeres, both against their first enemies, and the *Sicilians* with them, and against most of their reuolted Confederates besides, and also afterwards against *Cyrus* C the *Kings* sonne, who tooke part with, and sent money to the *Peloponnesians*, to maintaine their Fleet; and neuer shrunke till they had ouerthrowne themselues with priuate dissentions. So much was in *Pericles* aboue other men at that time, that he could foresee by what meanes the Citie might easily haue out-lasted the *Peloponnesians* in this Warre.

The *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, made Warre the same Summer with 100 Gallies, against *Zacynthus*, an Iland lying ouer against *Elis*. The Inhabitants whereof D were a Colony of the *Achæans* of *Peloponnesus*, but Confederates of the *people of Athens*. There went in this Fleet, 1000 men of Armes, and *Cnemus* a *Spartan* for Admirall, who landing, wasted the greatest part of the Territory. But they of the Iland not yeelding, they put off againe, and went home.

The *Lacedæmonians* Warre against *Zacynthus*. *Zante*.

In the end of the same Summer, *Aristeus* of *Corinth*, and *Anaristus*, *Nicolaus*, *Praxidamus*, and *Timagoras* of *Tegea*, Ambassadours of the *Lacedæmonians*, and *Pollis* of *Argos*, a priuate man, as they were trauelling into *Asia* to the *King*, to E get mony of him, and to draw him into their league, tooke *Thrace* in their way, and came vnto *Sitalces* the sonne of *Teres*,

The *Lacedæmonian* Ambassadors taken by the *Athenian* Ambassadors in *Thrace* and went to *Athens*.

Teres, with a desire to get him also, if they could, to forsake the league with *Athens*, and to send his forces to *Potidæa*, which the *Athenian* Army now besieged, and not to aide the *Athenians* any longer: and withall to get leaue to passe through his Countrey to the other side of *Hellespont*, to goe, as they intended, to *Pharnabazus*, the sonne of *Pharnaces*, who would conuoy them to the *King*. But the Ambassadours of *Athens*, *Learchus*, the sonne of *Callimachus*, and *Ameiniades* the sonne of *Philemon*, then resident with *Sitalces*, perswaded *Sadocus* the sonne of *Sitalces*, who was now a Citizen of *Athens*, to put them into their hands, that they might not goe to the *King*, and doe hurt to the Citie, whereof hee himselfe was now a member. Whereunto condiscending, as they iourneyed thorow *Thrace*, to take ship to crosse the *Hellespont*,* he apprehended them before they got to the ship, by such others as he sent along with *Learchus* and *Ameiniades*, with command to deliuer them into their hands; And they, when they had them, sent them away to *Athens*. When they came thither, the *Athenians* fearing *Aristæus*, lest escaping, he should doe them further mischiefe, (for he was manifestly the authour of all the businesse of *Potidæa*, and about *Thrace*) the same day put them all to death, vniudged, and desirous to haue spoken, and threw them into the Pits, thinking it but iust, to take reuenge of the *Lacedæmonians* that began it, and had slaine and throwne into Pits, the Merchants of the *Athenians*, and their Confederates, whom they tooke sayling in * Merchants ships, about the Coast of *Peloponnesus*. For in the beginning of the Warre, the *Lacedæmonians* slew, as enemies, whomsoeuer they tooke at Sea, whether Confederates of the *Athenians*, or neutrall, albeit.

About the same time, in the end of Summer, the *Ambraciotes*, both they themselues, and diuers *Barbarian* Nations by them raised, made Warre against *Argos* of *Amphilochia*, and against the rest of that Territory. The quarrell betweene them and the *Argiues*, arose first from hence: This *Argos*, and the rest of *Amphilochia*, was planted by *Amphilochus* the sonne of *Amphiraus*, after the *Troian* Warre; who at his returne, misliking the then State of *Argos*, built this Citie in the Gulfe of *Ambracia*, and called it *Argos*, after the name of his owne Countrey. And it was the greatest Citie, and had the most wealthy Inhabitants of all *Amphilochia*.

* A vile act of Sadocus, to gratifie the Athenians, because they had made him free of their Citie.

The *Athenians* put them to death.

* Ἀκάτους ships of the round forme of building: for the vse of Merchants, not for the vse of Warre, as were Gallies, and other Vessels of the long forme of building.

The *Ambraciotes* warre on *Acarnania*.

A *philochia*. But many generations after, being fallen into misery, they communicated their Citie with the *Ambraciotes*, bordering vpon *Amphilochia*. And then they first learned the *Greeke* language now vsed; from the *Ambraciotes*, that liued among them. For the rest of the *Amphilochians*, were *Barbarians*. Now the *Ambraciotes* in processe of time, draue out the *Argiues*, and held the Citie by themselues. Where-upon the *Amphilochians* submitted themselues to the *Acarnanians*, and both together called in the *Athenians*, who sent 30 Gallies to their aide, and *Phormio* for Generall.

B *Phormio* being arriued, tooke *Argos* by assault, and making slaues of the *Ambraciotes*, put the Towne into the ioynt possessions of the *Amphilochians* and *Acarnanians*; and this was the beginning of the League betweene the *Athenians* and *Acarnanians*. The *Ambraciotes* therefore deriuing their hatred to the *Argiues* from this their captiuity, came in with an Armie partly of their owne, and partly raised amongst the *Chaonians*, and other neighbouring *Barbarians* now in this Warre. And comming to *Argos*, were masters of the field; but when they could not take the Citie by

C assault, they returned, and disbanding, went euery Nation to his owne. These were the Acts of the Summer.

The end of the second Summer.

In the beginning of Winter, the *Athenians* sent 20 Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, vnder the command of *Phormio*, who comming to lie at * *Naupactus*, guarded the passage that none might goe in, or out; from *Corinth*, and the *Crissean* Gulfe. And other 6 Gallies, vnder the Conduct of *Melesander*, they sent into *Caria*, and *Lycia*, as well to gather tribute in those parts, as also to hinder the *Peloponnesian* Pirates, lying on those Coasts, from molesting the Nauigati-

D on of such * Merchant-ships as they expected to come to them from *Phaselis*, *Phœnicia*, and that part of the Continent. But *Melesander* landing in *Lycia*, with such forces of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, as he had aboard, was ouercome in battaile, and slaine, with the losse of a part of his Army.

* *Lepanto.*

*ὁλκάδας.

The same Winter, the *Potideans* vnable any longer to endure the siege, seeing the inuasion of *Attica* by the *Peloponnesians*, could not make them rise, and seeing their victuall failed, and that they were forced, amongst diuers other

E things done by them, for necessity of food, to eate one another, propounded at length to *Xenophon* the sonne of

Potidea rendred to the *Athenians*.

Eurypides

Euripedes, *Heſtiodorus*, the ſonne of *Ariſtoclidas*, and *Thænomachus*, the ſonne of *Callimachus*, the *Athenian* Commanders that lay before the Citie, to giue the ſame into their hands. And they, ſeeing both that the Armie was already afflicted by lying in that cold place, and that the State had already ſpent * 2000. Talents vpon the Siege, accepted of it. The conditions agreed on, were theſe: *To depart, they and their Wiues and Children, and their auxiliar Souldiers, euery man with one ſute of cloathes, and euery woman with two; and to take with them euery one a certaine ſumme of money for his charges by the way.* Hereupon a Truce was granted them to depart; and they went, ſome to the *Chalcideans*, and others to other places, as they could get to. But the people of *Athens* called the Commanders in queſtion, for compounding without them; conceiuing that they might haue gotten the Citie to diſcretion. And ſent afterwards a Colonie to *Potidæa* of their owne Citizens. Theſe were the things done in this Winter. And ſo ended the ſecond yeere of this War, written by *Thucydides*.

375000. pound ſterling.

THE THIRD YEERE.

The next Summer, the *Peloponneſians* and their Confederates came not into *Attica*, but turned their Armes againſt *Platæa*, led by *Archidamus* the ſonne of *Zeuxidamus*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, who hauing pitched his Campe was about to waſte the Territory thereof. But the *Platæans* ſent Ambaſſadours preſently vnto him, with words to this effect: Archidamus, *and you* Lacedæmonians, *you doe neither iuſtly, nor worthy your ſelues and Anceſtours, in making Warre vpon* Platæa. *For* Pauſanias *of* Lacedæmon, *the ſonne of* Cleombrotus, *hauing (together with ſuch* Grecians *as were content to vndergoe the danger of the battell that was fought in this our Territory) deliuered all* Greece *from the ſlauery of the* Perſians, *when hee offered Sacrifice in the Market place of* Platæa, *to* Iupiter *the deliuerer, called together all the Confederates, and granted to the* Platæans *this priuiledge*; That their Citie and Territory ſhould bee free: That none ſhould make any vniuſt Warre againſt them, nor goe about to ſubiect them; and if any did, the Confederates then preſent, ſhould to their vtmoſt ability, reuenge their quarell. *Theſe priuiledges your Fathers granted vs for our valour, and zeale in thoſe dangers. But now doe you the cleane contrary; for you ioyne with our greateſt enemies, the* Thebans, *to bring vs into ſubiection. Therefore calling to witneſſe the Gods then ſworne by, and the Gods both of your*

The siege of *Platæa*.

The *Platæans* ſpeech to *Archidamus*.

A *your and our Countrey, we require you, that you doe no damnage to the Territory of* Plataea, *nor violate those Oathes; but that you suffer vs to enioy our libertie in such sort as was allowed vs by* Pausanias.

The *Plateans* hauing thus said, *Archidamus* replyed, and said thus. *Men of* Plataea, *If you would doe as ye say, you say what is iust. For as* Pausanias *hath granted to you, so also bee you free; and helpe to set free the rest, who hauing beene partakers of the same dangers then, and being comprized in the same oath with your selues, are now brought into subiection by the* Athenians. *And this so great preparation and Warre is only for the deliuerance of them, and others:*

B *of which if you will especially participate, keepe your oathes, at least (as we haue also aduised you formerly) be quiet, and enioy your owne, in neutrality, receiuing both sides in the way of friendship, neither side in the way of faction.* Thus said *Archidamus*. And the Ambassadours of *Plataea*, when they had heard him returned to the Citie, and hauing communicated his answer to the people, brought word againe to *Archidamus*, *That what hee had aduised, was impossible for them to performe, without leaue of the* Athenians, *in whose keeping were their wiues and children; and that they feared also, for the whole Citie, lest when the* Lacedæmo-

C nians *were gone, the* Athenians *should come and take the custody of it out of their hands; or that the* Thebans *comprehended in the oath of receiuing both sides, should againe attempt to surprize it.* But *Archidamus* to encourage them, made this answer: *Deliuer you vnto vs* Lacedæmonians, *your Citie and your houses, shew vs the bounds of your Territory, giue vs your trees by tale, and whatsoeuer else can be numbred, and depart your selues whither you shall think good, as long as the Warre lasteth, and when it shall be ended, we will deliuer it all vnto you againe: in the meane time, we will keepe them as depositted, and will cultiuate your ground, and pay you rent for it,*

D *as much as shall suffice for your maintenance.*

Hereupon the Ambassadours went againe into the City, and hauing consulted with the people, made answer, *That they would first acquaint the* Athenians *with it, and if they would consent, they would then accept the condition: till then, they desired a suspension of armes, and not to haue their Territory wasted.* Vpon this he granted them so many dayes truce as was requisite for their returne, and for so long forbore to waste their Territory. When the *Platean* Ambassadours were arriued at *Athens*, and had aduised on the matter with the *Athe-*

E *nians*, they returned to the City with this answer: *The Athenians say thus: That neither in former times, since wee were*

The Answer of *Archidamus* to the *Platæans*.

The reply of the *Platæans*.

The answer of *Archidamus* to their reply.

The *Platæans* reply again, and desire to know the pleasure of the people of *Athens*.

The *Athenians* message to the *Platæans*.

their Confederates, did they euer abandon vs to the iniuries of any, nor will they now neglect vs, but giue vs their vtmost assistance. And they coniure vs by the oath of our Fathers, not to make any alienation touching the league.

When the Ambassadours had made this report, the *Plateans* resolued in their councels, not to betray the *Athenians*, but rather to endure, if it must bee, the wasting of their Territory before their eyes, and to suffer whatsoeuer misery could befall them, and no more to goe forth, but from the Walles to make this Answer: *That it was impossible for them to doe as the Lacedæmonians had required.* When they had answered so, *Archidamus* the King, first made a protestation to the Gods and Heroes of the Countrey, saying thus: *All ye Gods and Heroes, protectors of Plataeis, bee witnesses, that wee neither inuade this Territory, wherein our Fathers, after their vowes vnto you, ouercame the Medes, and which you made propitious for the Grecians to fight in, vniustly now in the beginning; because they haue first broken the League they had sworne: nor what wee shall further doe will bee any iniury, because, though we haue offered many and reasonable conditions, they haue yet beene all refused. Assent ye also to the punishment of the beginners of iniury, and to the reuenge of those that beare lawfull armes.*

The *Plateans* last answer to *Archidamus* from the Wall.

Archidamus protestation.

Hauing made this protestation to the Gods, hee made ready his Armie for the Warre. And first hauing felled Trees, he therewith made a Palizado about the Towne, that none might goe out. That done, he raised a Mount against the Wall, hoping with so great an Armie all at worke at once, to haue quickly taken it. And hauing cut downe Wood in the Hill *Cithæron*, they built a Frame of Timber, and watled it about on either side, to serue in stead of Walles, to keepe the Earth from falling too much away, and cast into it stones, and earth, and whatsoeuer else would serue to fill it vp. 70. dayes and nights continually they powred on, diuiding the worke betweene them for rest in such manner, as some might bee carrying, whilest others cooke their meate and foode. And they were vrged to labour, by the *Lacedæmonians* that commanded the Mercenaries of the seuerall Cities, and had the charge of the worke. The *Plateans* seeing the Mount to rise, made the frame of a Wall with Wood, which hauing placed on the Wall of the Citie, in the place where the Mount touched, they built it within full of Brickes,

A mount raised against *Platea*.

The *Plateans* raise their Wall higher against the mount, by a frame of Timber, in which they layed their Brickes.

taken

A taken from the adioyning Houſes, for that purpoſe demoliſhed, the Timber ſeruing to binde them together, that the building might not bee weakned by the height. The ſame was alſo couered with Hides and Quilts, both to keepe the Timber from ſhot of wilde-fire, and thoſe that wrought, from danger. So that the height of the Wall was great on one ſide, and the Mount went vp as faſt on the other. The *Plateans* vſed alſo this deuice; they brake a hole in their owne Wall, where the Mount ioyned, and drew the earth from it into the Citie. But the *Peloponne-*
B *ſians*, when they found it out, tooke clay, and therewith daubing Hurdles of Reeds, caſt the ſame into the chinke, which mouldring not, as did the earth, they could not draw it away. The *Plateans* excluded heere, gaue ouer that Plot, and digging a ſecret mine, which they carried vnder the mount from within the Citie by coniecture, fetched away the earth againe, and were a long time vndiſcouered; ſo that ſtill caſting on, the Mount grew ſtill leſſe, the earth being drawne away below, and ſettling ouer the part where it was voyded. The *Plateans* neuertheleſſe, fearing
C that they ſhould not be able euen thus to hold out, beeing few againſt many, deuiſed this further: they gaue ouer working at the high Wall, againſt the Mount, and beginning at both ends of it, where the Wall was low, built another Wall in forme of a Creſcent, inward to the Citie, that if the great Wall were taken, this might reſiſt, and put the Enemy to make another Mount, and by comming further in, to bee at double paines, and withall, more encompaſſable with ſhot. The *Peloponneſians*, together with the raiſing of their Mount, brought to the Citie their En-
D gines of battery; one of which, by helpe of the Mount, they applyed to the high Wall, wherewith they much ſhooke it, and put the *Plateans* into great feare; and others to other parts of the Wall, which the *Plateans* partly turned aſide, by caſting Ropes about them, and partly with great beames, which being hung in long iron chaines, by either end vpon two other great beames, ietting ouer, and enclining from aboue the Wall, like two hornes, they drew vp to them athwart, and where the Engine was about to light, ſlacking the chaines, and letting their hands
E goe, they let fall with violence, to breake the beake of it. After this, the *Peloponneſians* ſeeing their Engines a-

The *Plateans* deuice to draw the earth from the Mount thorow the Wall. The *Peloponneſians* remedy that euill.

The *Plateans* fetch the earth away from vnder the Mount by a Mine.

The *Plateans* make another Wall within that which was to the Mount.

The *Peloponneſians* aſſault the Wall with Engines.

The *Plateans* defence againſt the Engines.

uailed not, and thinking it hard to take the City by any A
preſent violence, prepared themſelues to beſiege it. But
firſt they thought fit to attempt it by fire, being no great
Citie, and when the Wind ſhould riſe, if they could, to
burne it. For there was no way they did not thinke on, to
The *Peloponneſians* throw Faggots and fire into the Towne, from the Mount. haue gained it without expence and long ſiege. Hauing
therefore brought Faggots, they caſt them from the
Mount, into the ſpace betweene it and their new Wall,
which by ſo many hands was quickly filled; and then in-
to as much of the reſt of the Citie, as at that diſtance they
could reach: and throwing amongſt them fire, together B
with Brimſtone and Pitch, kindled the Wood, and raiſed
A great Fire. ſuch a flame, as the like was neuer ſeene before, made by the
hand of man. For as for the woods in the Mountaines, the
trees haue indeed taken fire, but it hath bin by mutuall at-
trition, and haue flamed out of their own accord. But this
fire was a great one, and the *Plateans* that had eſcaped o-
ther miſchiefes, wanted little of being conſumed by this.
For neere the Wall they could not get by a great way:
and if the Wind had beene with it (as the enemy hoped
it might) they could neuer haue eſcaped. It is alſo repor- C
ted, that there fell much raine then, with great Thunder,
and that the flame was extinguiſhed, and the danger cea-
ſed by that. The *Peloponneſians*, when they failed like-
wiſe of this, retayning a part of their Armie, and diſmiſ-
ſing the reſt, encloſed the Citie about with a Wall; diui-
ding the circumference thereof to the charge of the ſeue-
rall Cities. There was a Ditch both within and without
it, out of which they made their Brickes; and after it was
finiſhed, which was about the * riſing of *Arcturus*, they
* *In the beginning of* September. left a guard for one halfe of the Wall, (for the other was D D
The ſiege laid to *Platea*. guarded by the *Bœotians*) and departed with the reſt of
their Armie, and were diſſolued according to their Cities.
The *Plateans* had before this, ſent their Wiues and Chil-
dren, and all their vnſeruiceable men to *Athens*. The reſt
were beſieged, being in number, of the *Plateans* them-
ſelues, 400. of *Athenians*, 80. and 100 Women to dreſſe
their meate. Theſe were all when the Siege was firſt
laid, and not one more, neither free nor bond in the Citie.
In this manner was the Citie beſieged.

The ſame Summer, at the ſame time that this Iourney E E
was made againſt *Platea*, the *Athenians* with 2000. men of

Armes

A Armes of their owne Citie, and 100. Horsemen, made Warre vpon the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*, and the *Bottieans*, when the Corne was at the highest, vnder the conduct of *Xenophon* the sonne of *Euripides*, and two others. These comming before *Spartolus* in *Bottiea*, destroyed the Corne, & expected that the Towne should haue bin rendred by the practice of some within. But such as would not haue it so hauing sent for aid to *Olynthus* before, there came into the Citie for safegard thereof, a supply both of men of Armes, and other Souldiers from thence. And these issuing forth B of *Spartolus*, the *Athenians* put themselues into order of Battell vnder the Towne it selfe. The men of Armes of the *Chalcideans*, and certaine auxiliaries with them, were ouercome by the *Athenians*, and retired within *Spartolus*. And the Horsemen of the *Chalcideans*, and their light-armed Souldiers, ouercame the Horsemen, and light-armed of the *Athenians*; but they had some few Targettiers besides, of the Territory called *Chrusis*. When the Battell was now begun, came a supply of other Targettiers from *Olynthus*, which the light armed Souldiers of *Spartolus* perC ceiuing, emboldned both by this addition of strength, and also as hauing had the better before, with the *Chalcidean* Horse, and this new supply, charged the *Athenians* afresh. The *Athenians* hereupon retired to two companies they had left with the Carriages, and as oft as the *Athenians* charged, the *Chalcideans* retired; and when the *Athenians* retired, the *Chalcideans* charged them with their shot. Especially the *Chalcidean* Horsemen rode vp, and charging them where they thought fit, forced the *Athenians* in extreme affright, to turne their backes, and chased them a D great way. The *Athenians* fled to *Potidæa*, and hauing afterwards fetched away the bodies of their dead vpon truce, returned with the remainder of their Armie, to *Athens*. Foure hundred and thirty men they lost, and their chiefe Commanders all three. And the *Chalcideans* and *Bottieans*, when they had set vp a Trophie, and taken vp their dead bodies, disbanded and went euery one to his Citie.

Not long after this, the same Summer, the *Ambraciotes* and *Chaonians*, desiring to subdue all *Acarnania*, and to make it reuolt from the *Athenians*, perswaded the *Lacedæmonians* E to make ready a Fleet out of the Confederate Cities, and to send 1000. men of Armes into *Acarnania*; saying, that if

The *Athenians* send an Armie against the *Chalcideans*.

The *Athenians* foughten with by the *Chalcideans* at *Spartolus*.

And ouerthrowne, with the losse of 3. Commanders.

The *Ambraciotes* inuade *Acarnania*, together with the *Lacedæmonians*.

if they ayded them both with a Fleet, and a Land Armie at once, the *Acarnanians* of the Sea-coſt being thereby diſabled to aſsiſt the reſt, hauing eaſily gained *Acarnania*, they might be Maſters afterward both of *Zacynthus* and *Cephalonia*, and the *Athenians* hereafter leſſe able to make their voyages about *Peloponneſus*; and that there was a hope beſides to take *Naupactus*. The *Peloponneſians* aſſenting, ſent thither *Cnemus*, who was yet Admirall, with his men of Armes, in a few Gallies immediately; and withall ſent word to the Cities about, as ſoone as their Gallies were ready, to ſayle with all ſpeed to *Leucas*. Now the *Corinthians* were very zealous in the behalfe of the *Ambraciotes*, as being their owne Colony. And the Gallies which were to goe from *Corinth*, *Sicyonia*, and that part of the Coaſt, were now making ready; and thoſe of the *Leucadians*, *Anactorians*, and *Ambraciotes*, were arriued before, and ſtayed at *Leucas* for their comming. *Cnemus* and his 1000. men of Armes, when they had croſſed the Sea vndiſcryed of *Phormio*, who commanded the 20. *Athenian* Gallies that kept watch at *Naupactus*, preſently prepared for the War by Land. He had in his Army, of *Grecians*, the *Ambraciotes*, *Leucadians*, *Anactorians*, and the thouſand *Peloponneſians* he brought with him; and of *Barbarians*, a thouſand *Chaonians*, who haue no King, but were led by *Photius* and *Nicanor*, which two being of the Families eligible had now the annuall gouernment. With the *Chaonians* came alſo the *Theſprotians*, they alſo without a King. The *Moloſſians*, and *Antitanians* were led by *Sabylinthus*, protector of *Tharups* their King, who was yet in minority. The *Paraueans* were led by their King *Oræbus*; and vnder *Oræbus*, ſerued likewiſe, by permiſsion of *Antiochus* their King, a thouſand *Oreſtians*. Alſo *Perdiccas* ſent thither, vnknowne to the *Athenians*, a thouſand *Macedonians*; but theſe laſt were not yet arriued. With this Armie began *Cnemus* to march, without ſtaying for the Fleet from *Corinth*. And paſsing through *Argia*, they deſtroyed *Limnæa*, a Towne vnwalled. From thence they marched towards *Stratus*, the greateſt Citie of *Acarnania*; conceiuing that if they could take this firſt, the reſt would come eaſily in. The *Acarnanians* ſeeing a great Army by Land was entred their Countrey already, and expecting the enemy alſo by Sea, ioyned not to ſuccour *Stratus*, but guarded euery one his

Lepanto.

The Armie of the *Ambraciotes* and their Confederates.

They goe toward *Stratus*. *Stratus* the greateſt Citie of *Acarnania*.

A his owne, and sent for ayde to *Phormio*. But he answered them, that since there was a Fleet to bee set forth from *Corinth*, he could not leaue *Naupactus* without a guard. The *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates, with their Armie diuided into three, marched on towards the Citie of the *Stratians*, to the end that being encamped neere it, if they yeelded not on parley, they might presently assault the Walles. So they went on, the *Chaonians* and other *Barbarians* in the middle; the *Leucadians*, and *Anactorians*, and such others as were with these, on the right hand; B and *Cnemus*, with the *Peloponnesians* and *Ambraciotes* on the left, each Armie at great distance, and sometimes out of sight one of another. The *Grecians* in their march, kept their order, and went warily on, till they had gotten a conuenient place to encampe in. But the *Chaonians* confident of themselues, and by the inhabitants of that Continent accounted most warlike, had not the patience to take in any ground for a Campe, but carried furiously on, together with the rest of the *Barbarians*, thought to haue taken the Towne by their clamour, and to haue the Action ascribed only to themselues. But they of *Stratus*, aware of C this, whilst they were yet in their way, and imagining, if they could ouercome these, thus deuided from the other two Armies, that the *Grecians* also would be the lesse forward to come on, placed diuers Ambushes not farre from the Citie, and when the enemies approached, fell vpon them, both from the Citie, and from the Ambushes at once, and putting them into affright, slew many of the *Chaonians* vpon the place. And the rest of the *Barbarians* seeing these to shrinke, staid no longer, but fled outright. D Neither of the *Grecian* Armies had knowledge of this Skirmish, because they were gone so farre before, to chuse (as they then thought) a commodious place to pitch in. But when the *Barbarians* came backe vpon them running, they receiued them, and ioyning both Campes together, fought no more for that day. And the *Stratians* assaulted them not, for want of the ayde of the rest of the *Acarnanians*, but vsed their slings against them, and troubled them much that way. For without their armes of Armes, there was no stirring for them. And in this kinde the *Acarnanians* are held excellent.

E When night came, *Cnemus* withdrew his Armie to the

Riuer

Stratagem of the *Stratians*.

Riuer *Anapus*, from *Stratus* 80. Furlongs, and fetched off the dead bodies vpon truce, the next day. And, whereas the Citie *Oeniades* was come in of it selfe, he made his retreat thither, before the *Acarnanians* should assemble with their succours; and from thence went euery one home. And the *Stratians* set vp a Trophie of the Skirmish against the *Barbarians*. A

The Peloponnesians and Ambraciots retire without effect.

Phormio with 20 Gallies of Athens, ouercommeth 47 of the Peloponnesian Gallies.

In the meane time the Fleet of *Corinth*, and the other Confederates, that was to set out from the *Crissean* Gulfe, and to ioyne with *Cnemus*, to hinder the lower *Acarnanians* from ayding the vpper, came not at all; but were compelled to fight with *Phormio*, and those twenty *Athenian* Gallies that kept watch at *Naupactus*, about the same time that the Skirmish was at *Stratus*. For as they sayled along the shore, *Phormio* waited on them till they were out of the streight, intending to set vpon them in the open Sea. And the *Corinthians* and their Confederates went not as to fight by Sea, but furnished rather for the Land-seruice in *Acarnania*; and neuer thought that the *Athenians* with their twenty Gallies, durst fight with theirs, that were seuen and forty. Neuertheless, when they saw that the *Athenians*, as themselues sayled by one shore, kept ouer against them on the other, and that now when they went off from *Patræ* in *Achaia*, to goe ouer to *Acarnania* in the opposite Continent, the *Athenians* came towards them from *Chalcis*, and the Riuer *Euenus*, and also knew that they had come to anchor there the night before, they found they were then to fight of necessity, directly against the mouth of the Straight. The Commanders of the Fleet were such as the Cities that set it foorth, had seuerally appointed; but of the *Corinthians*, these; *Machon*, *Isocrates*, and *Agatharchidas*. The *Peloponnesians* ordered their Fleet in such manner, as they made thereof a Circle, as great as, without leauing the spaces so wide as for the *Athenians* to passe through, they were possibly able; with the sternmes of their Gallies outward, and sternes inward, and into the middest thereof, receiued such small Vessels as came with them, and also fiue of their swiftest Gallies, the which were at narrow passages to come forth in whatsoeuer part the Enemy should charge. B C D

The order of the Peloponnesian Gallies.

The order of the Athenian Gallies, and the Stratagem of Phormio.

But the *Athenians* with their Gallies ordered one after one in file, went round them, and shrunke them vp toge- E

ther,

A ther, by wiping them euer as they paſt, and putting them in expectation of preſent fight. But *Phormio* had before forbidden them to fight, till he himſelfe had giuen them the ſignall. For he hoped that this order of theirs would not laſt long, as in an Army on Land, but that the Gallies would fall foule of one another, and be troubled alſo with the ſmaller veſſels in the middeſt. And if the wind ſhould alſo blow out of the Gulfe, in expectation whereof he ſo went round them, and which * vſually blew there euery morning, hee made account they would then inſtantly be
B diſordered. As for giuing the onſet, becauſe his Gallies were more agile then the Gallies of the enemy, he thought it was in his owne election, and would bee moſt opportune on that occaſion. When this wind was vp, and the Gallies of the *Peloponneſians* being already contracted into a narrow compaſſe, were both waies troubled, by the wind, and withall by their owne leſſer veſſels that encumbred them; and when one Gallie fell foule of another, and the Mariners laboured to ſet them cleere with their poles, and through the noyſe they made, keeping off, and reuiling
C each other, heard nothing, neither of their charge, nor of the Gallies direction; and through want of skill, vnable to keepe vp their Oares in a troubled Sea, rendred the Gallie vntractable to him that ſate at the Helme, Then, and with this opportunity he gaue the ſignall. And the *Athenians* charging, drowned firſt one of the Admirall Gallies, and diuers others after it, in the ſeuerall parts they aſſaulted; and brought them to that paſſe at length, that not one applying himſelfe to the fight, they fled all towards *Patræ* and *Dyme*, Cities of *Achaia*. The *Athenians*, after they
D had chaſed them, and taken twelue Gallies, and ſlain moſt of the men that were in them, fell off, and went to *Molychrium*; and when they had there ſet vp a Trophie, and conſecrated one Gallie to *Neptune*, they returned with the reſt to *Naupactus*. The *Peloponneſians* with the remainder of their Fleet, went preſently along the Coaſt of *Cyllene*, the Arſenall of the *Eleans*; and thither, after the Battell at *Stratus*, came alſo *Cnemus*, from *Leucas*, and with him thoſe Gallies that were there, and with which this other Fleet ſhould haue beene ioyned.

E After this, the *Lacedæmonians* ſent vnto *Cnemus* to the Fleet, *Timocrates*, *Braſidas*, and *Lycophron* to be of his Coun-

* *A ſet wind which blew euery morning there from the Eaſt, cauſed, as it ſeemeth, by the approach of the Sunne.*

The *Peloponneſians* fly.

Preparation for another fight.

cell, with command to prepare for another better fight, A
and not to suffer a few Gallies to depriue them of the vse
of the Sea. For they thought this accident (especially
being their first proofe by sea) very much against reason;
and that it was not so much a defect of the Fleet, as of
their courage: neuer coparing the long practice of the *Athe-*
nians, with their own short study in these businesses. And
therefore they sent these men thither in passion: who be-
ing arriued with *Cnemus*, intimated to the Cities about, to
prouide their Gallies, and caused those they had before, to
be repayred. *Phormio* likewise sent to *Athens*, to make B
knowne both the Enemies preparation, and his owne for-
mer victory; and withall to will them to send speedily
vnto him, as many Gallies as they could make ready; be-
cause they were euery day in expectation of a new fight.
Heereupon they sent him twenty Gallies, but comman-
ded him that had the charge of them, to goe first into
Crete.

Twenty saile of *Athenians*, sent to ayde *Phormio*, stay in *Crete*.

For *Nicias* a *Cretan* of *Gortys*, the publike Host of the *A-*
thenians, had perswaded them to a voyage against *Cydonia*,
telling them they might take it in, being now their Ene- C
mie. Which he did, to gratifie the *Polichnitæ*, that bor-
dered vpon the *Cydonians*. Therefore with these Gallies
hee sayled into *Crete*, and together with the *Polichnitæ*, wa-
sted the Territory of the *Cydonians*; where also, by reason
of the Winds, and weather vnfit to take Sea in, hee wa-
sted not a little of his time.

The *Peloponnesians* saile by the Coast of *Panormus*.

In the meane time, whilest these *Athenians* were Wind-
bound in *Crete*, the *Peloponnesians* that were in *Cyllene*, in or-
der of Battell sayled along the Coast to *Panormus* of *Achaia*,
to which also were their Land-forces come to ayde them. D
Phormio likewise sayled by the shore to *Rhium Molychricum*,
and anchored without it, with twenty Gallies, the same
hee had vsed in the former Battell. Now this *Rhium* was
of the *Athenians* side, and the other *Rhium* in *Peloponnesus*,
lyes on the opposite shore, distant from it at the most but
seuen furlongs of Sea; and these two make the mouth of
the *Crissean* Gulfe. The *Peloponnesians* therefore came to
an anchor at *Rhium* of *Achaia*, with 77. Gallies, not farre
from *Panormus*, where they left their Land Forces. After
they saw the *Athenians*, and had lyen sixe or seuen daies one E
against the other, meditating and prouiding for the Battell,

the

A the *Peloponneſians* not intending to put off without *Rhium* into the wide Sea, for feare of what they had ſufferd by it before; nor the other to enter the Streight, becauſe to fight within, they thought to be the Enemies aduantage. At laſt, *Cnemus*, *Braſidas*, and the other Commanders of the *Peloponneſians*, deſiring to fight ſpeedily, before a new ſupply ſhould arriue from *Athens*, called the Soldiers together, and ſeeing the moſt of them to be fearefull through their former defeat, and not forward to fight againe, encouraged them firſt with words to this effect.

B

THE ORATION OF CNEMVS.

MEn of Peloponneſus, *If any of you be afraid of the Battell at hand, for the ſucceſſe of the Battell paſt, his feare is without ground. For you know, wee were inferiour to them then in preparation, and ſet not forth as to a fight at Sea, but rather to an expedition by Land. Fortune likewiſe croſſed vs in many things; and ſomewhat wee miſcarried by vnskilfulneſſe: ſo*
C *as the loſſe can no way be aſcribed to cowardiſe. Nor is it iuſt, ſo long as we were not ouercome by meere force, but haue ſomewhat to alledge in our excuſe, that the mind ſhould bee deiected for the calamity of the euent. But we muſt thinke, that though Fortune may faile men, yet the courage of a valiant man can neuer faile, and not that we may iuſtifie cowardiſe in any thing, by pretending want of skill, and yet bee truely valiant. And yet you are not ſo much ſhort of their skill, as you exceede them in valour. And though this knowledge of theirs, which you ſo much feare, ioyned with courage, will not bee without a memory alſo, to put what they*
D *know in execution, yet without courage, no act in the world is of any force in the time of danger. For feare confoundeth the memory, and skill without courage auaileth nothing. To their oddes therefore of skill, oppoſe your oddes of valour; and to the feare cauſed by your ouerthrow, oppoſe your being then vnprouided. You haue further now, a greater Fleet, and to fight on your owne ſhore; with your aydes at hand, of men of Armes: and for the moſt part, the greateſt number, and beſt prouided, get the victory. So that wee can neither ſee any one cauſe in particular, why wee ſhould miſcarry; and whatſoeuer were our wants in the former Battell,*
E *ſupplyed in this, will now turne to our inſtruction. With courage therefore, both Maſters and Mariners, follow euery man in*

his order, not forſaking the place aſſigned him. And for vs, wee ſhall order the battaile as well as the former Commanders; and leaue no excuſe to any man of his cowardize. And if any will needes be a coward, hee ſhall receiue condigne puniſhment, and the valiant ſhall be rewarded according to their merit. Thus did the Commanders encourage the *Peloponneſians.*

Phormio doubteth of the courage of his Soldiers.

And *Phormio*, he likewiſe doubting that his Souldiers were but faint-hearted, and obſeruing they had conſultations apart, and were afraid of the multitude of the enemies Gallies, thought good, hauing called them together, to encourage, and admoniſh them vpon the preſent occaſion. For though he had alwayes before told them, and prediſpoſed their mindes to an opinion, that there was no number of Gallies ſo great, which ſetting vpon them, they ought not to vndertake, and alſo moſt of the Souldiers had of long time aſſumed a conceit of themſelues, that being *Athenians*, they ought not to decline, any number of Gallies whatſoeuer, of the *Peloponneſians*; yet when he ſaw that the ſight of the enemy preſent had deiected them, he thought fit to reuiue their courage, and hauing aſſembled the *Athenians*, ſaid thus.

And encourageth them.

THE ORATION OF PHORMIO.

SOuldiers, hauing obſerued your feare of the enemies number, I haue called you together, not enduring to ſee you terrified with things that are not terrible. For firſt, they haue prepared this great number, and odds of Gallies, for that they were ouercome before, and becauſe they are euen in their owne opinions too weake for vs. And next, their preſent boldneſſe proceeds onely from their knowledge in Land-ſeruice, in confidence whereof (as if to be valiant, were peculiar vnto them) they are now come vp; wherin hauing for the moſt part proſpered, they thinke to doe the ſame in ſeruice by Sea. But in reaſon the odds muſt be ours in this, as well as it is theirs in the other kinde. For in courage they exceed vs not, and as touching the aduantage of either ſide, we may better be bold now, then they. And the Lacedæmonians, *who are the leaders of the Confederates, bring them to fight, for the greateſt part (in reſpect of the opinion they haue of vs) againſt their wills. For elſe they would neuer haue vndertaken a new battaile, after they were once ſo cleerely ouerthrowne. Feare not therefore*

A *fore any great boldneſſe on their part. But the feare which they haue of you, is farre, both greater, and more certaine, not onely for that you haue ouercome them before, but alſo for this, that they would neuer beleeue you would goe about to reſiſt, vnleſſe you had ſome notable thing to put in practice vpon them. For when the enemy is the greater number as theſe are now, they inuade chiefly vpon confidence of their ſtrength. But they that are much the fewer muſt haue ſome great and ſure deſigne when they dare fight vnconſtrained. Wherewith theſe men now amazed, feare vs more for our vnlikely preparation, then they would if it were more proportionable. Beſides, many great*
B *Armies haue beene ouercome by the leſſer, through vnskilfulneſſe, and ſome alſo by timorouſneſſe, both which we our ſelues are free from. As for the battaile, I will not willingly fight it in the Gulfe, nor goe in thither; ſeeing that to a few Gallies with nimbleneſſe and art, againſt many without art, ſtreightneſſe of roome is diſaduantage. For neither can one charge with the beake of the Gallie as is fit, vnleſſe hee haue ſight of the enemy a farre off, or if he be himſelfe ouer-preſſed, againe get cleere. Nor is there any getting through them, or turning to and*
C *fro, at ones pleaſure, which are all the workes of ſuch Gallies, as haue their aduantage in agility; but the Sea-fight would of neceſsitie be the ſame with a battaile by Land, wherein the greater number muſt haue the better. But of this, I ſhall my ſelfe take the beſt care I am able. In the meane time keepe you your order well in the Gallies, and euery man receiue his charge readily; and the rather becauſe the enemy is at Anchor ſo neere vs. In the fight, haue in great eſtimation, order and ſilence, as things of great force in moſt Military actions, eſpecially in a fight by Sea; and charge theſe your enemies according to the worth of your former Acts. You are to fight for a great wager, either to deſtroy the hope of the* Peloponneſian *Nauies, or to bring the feare of the Sea neerer home to the* Athenians. *Againe, let mee*
D *tell you, you haue beaten them once already; and men once ouercome, will not come againe to the danger ſo well reſolued as before.* Thus did *Phormio* alſo encourage his Souldiers.

The *Peloponneſians*, when they ſaw the *Athenians* would not enter the Gulfe, and Streight, deſiring to draw them in againſt their willes, weighed Anchor, and betime in the morning hauing arranged their Gallies by foure and foure in a ranke, ſayled along their owne Coaſt, within the Gulfe, leading the way, in the ſame order as they had lien
E at Anchor with their right wing. In this wing they had placed 20 of their ſwifteſt Gallies, to the end that if *Phormio*,

The ſtratagem of the *Peloponneſians.*

mio, thinking them going to *Naupactus*, ſhould for ſafegard of the Towne, ſayle along his owne Coaſt likewiſe, within the Straight, the *Athenians* might not be able to get beyond that wing of theirs, and auoyd the impreſsion, but be encloſed by their Gallies on both ſides. *Phormio*, fearing (as they expected) what might become of the Towne now without guard, as ſoone as he ſaw them from Anchor, againſt his will, and in extreme haſte, went aboord, and ſayled along the Shoare, with the Land forces of the *Meſſenians*, marching by to ayde him. The *Peloponneſians*, when they ſaw them ſayle in one long File, Gally after Gally, and that they were now in the Gulfe, and by the Shoare, (which they moſt deſired) vpon one ſigne giuen, turned ſuddenly, euery one as faſt as he could vpon the *Athenians*, hoping to haue intercepted them euery Gallie. But of thoſe, the eleuen formoſt, auoyding that wing, and the turne made by the *Peloponneſians*, got out into the open Sea. The reſt they intercepted, and driuing them to the Shoare, ſunke them.

The *Peloponneſians* giue the onſet.

The men, as many as ſwamme not out, they ſlew, and the Gallies, ſome they tyed to their owne, and towed them away empty, and one with the men and all in her they had already taken. But the *Meſſenian* ſuccours on Land, entring the Sea with their Armes, got aboord of ſome of them, and fighting from the Deckes, recouered them againe, after they were already towing away. And in this part, the *Peloponneſians* had the victory, and ouercame the Gallies of the *Athenians*. Now the 20 Gallies that were their right wing, gaue chaſe to thoſe eleuen *Athenian* Gallies, which had auoyded them when they turned, and were gotten into the open Sea. Theſe flying toward *Naupactus*, arriued there before the enemies, all ſaue one, and when they came vnder the Temple of *Apollo*, turned their beake heads, and put themſelues in readineſſe for defence, in caſe the enemy ſhould follow them to the Land. But the *Peloponneſians* as they came after, were * Pæanizing, as if they had already had the victory; and one Gallie which was of *Leucas*, being farre before the reſt, gaue chaſe to one *Athenian* Gallie, that was behind the reſt of the *Athenians*. Now it chanced that there lay out into the Sea, a certaine Ship at Anchor, to which the *Athenian* Gally firſt comming, fetcht a compaſſe about her, and came

* *Singing the hymne of victory.*

A came backe full butt againſt the *Leucadian* Gallie that gaue her chaſe, and ſunke her. Vpon this vnexpected and vnlikely accident they began to feare, and hauing alſo followed the chaſe, as being victors, diſorderly, ſome of them let downe their Oares into the water, and hindred the way of their Gallies (a matter of very ill conſequence, ſeeing the enemy was ſo neere) and ſtaid for more company. And ſome of them through ignorance of the Coaſt, ranne vpon the Shelues. The *Athenians* ſeeing this, tooke heart againe, and together with one clamour, ſet vpon them;

B who reſiſted not long, becauſe of their preſent errours committed, and their diſarray; but turned, and fled to *Panormus*, from whence at firſt they ſet forth. The *Athenians* followed, and tooke from them ſixe Gallies, that were hindmoſt, and recouered their own which the *Peloponneſians* had ſunke by the Shoare, and tyed a ſterne of theirs. Of the men, ſome they ſlew, and ſome alſo they tooke aliue. In the *Leucadian* Gally that was ſunke neere the ſhip, was *Timocrates*, a *Lacedæmonian*, who, when the Gally was loſt, runne himſelfe thorow with his ſword, and his

C body draue into the Hauen of *Naupactus*. The *Athenians* falling off, erected a Trophy in the place from whence they ſet forth to this victory, & tooke vp their dead, and the wracke, as much as was on their own ſhore, and gaue truce to the enemy to doe the like. The *Peloponneſians* alſo ſet vp a Trophy, as if they alſo had had the victory, in reſpect of the flight of thoſe Gallies which they ſunke by the Shoare; and the Gally which they had taken, they conſecrated to *Neptune*, in *Rhium* of *Achaia*, hard by their Trophy. After this, fearing the ſupply which was ex-

D pected from *Athens*, they ſayled by night into the *Criſſæan Gulfe*, and to *Corinth*, all but the *Leucadians*. And thoſe *Athenians*, with twenty Gallies out of *Crete*, that ſhould haue beene with *Phormio* before the battaile, not long after the going away of the Gallies of *Peloponneſus*, arriued at *Naupactus*; And the Summer ended.

The *Athenians* haue the victory.

Timocrates a *Lacedæmonian* Commander ſlayeth himſelfe.

The end of the third Summer.

before, But the Fleet gone into the *Criſſæan Gulfe*, and to *Corinth*, was diſperſed. *Cnemus*, and *Braſidas*, and the reſt of the Commanders of the *Peloponneſians*, in the beginning of Winter, inſtructed by the *Megareans*, thought good to

E make an attempt vpon *Piræus*, the Hauen of the *Athenians*. Now it was without guard, or barre, and that vpon very

The *Peloponneſians* reſolue to attempt the ſurprize of *Piræus*.

very good cauſe, conſidering how much they exceeded o- A
thers in the power of their Nauy. And it was reſolued,
that euery Mariner with *his Oare, his Cuſhion, and * one
Thong for his Oare to turne in, ſhould take his way by
Land from *Corinth*, to the other Sea, that lyeth to *Athens*,
and going with all ſpeed to *Megara*, lanch forty Gallies
out of *Niſæa*, the Arſenall of the *Megareans*, which then
were there, and ſayle preſently into *Piræus*. For at that
time, there neither ſtood any Gallies for a watch before it,
nor was there any imagination, that the enemies would on
ſuch a ſudden come vpon them. For they durſt not haue B
attempted it openly, though with leaſure; nor if they had
had any ſuch intention, could it but haue been diſcouered.
As ſoone as it was reſolued on; they ſet preſently for-
ward, and arriuing by night, lanched the ſaid Gallies of *Ni-*
ſæa, and ſet Sayle, not now towards *Piræus*, as they inten-
ded, fearing the danger, and a wind was alſo ſaid to haue
riſen, that hindred them, but toward a Promontory of *Sala-*
mis, lying out towards *Megara*.

Now, there was in it, a little Fort, and vnderneath in the
Sea, lay three Gallies that kept watch, to hinder the im-
portation and exportation of any thing, to or from the C
Megareans. This Fort they aſſaulted, and the Gallies they
towed empty away after them. And being come vpon
the *Salaminians* vnawares, waſted alſo other parts of the
Iland.

By this time the fires * ſignifying the comming of
enemies, were lifted vp towards *Athens*, and affrighted
them more then any thing that had happened in all this
Warre. For they in the Citie thought the enemies had
been already in *Piræus*. And they in *Piræus* thought the
Citie of the *Salaminians* had been already taken, and that the
enemy would inſtantly come into *Piræus*. Which, had D
they not been afraid, nor been hindred by the wind, they
might alſo eaſily haue done. But the *Athenians*, as ſoone as
it was day, came with the whole ſtrength of the Citie, in-
to *Piræus*, and lanched their Gallies, and imbarking in
haſte, and tumult, ſet ſayle toward *Salamis*, leauing for the
guard of *Piræus*, an Army of Foot. The *Peloponneſians* vp-
on notice of thoſe ſuccours, hauing now ouer-runne moſt
of *Salamis*, and taken many priſoners, and much other boo- E
ty, beſides the three Gallies from the Fort of *Budorus*,
went

* It may be hence gathered, that in the Gallies of old, there was but one man to one Oare.
* τροπωλὰς, a piece of Leather wherein their Oare turned.

The *Peloponneſians* dare not execute their deſigne, but turne to *Salamis*.

* Fires lifted vp, if they were ſtill, ſignified friends comming, if waued, enemies. Scholiaſtes.

A went backe in all haſte to *Niſæa*. And ſomewhat they feared the more, for that their Gallies had lyen long in the water, and were ſubiect to leaking. And when they came to *Megara*, they went thence to *Corinth* againe by Land. The *Athenians* likewiſe, when they found not the Enemy at *Salamis*, went home; and from that time forward, looked better to *Pireus*, both for the ſhutting of the Ports, and for their diligence otherwaies.

The King of *Thrace* maketh Warre on the King of *Macedon*.

About the ſame time, in the beginning of the ſame Winter, *Sytalces* an *Odryſian*, the ſonne of *Teres*, King of B *Thrace*, made Warre vpon *Perdiccas* the ſonne of *Alexander* King of *Macedonia*, and vpon the *Chalcideans* bordering on *Thrace*; vpon two promiſes; one of which hee required to be performed to him, and the other hee was to performe himſelfe. For *Perdiccas* had promiſed ſomewhat vnto him, for reconciling him to the *Athenians*, who had formerly oppreſſed him with Warre, and for not reſtoring his Brother *Philip* to the Kingdome, that was his Enemie, which hee neuer paid him; And *Sytalces* himſelfe had couenanted with the *Athenians*, when he made League C with them, that he would end the Warre which they had againſt the *Chalcideans* of *Thrace*. For theſe cauſes therefore hee made this Expedition, and tooke with him both *Amyntas*, the ſonne of *Philip*, (with purpoſe to make him King of *Macedonia*) and alſo the *Athenian* Ambaſſadours then with him for that buſineſſe, and *Agnon* the *Athenian* Commander. For the *Athenians* ought alſo to haue ioyned with him againſt the *Chalcideans*, both with a Fleet, and with as great Land-forces as they could prouide.

D Beginning therefore with the *Odryſians*, he leuied firſt thoſe *Thracians* that inhabite on this ſide the Mountaines *Æmus* and *Rhodope*, as many as were of his owne dominion, downe to the ſhore of the *Euxine* Sea, and the *Helleſpont*. Then beyond *Æmus* he leuied the *Getes*, and all the Nations betweene *Iſter* and the *Euxine* Sea. The *Getes*, and people of thoſe parts, are borderers vpon the *Scythians*, and furniſhed as the *Scythians* are, all Archers on Horſebacke. He alſo drew forth many of thoſe *Scythians* that inhabite the Mountaines, and are free States, all Sword-men, and E are called *Dij*, the greateſt part of which are on the Mountaine *Rhodope*; whereof ſome he hyred, and ſome went as

Voluntaries. He leuied also the *Agrianes*, and *Leaans*, and all other the Nations of *Paonia*, in his owne Dominion. These are the vtmost bounds of his Dominion, extending to the *Greans* and *Leaans*, Nations of *Paonia*, and to the Riuer *Strymon*, which rising out of the Mountaine *Scomius*, passeth through the Territories of the *Greans* and *Leaans*, who make the bounds of his Kingdome toward *Paonia*, and are subiect onely to their owne Lawes. But on the part that lyeth to the *Triballians*, who are also a free people, the *Treres* make the bound of his Dominion, and the *Tilataans*. These dwell on the North side of the Mountaine *Scomius*, and reach Westward, as farre as to the Riuer *Oscius*, which commeth out of the same Hill *Nestus* and *Hebrus* doth; a great and desart Hill adioyning to *Rhodope*.

The description of Thrace.

The Dimension of the Dominion of the *Odrysians* by the Sea side, is from the Citie of the *Abderites*, to the mouth of *Ister* in the Euxine Sea, and is, the neerest way, foure dayes, and as many nights Sayle for a * round Ship, with a continuall fore wind. By Land likewise, the neerest way, it is from the Citie *Abdera*, to the mouth of *Ister*, eleuen dayes iourney for an expedite Footman. Thus it lay in respect of the Sea.

* A ship that vseth onely Sailes, of the round forme of building, and serving for burthen, in distinction to Galles, and all other vessels of the long forme of building, seruing for the Warres.

Now for the Continent, from *Byzantium* to the *Leaans*, and to the Riuer *Strymon* (for it reacheth this way farthest into the maine Land) it is for the like Footman, thirteene dayes iourney. The Tribute they receiued from all the *Barbarian* Nations, and from the Cities of *Greece*, in the reigne of *Seuthes*, (who reigned after *Sitalces*, and made the most of it) was in gold and siluer, by estimation, * 400. Talents by yeere. And Presents of gold and siluer came to as much more. Besides Vestures, both wrought and plaine, and other furniture, presented not onely to him, but also to all the men of authority, and *Odrysian* Nobility about him. For they had a custome, which also was generall to all *Thrace*, contrary to that of the Kingdome of *Persia*, to receiue rather then to giue: and it was there a greater shame to be asked and deny, then to aske and goe without. Neuertheless they held this custome long, by reason of their power: for without gifts, there was nothing to be gotten done amongst them. So that this Kingdome arriued thereby to great power: for of all the Nations

* 75000. pound sterling.

A tions of *Europe*, that lye betweene the * *Ionian* Gulfe, and the *Euxine* Sea, it was, for reuenue of money, and other wealth, the mightieſt; though indeed for ſtrength of an Army, and multitudes of Souldiers, the ſame be farre ſhort of the *Scythians*: For there is no Nation, not to ſay of *Europe*, but neither of *Aſia*, that are comparable to this, or that as long as they agree, are able, one Nation to one, to ſtand againſt the *Scythians*: and yet in matter of counſell and wiſdome in the preſent occaſions of life, they are not like to other men.

B *Sitalces* therefore, King of this great Countrey, prepared his Armie, and when all was ready, ſet forward, and marched towards *Macedonia*. Firſt, through his owne Dominion; then ouer *Cercine*, a deſart Mountaine diuiding the *Sintians* from the *Pæonians*, ouer which he marched the ſame way himſelfe had formerly made with Timber, when he made Warre againſt the *Pæonians*. Paſsing this Mountaine, out of the Countrey of the *Odryſians*, they had on their right hand the *Pæonians*, and on the left, the *Sintians* and *Mædes*, and beyond it, they came to the Citie of *Doberus* in *Pæonia*. C His Army, as hee marched, diminiſhed not any way, except by ſickneſſe, but encreaſed, by the acceſsion of many free Nations of *Thrace*, that came in vncalled, in hope of Booty. Inſomuch as the whole number is ſaid to haue amounted to no leſſe then 150000. men. Wherof the moſt were foot, the Horſe being a third part, or thereabouts. And of the Horſe, the greateſt part were the *Odryſians* themſelues, and the next moſt, the *Getes*. And of the Foot, thoſe Sword-men, a free Nation, that came downe to him out of the Mountaine *Rhodope*, were moſt D warlike. The reſt of the promiſcuous multitude, were formidable onely for their number. Being all together at *Doberus*, they made ready to fall in, from the Hilles ſide, into the lower *Macedonia*, the dominion of *Perdiccas*. For there are in *Macedonia*, the *Lynceſtians*, and the *Helimiotes*, and other High-land Nations, who though they bee Confederates, and in ſubiection to the other, yet haue their ſeuerall Kingdomes by themſelues. But of that part of the now *Macedonia* which lyeth toward the Sea, *Alexander*, the Father of this *Perdiccas*, and his Anceſtors, the *Temenidæ*, E who came out of *Argos*, were the firſt poſſeſſors, and raigned in the ſame; hauing firſt driuen out of *Pieria* the *Pieri-*

* The *Adriatique* Sea. *Mar Maggiore.*

The great power of the *Scythians*.

The beginning of the Kingdome of *Macedonia*. The *Macedonian* Kings deſcended of the *Temenida*, a Family in *Argos*, of the *Peloponneſians*.

ans, (which afterwards ſeated themſelues in *Phagres*, and other Townes beyond *Strymon*, at the foot of *Pangeum*; From which cauſe, that Countrey is called the Gulfe of *Pieria* to this day, which lyeth at the foot of *Pangeum*, and bendeth toward the Sea) and out of that which is called *Bottia*, the *Bottiæans*, that now border vpon the *Chalcideans*. They poſſeſſed beſides a certaine narrow portion of *Peonia*, neere vnto the Riuer of *Axius*, reaching from aboue downe to *Pella*, and to the Sea. Beyond *Axius* they poſſeſſe the Countrey called *Mygdonia*, as farre as to *Strymon*, from whence they haue driuen out the *Eidonians*. Furthermore they draue the *Eordians* out of the Territory, now called *Eorda*, (of whom the greateſt part periſhed, but there dwell a few of them yet about *Phyſca*) and the *Almopians* out of *Almopia*. The ſame *Macedonians* ſubdued alſo other Nations, and hold them yet, as *Anthemus*, *Greſtonia*, and *Biſaltia*, and a great part of the *Macedonians* themſelues. But the whole is called *Macedonia*, and was the Kingdome of *Perdiccas* the ſonne of *Alexander*, when *Sitalces* came to inuade it. The *Macedonians* vnable to ſtand in the Field againſt ſo huge an Armie, retired all within their ſtrong Holds, and walled Townes, as many as the Countrey afforded; which were not many then; but were built afterwards by *Archelaus* the ſonne of *Perdiccas*, when he came to the kingdome, who then alſo laid out the high wayes ſtraight, and tooke order both for matter of Warre, as Horſes and Armes, and for other prouiſion, better then all the other 8. Kings that were before him. The *Thracian* Army ariſing from *Doberus*, inuaded that Territory firſt, which had beene the Principality of *Philip*, and tooke *Eidomene* by force; but *Gortynia*, *Atalanta*, and ſome other Townes he had yeelded to him, for the loue of *Amyntas* the ſonne of *Philip*, who was then in the Armie. They alſo aſſaulted *Europus*, but could not take it. Then they went on further into *Macedonia*, on the part that lyes on the right hand of *Pella*, and *Cyrrhus*; but within theſe, into *Bottiæa* and *Pieria* they entred not, but waſted *Mygdonia*, *Greſtonia*, and *Anthemus*. Now the *Macedonians* had neuer any intention to make head againſt them with their Foot, but ſending out their Horſemen, which they had procured from their Allyes of the higher *Macedonia*, they aſſaulted the *Thracian* Armie, in ſuch places, where few againſt many,

A B C D E

The *Macedonians* retire into their walled towns.

Archelaus the ſonne of *Perdiccas*, the ninth King of *Macedon*, of the Family of the *Temenidæ*.

A many, they thought they might doe it with most conuenience; and where they charged, none was able to resist them, being both good Horsemen, and well armed with Brestplates; but enclosed by the multitude of the Enemies, they fought against manifold oddes of number: so that in the end they gaue it ouer, esteeming themselues too weake to hazard Battell against so many.

After this, *Sitalces* gaue way to a conference with *Perdiccas*, touching the motiues of this Warre. And forasmuch as the *Athenians* were not arriued with their Fleet, B (for they thought not that *Sitalces* would haue made the Iourney) but had sent Ambassadours to him with Presents, he sent a part of his Army against the *Chalcideans* and *Bottiæans*, wherewith hauing compelled them within their walled Townes, he wasted and destroyed their Territory. Whilest he stayed in these parts, the *Thessalians* Southward, and the *Magnetians*, and the rest of the Nations subiect to the *Thessalians*, and all the *Grecians* as far as to *Thermopylæ*, were afraid he would haue turned his Forces vpon them, and stood vpon their guard. And Northward those C *Thracians* that inhabite the Champaigne Countrey beyond *Strymon*, namely the *Panæans*, *Odomantians*, *Droans*, and *Dersæans*, all of them free States, were afraid of the same. He gaue occasion also to a rumour, that hee meant to leade his Army against all those *Grecians* that were enemies to the *Athenians*, as called in by them to that purpose, by vertue of their League. But whilest hee stayed, hee wasted the *Chalcidean*, *Bottiæan*, and *Macedonian* Territories; and when hee could not effect what he came for, and his Army both wanted victuall, and was afflicted with the cold- D nesse of the season; *Seuthes* the sonne of *Spardocus*, his cousin German, and of greatest authority next himselfe, perswaded him to make haste away. Now *Perdiccas* had dealt secretly with *Seuthes*, and promised him his Sister in marriage, and money with her: and *Sitalces* at the perswasion of him, after the stay of full thirty dayes, wherof he spent eight in *Chalcidea*, retyred with his Army, with all speed, into his owne Kingdome. And *Perdiccas* shortly after gaue to *Seuthes* his Sister *Stratonica* in marriage, as hee had promised. This was the issue of this Expedition of *Si*- E *talces*.

Sitalces and *Perdiccas* come to a conference about the motiues of the Warre.

The *Grecians*, at the comming of this Army, stand vpon their Guard, fearing they were called in by the *Athenians* to subdue them.

Seuthes, corrupted by *Perdiccas*, perswadeth *Sitalces* to returne.

The same Winter, after the Fleet of the *Peloponnesians* was

Phormio putteth suspected persons out of *Stratus* and *Coronta*.

was dissolued, the *Athenians* that were at *Naupactus*, vnder A
the conduct of *Phormio*, sayled along the Coast to *Astacus*,
and disbarking, marched into the inner parts of *Acarnania*.
Hee had in his Army, 400. men of Armes that hee
brought with him in his Gallies, and 400. more *Messeni-*
ans. With these he put out of *Stratus*, *Corontæ*, and other
places, all those whose fidelity hee thought doubtfull.
And when he had restored *Cynes* the sonne of *Theolytus*
to *Corontæ*, they returned againe to their Gallies. For
they thought they should not be able to make Warre a-
gainst the *Oeniades*, (who onely of all *Acarnania* are the *A-* B
thenians Enemies) in respect of the Winter. For the Ri-
The course of the Riuer *Achelous*. uer *Achelous*, springing out of the Mountaine *Pindus*, and
running through *Dolopia*, and through the Territories of
the *Agræans*, and the *Amphilochians*, and through most part
of the Champaigne of *Acarnania*, passing aboue by the Ci-
ty of *Stratus*, and falling into the Sea by the Citie of the
Oeniades, which also it moateth about with Fens, by the
abundance of Water, maketh it hard lying there for an
Army in time of Winter. Also most of the Ilands *Ech-*
nades lye iust ouer against *Oenia*, hard by the mouth of C
Achelous. And the Riuer being a great one, continually C
heapeth together the grauell; insomuch that some of
those Ilands are become Continent already, and the like in
short time is expected by the rest. For not onely the
streame of the Riuer is swift, broad, and turbidous, but
also the Ilands themselues stand thicke, and because the
Grauell cannot passe, are ioyned one to another, lying in
and out, not in a direct line, nor so much as to giue the
Water his course directly forward into the Sea. These I-
The Fable of *Alcmæon*. lands are all Desart, and but small ones. It is reported, D
that *Apollo* by his Oracle did assigne this place for an ha-
bitation to *Alcmæon* the sonne of *Amphiraus*, at such time as D
he wandred vp and downe for the killing of his *Mother*;
telling him, *That he should neuer be free from the terrours that*
haunted him, till he had found out, and seated himselfe in such a
Land, as when he slew his Mother, the Sunne had neuer seene, nor
was then Land, because all other Lands were polluted by
him. Hereupon being at a *Non-plus*, as they say, with
much adoe hee obserued this ground congested by the Ri-
uer *Achelous*, and thought there was enough cast vp to E
serue his turne, already, since the time of the slaughter of
his

his Mother, after which it was now a long time that hee had beene a Wanderer. Therefore ſeating himſelfe in the places about the *Oeniades*, hee reigned there, and named the Countrey after the name of his ſonne *Acarnas*. Thus goes the report, as we haue heard it concerning *Alcmæon*. But *Phormio* and the *Athenians* leauing *Acarnania*, and returning to *Naupactus*, in the very beginning of the Spring, came backe to *Athens*, and brought with them ſuch Gallies as they had taken, and the Free-men they had taken Priſoners, in their fights at Sea, who were againe ſet at liberty by exchange of man for man. So ended that Winter, and the third Yeere of the Warre written by THVCYDIDES.

(***)

Acarnania whence ſo called.

The end of the third yeere of the Warre.

A

THE THIRD BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF *THVCYDIDES.*

B

The principall Contents.

Attica *inuaded by the* Peloponnesians. *The* Mitylenians *reuolt, and are receiued by the* Peloponnesians *at* Olympia, *into their league. The* Athenians *send* Paches *to* Mitylene *to besiege it. Part of the besieged* Plataeans *escape through the fortifications of the enemie. The Commons of* Mitylene, *armed by the Nobility for a sally on the enemy, deliuer the towne to the* Athenians. *The residue of the* Plataeans *yeeld to the besiegers, and are put to the sword. The proceedings vpon the* Mitylenians, *and their punishment. The sedition in* Corcyra. Laches *is sent by the* Athenians *into* Sicily. *And* Nicias *into* Melos. Demosthenes *fighteth against the* Aetolians *vnfortunately; and afterwards against the* Ambraciotes *fortunately.* Pythadorus *is sent into* Sicily, *to receiue the Fleet from* Laches. *This in other three yeeres of this Warre.*

C

D

THE FOVRTH YEERE.

The Peloponnesians inuade Attica.

THe Summer following, the *Peloponnesians*, and their Confederates at the time when Corne was at the highest, entred with their Army into *Attica*, vnder the Conduct of *Archidamus*, the son of *Zeuxidamus*, King of the *Lacedemonians*, & there set them downe, and wasted the Territory about. And the *Athenian* horsemen, as they were wont, fell vpon the enemy where they

E

they thought fit, and kept backe the multitude of light-armed Souldiers, from going out before the men of Armes, and infeſting the places neere the Citie. And when they had ſtayed as long as their victuall laſted, they returned, and were diſſolued according to their Cities.

The Reuolt of *Lesbos*.

After the *Peloponneſians* were entred *Attica*, *Lesbos* immediately, all but *Methymne*, reuolted from the *Athenians*; which though they would haue done before the Warre, and the *Lacedæmonians* would not then receiue them, yet euen now they were forced to reuolt ſooner then they had intended to doe. For they ſtayed to haue firſt ſtraightened the mouth of their Hauen with Dammes of Earth, to haue finiſhed their Walles, and their Gallies then in building, and to haue gotten in all that was to come out of *Pontus*, as Archers, and Victuall, and whatſoeuer elſe they had ſent for.

The intention of the *Lesbians* to reuolt, diſcouered to the *Athenians*.

But the *Tenedians*, with whom they were at oddes, and the *Methymnians*, and of the *Mitylenians* themſelues, certaine particular men, vpon Faction, beeing Hoſtes to the *Athenians*, made knowne vnto them, that the *Lesbians* were forced to goe all into *Mitylene*; that by the helpe of the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Kindred the *Bœotians*, they haſtned all manner of prouiſion neceſſary for a Reuolt, and that vnleſſe it were preſently preuented, all *Lesbos* would be loſt.

The *Athenians* (afflicted with the Diſeaſe, and with the Warre now on foot, and at the hotteſt) thought it a dangerous matter, that *Lesbos*, which had a Nauie, and was of ſtrength entire, ſhould thus bee added to the reſt of their Enemies; and at firſt receiued not the accuſations, holding them therefore the rather feigned, becauſe they would not haue had them true.

But after, when they had ſent Ambaſſadours to *Mitylene*, and could not perſwade them to diſſolue themſelues, and vndoe their preparation, they then feared the worſt, and would haue preuented them. And to that purpoſe, ſuddenly ſent out the 40. Gallies made ready for *Peloponeſus* with *Cleippedes* and 2. other Commanders. For they had bin aduertiſed, that there was a Holiday of *Apollo Maloeis* to be

The *Athenians* ſend 40. Gallies to *Lesbos*.

A kept without the Citie, and that to the celebration thereof the *Mitylenians* were accuſtomed to come all out of the Towne; and they hoped, making haſte, to take them there vnawares. And if the attempt ſucceeded, it was well; if not, they might command the *Mitylenians* to deliuer vp their Gallies, and to demolliſh their Walles; or they might make Warre againſt them, if they refuſed. So theſe Gallies went their way. And tenne Gallies of *Mitylene* which then chanced to be at *Athens*, by vertue of their League to ayde them, the *Athenians* ſtayed, and caſt B into priſon the men that were in them. In the meane time a certaine man went from *Athens* into *Eubœa* by Sea, and then by Land to *Geraeſtus*, and finding there a Ship ready to put off, hauing the Wind fauourable, arriued in *Mitylene*, three dayes after he ſet forth from *Athens*, and gaue them notice of the comming of the Fleet. Hereupon they not onely went not out to *Maloeis*, as was expected, but alſo ſtopped the gappes of their Walles and Ports, where they were left vnfiniſhed, and placed guards to defend them.

The *Athenians* impriſon ſuch of *Mitylene* as were at *Athens*, and ſtay their Gallies.

C When the *Athenians*, not long after, arriued, and ſaw this, the Commanders of the Fleet deliuered to the *Mitylenians* what they had in charge, which not harkened vnto, they preſently fell to the Warre. The *Mitylenians* vnprouided, and compelled to a Warre on ſuch a ſudden, put out ſome few Gallies before the Hauen to fight: but being driuen in againe by the Gallies of *Athens*, they called to the *Athenian* Commanders to parly; deſiring, if they could, vpon reaſonable conditions, to get the Gallies for the preſent ſent away.

D And the *Athenian* Commander allowed the Conditions, hee alſo fearing they ſhould bee too weake to make Warre againſt the whole Iland.

The *Athenians* giue the *Mitylenians* time to purge themſelues at *Athens*.

When a ceſſation of Armes was granted, the *Mitylenians* amongſt others, ſent to *Athens*, one of thoſe that had giuen inteligence there of their Deſigne, and had repented him after of the ſame, to try if they could perſwade them to withdrawe their Fleet from them, as not intending any innouation. Withall they ſent Ambaſſadours at the ſame time to *Lacedæmon*, vndiſ- E couered of the Fleete of the *Athenians*, which was riding at Anchor in * *Malea*, to the North of the Citie;

The *Mitylenians* ſent to *Lacedæmon* for ayde.

* This Malea ſeemeth not to be the Promontory of Malea, according to the Scoliaſt, which lyeth to the South of Mitylene, but ſome other neerer place, & on the North ſide of the Citie.

being without any confidence of their successe at *Athens*. A
And these men after an ill voyage, through the wide Sea,
arriuing at *Lacedæmon*, negotiated the sending of aide from
thence. But when their Ambassadours were come backe
from *Athens*, without effect, the *Mitylenians*, and the rest of
Lesbos, saue only *Methymne*, (for these, together with the *Im-*
brians, *Lemnians*, and some few other their Confederates, ay-
ded the *Athenians*) prepared themselues for the Warre.
And the *Mitylenians* with the whole strength of the City,
made a sally vpon the *Athenian* Campe, and came to a Bat-
tell; wherein though the *Mitylenians* had not the worse, yet B
they lay not that night without the Walles, nor durst
trust to their strength, but retyring into the Towne, lay
quiet there, expecting to try their fortune, with the acces-
sion of such forces, as (if any came) they were to haue
from *Peloponnesus*. For there were now come into the Ci-
tie, one *Meleas* a *Laconian*, and *Hermiondas* a *Theban*, who
hauing bin sent out before the reuolt, but vnable to arriue
before the comming of the *Athenian* Fleet, secretly, after the
end of the Battel, entred the Hauen in a Gally, and persua-
ded them to send another Gally along with them, with o-
ther Ambassadors to *Sparta*; which they did. But the *Athe-* C
nians much confirmed by this the *Mitylenians* cessation, cal-
led in their Confederates, who because they saw no assu-
rance on the part of the *Lesbians*, came much sooner in then
it was thought they would haue done, & riding at Anchor
to the South of the Citie, fortified two Camps, on either
side one, and brought their Gallies before both the Ports,
and so quite excluded the *Mitylenians* from the vse of the
Sea. As for the Land, the *Athenians* held so much onely as
lay neere their Campes, which was not much; And the
Mitylenians and other *Lesbians* that were now come to ayde
them, were Masters of the rest. For *Malea* serued the *Athe-* D
nians for a station onely for their Gallies, and to keepe
their Market in. And thus proceeded the Warre before
Mitylene.

About the same time of the same Summer, the *Athenians*
sent likewise thirty Gallies into *Peloponnesus*, vnder the
conduct of *Asopius* the sonne of *Phormio*. For the *Acarnanians*
had desired them to send some sonne or kinsman of *Phormio*
for Generall into those parts. These, as they sayled by, E
wasted the maritime Countrey of *Laconia*, and then send-

The *Mitylen* Ambassa-
dors speed not at *Athens*.

They sally out vpon the
Athenians, but without
successe.

They lye still, expecting
helpe from *Peloponnesus*.

The *Athenians* send for
the aydes of their Con-
federates.

The *Athenians* send *Aso-*
pius the sonne of *Phormio*,
with 20. Gallies about
Peloponnesus.

A ding backe the greatest part of his Fleet to *Athens*, *Asopius* himselfe with twelue Gallies went on to * *Naupactus*. And afterwards hauing raised the whole power of *Acarnania*, he made Warre vpon the *Oeniades*, and both entred with his Gallies into the Riuer of *Achelous*, and with his Land-forces wasted the Territory. But when the *Oeniades* would not yeeld, hee disbanded his Land-forces, and sayled with his Gallies to *Leucas*, and landed his Souldiers on the Territory of *Neritum*; but in going off, was by those of the Countrey that came out to defend it, and by
B some few of the Garrison Souldiers there, both himselfe and part of his Company slaine. And hauing vpon truce receiued from the *Leucadians* their dead bodies, they went their wayes.

* *Lepanto.*

Asopius slaine.

Now the Ambassadours of the *Mitylenians*, that went out in the first Gally, hauing beene referred by the *Lacedæmonians* to the generall meeting of the *Grecians* at *Olympia*, to the end they might determine of them, together with the rest of the Confederates, went to *Olympia* accordingly. It was that * *Olympiade* wherein *Darieus* of *Rhodes*
C was the second time Victor. And when after the solemnity, they were set in Councell, the Ambassadours spake vnto them in this manner.

The *Mitylenian* Ambassadours sent to *Lacedæmon*, are appointed to attend the generall Assembly of the *Grecians* at *Olympia*.

* *Olympiade* 88.

THE ORATION OF THE Ambassadours of MITYLENE.

MEN of Lacedæmon, and Confederates, *We know the receiued custome of the* Grecians: *For they that take into League such as reuolt in the Warres, and relinquish a*
D *former League, though they like them as long as they haue profit by them, yet accounting them but Traitours to their former Friends, they esteeme the worse of them in their iudgement. And to say the truth, this iudgement is not without good reason, when they that reuolt, and they from whom the reuolt is made, are mutually like-minded and affected, and equall in prouision and strength, and no iust cause of their reuolt giuen. But now betweene vs and the Athenians it is not so. Nor let any man thinke the worse of vs, for that hauing beene honoured by them in time of peace, we haue now reuolted in time of danger. For the first point of our speech, espe-*
E *cially now we seeke to come into League with you, shall bee to make good the iustice and honesty of our reuolt. For we know there can*

bee

bee neither firme friendſhip betweene man and man, nor any communion betweene Citie and Citie to any purpoſe whatſoeuer, without a mutuall opinion of each others honeſty, and alſo a ſimilitude of cuſtomes otherwayes. For in the difference of mindes is grounded the diuerſity of actions. As for our League with the Athenians, it was firſt made, when you gaue ouer the Medan Warre, and they remained to proſecute the reliques of that buſineſſe: Yet wee entred not ſuch a League, as to be their helpers in bringing the Grecians into the ſeruitude of the Athenians; but to ſet free the Grecians from the ſeruitude of the Medes. And as long as they led vs as equals, wee followed them with much zeale; but when wee ſaw they remitted their enmity againſt the Medes, and led vs to the ſubiugation of the Confederates, we could not then but bee afraid. And the Confederates through the multitude of diſtinct Councels, vnable to vnite themſelues for reſiſtance, fell all but our ſelues and the Chians into their ſubiection; and wee hauing ſtill our owne Lawes, and being in name a free State, followed them to the Warres; but ſo, as by the examples of their former actions, we held them not any longer for faithfull Leaders. For it was not probable, when they had ſubdued thoſe, whom together with vs they tooke into league, but that, when they ſhould bee able, they would doe the like alſo by the reſt. It is true that if we were now in liberty all, wee might bee the better aſſured, that they would forbeare to innouate; but ſince they haue vnder them the greateſt part already, in all likelihood they will take it ill, to deale on equall termes with vs alone; and the reſt yeelding, to let vs onely ſtand vp as their equals. Eſpecially when by how much they are become ſtronger by the ſubiection of their Confederates, by ſo much the more are wee become deſolate. But the equality of mutuall feare, is the onely band of faith in Leagues. For hee that hath the will to tranſgreſſe, yet when he hath not the oddes of ſtrength, will abſtaine from comming on. Now the reaſon why they haue left vs yet free, is no other, but that they may haue a faire colour to lay vpon their domination ouer the reſt; and becauſe it hath ſeemed vnto them more expedient to take vs in by policy, then by force. For therein they made vſe of vs, for an argument, that hauing equall vote with them, wee would neuer haue followed them to the Warres, if thoſe againſt whom they led vs, had not done the iniury. And thereby alſo they brought the ſtronger againſt the weaker, and reſeruing the ſtrongeſt to the laſt, made them the weaker, by remouing the reſt. Whereas if they had begunne with vs, when the Confederates had had both their owne ſtrength, and a ſide to adhere to, they had neuer ſubdued them ſo eaſily. Likewiſe our Nauy kept them in ſome feare, leſt vnited and

added

A *added to yours, or to any other, it might haue created them some danger. Partly also we escaped by our obseruance toward their Commons and most eminent men, from time to time. But yet we still thought we could not doe so long, considering the examples they haue shewed vs in the rest, if this Warre should not haue fallen out. What friendship then or assurance of liberty was this, when we receiued each other with alienated affections? when whilst they had Warres, they for feare courted vs, and when they had Peace, we for feare courted them? and whereas in others, good will assureth loyalty, in vs it was the effect of feare? So it was more for feare then loue, that we remained their*
B *Confederates; and whomsoeuer security should first embolden, he was first likely by one meanes or other to breake the league. Now if any man thinke we did vniustly, to reuolt vpon the expectation of euill intended, without staying to be certaine, whether they would doe it or not, he weigheth not the matter aright. For if we were as able to contriue euill against them, and againe to deferre it, as they can against vs, being thus equall, what needed vs to be at their discretion? But seeing it is in their hands to inuade at pleasure, it ought to be in ours to anticipate. Vpon these pretentions therefore, and causes,* Men of Lacedæmon & Confederates, *we haue reuolted, the which are both*
C *cleare enough for the hearers to iudge vpon, that we had reason for it, and weighty enough to affright, and compell vs to take some course for our owne safety; which we would haue done before, when before the Warre, we sent Ambassadours to you about our reuolt, but could not, because you would not then admit vs into your league. And now when the* Bœotians *inuited vs to it, we presently obeyed. Wherein wee thought we made a double reuolt, one from the* Grecians, *in ceasing to doe them mischiefe with the* Athenians, *and helping to set them free; and another from the* Athenians, *in breaking first, and not staying to be destroyed by them hereafter. But this reuolt of ours hath*
D *beene sooner then was fit, and before we were prouided for it. For which cause also the Confederates ought so much the sooner to admit vs into the league, and send vs the speedier aide, thereby the better, at once, both to defend those you ought to defend, and to annoy your enemies. Whereof there was neuer better opportunity then at this present. For the* Athenians *being both with the likenesse, and their great expences consumed, and their Nauy diuided, part vpon your own Coasts, and part vpon ours, it is not likely they should haue many Gallies spare, in case you againe this Summer inuade them, both by Sea and Land; but that they should either be vnable to resist the inuasion*
E *of your Fleet, or be forced to come off from both our Coasts. And let not any man conceiue that you shall herein, at your owne danger*

defend

defend the Territory of another. For though Lesbos seeme remote, the profit of it will be neere you. For the Warre will not be, as a man would thinke, in Attica, but there, from whence commeth the profit to Attica. This profit is the reuenue they haue from their Confederates; which if they subdue vs, will still be greater. For neither will any other reuolt, and all that is ours will accrew vnto them; and wee shall be worse handled besides, then those that were vnder them before. But aiding vs with diligence, you shall both adde to your league a Citie, that hath a great Navy (the thing you most stand in need of) and also easily ouerthrow the Athenians by subduction of their Confederates; because euery one will then be more confident to come in, and you shall auoyd the imputation of not assisting such as reuolt vnto you. And if it appeare that your endeuour is to make them free, your strength in this Warre will be much the more confirmed. In reuerence therefore of the hopes which the Grecians haue reposed in you, and of the presence of Iupiter Olympius, in whose Temple here, we are in a manner suppliants to you, receiue the Mitylenians into league, and ayde vs. And doe not cast vs off, who, (though, as to the exposing of our persons, the danger be our owne) shall bring a common profit to all Greece, if we prosper, and a more common detriment to all the Grecians, if through your inflexiblenesse we miscarry. Be you therefore men, such as the Grecians esteeme you, and our feares require you to be. In this manner spake the *Mitylenians*.

The *Mitylenians* take into the *Lacedæmonian* league.

And the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates, when they had heard, and allowed their reasons, decreed not onely a League with the *Lesbians*, but also againe to make an inuasion into *Attica*. And to that purpose the *Lacedæmonians* appointed their Confederates there present, to make as much speed as they could with two parts of their forces, into the *Isthmus*. And they themselues being first there, prepared Engines in the *Isthmus* for the drawing vp of Gallies, with intention to carry the Nauy from *Corinth* to the other Sea that lyeth towards *Athens*, and to set vpon them both by Sea and Land. And these things diligently did they. But the rest of the Confederates assembled but slowly, being busied in the gathering in of their fruits, and weary of Warfare.

The *Lacedæmonians* prepare for the inuasion of *Attica*, both by Sea and Land.

The *Athenians* perceiuing all this preparation to bee made, vpon an opinion of their weaknesse, and desirous to let them see they were deceiued, as being able without stirring the Fleet at *Lesbos*, easily to master the Fleet that should

A should come against them out of *Peloponnesus*, manned out 100 Gallies, and imbarked therein generally, both Citizens (except those of the degree of * *Pentacosiomedimni*, and * *Hippeis*) and also strangers that dwelt amongst them; And saying to the *Isthmus*, made a shew of their strength, and landed their Souldiers in such parts of *Peloponnesus*, as they thought fit. When the *Lacedæmonians* saw things so contrary to their expectation, they thought it false, which was spoken by the *Lesbian* Ambassadors; and esteeming the action difficult, seeing their Confederates B were not arriued, and that newes was brought of the wasting of the Territory neere their City, by the 30 Gallies formerly sent about *Peloponnesus* by the *Athenians*, went home againe; and afterwards prepared to send a Fleet to *Lesbos*, and intimated to the Cities rateably to furnish 40 Gallies, and appointed *Alcidas*, who was to goe thither with them, for Admirall. And the *Athenians*, when they saw the *Peloponnesians* gone, went likewise home with their hundred Gallies.

The *Athenians* to make shew of their power, and to deterre the enemy from their enterprize, send 100 Gallies, not so much to waste *Peloponnesus*, as to confute the opinion which the *Lesbian* Ambassadors had put into the *Lacedæmonians* of their weakenesse.

* *A degree estimated by their wealth, as if one should say, men that had 500 Chaldrons reuenue, as they reckon in Scotland.*

? *Horsemen, such as kept a Horse to serue the State, and were valued at 300 Chaldrons.*

About the time that this Fleet was out, they had surely C the most Gallies in action (besides the beauty of them) that euer they had at once. But in the beginning of the war, they had as good Gallies and also more in number. For 100 attended the guard of *Attica*, *Eubœa*, and *Salamis*, and another 100 were about *Peloponnesus*, besides those that were at *Potidæa*, and in other places. So that in one Summer, they had in all, 250 Sayle. And this, together with *Potidæa*, was it, that most exhausted their treasure. For the * men of Armes that besieged the Citie, had each of them two drachmaes a day, one for himselfe, and another for his man, D & were 3000 in number that were sent thither at first, and remained to the end of the Siege; besides 1600 more, that went with *Phormio* and came away before the Town was won. And the Gallies had all the same pay. In this maner was their money consumed, and so many Gallies employed, the most indeed that euer they had manned at once.

The greatnesse of the *Athenian* Nauy, & occasion of their great expence of money.

* ὁπλῖται, *A man of Armes had double pay for himselfe and for a seruant.*

About the same time that the *Lacedæmonians* were in the *Isthmus*, the *Mitylenians* marched by Land, both they and their auxiliaries, against *Methymne*, in hope to haue had it betrayed vnto them; and hauing assaulted the Citie, when E it succeeded not the way they looked for, they went thence to *Antissa*, *Pyrrha*, and *Eressus*; and after they had settled the

The *Mitylenians* goe with a power to *Methymne*, hoping to haue it betrayed.

affaires of those places, and made strong their walls, returned speedily home. When these were gone, the *Methymneans* likewise made War vpon *Antissa*, but beaten by the *Antissians*, and some auxiliaries that were with them, they made haste againe to *Methymne*, with the losse of many of their Souldiers. But the *Athenians* being aduertized hereof, and vnderstanding that the *Mitylenians* were masters of the Land, and that their own Soldiers there were not enough to keep them in, sent thither, about the beginning of Autumne, *Paches, the sonne of Epicurus*, with 1000 men of Armes, of their owne Citie, who supplying the place of Rowers themselues, arriued at *Mitylene*, and ingirt it with a single wall. Saue that in some places, stronger by Nature then the rest, they onely built Turrets, and placed guards in them. So that the Citie was euery way strongly besieged, both by Sea and Land. And the Winter began.

The *Athenians* send: *Paches* with 1000 men of Armes to *Mitylene*.

The end of the fourth Summer.

The *Athenians* standing in need of mony for the Siege, both contributed themselues, and sent thither * 200 Talents of this their first contribution, & also dispatched *Lysicles*, and 4 others, with 42 Gallies, to leuie money amongst the Confederates. But *Lysicles*, after he had beene to and fro, and gathered money in diuers places, as he was going vp from *Myus*, thorow the Plaines of *Meander* in *Caria*, as farre as to the hill *Sandius*, was set vpon there by the *Carians* and *Anaeians*, and himselfe with a great part of his Souldiers, slaine.

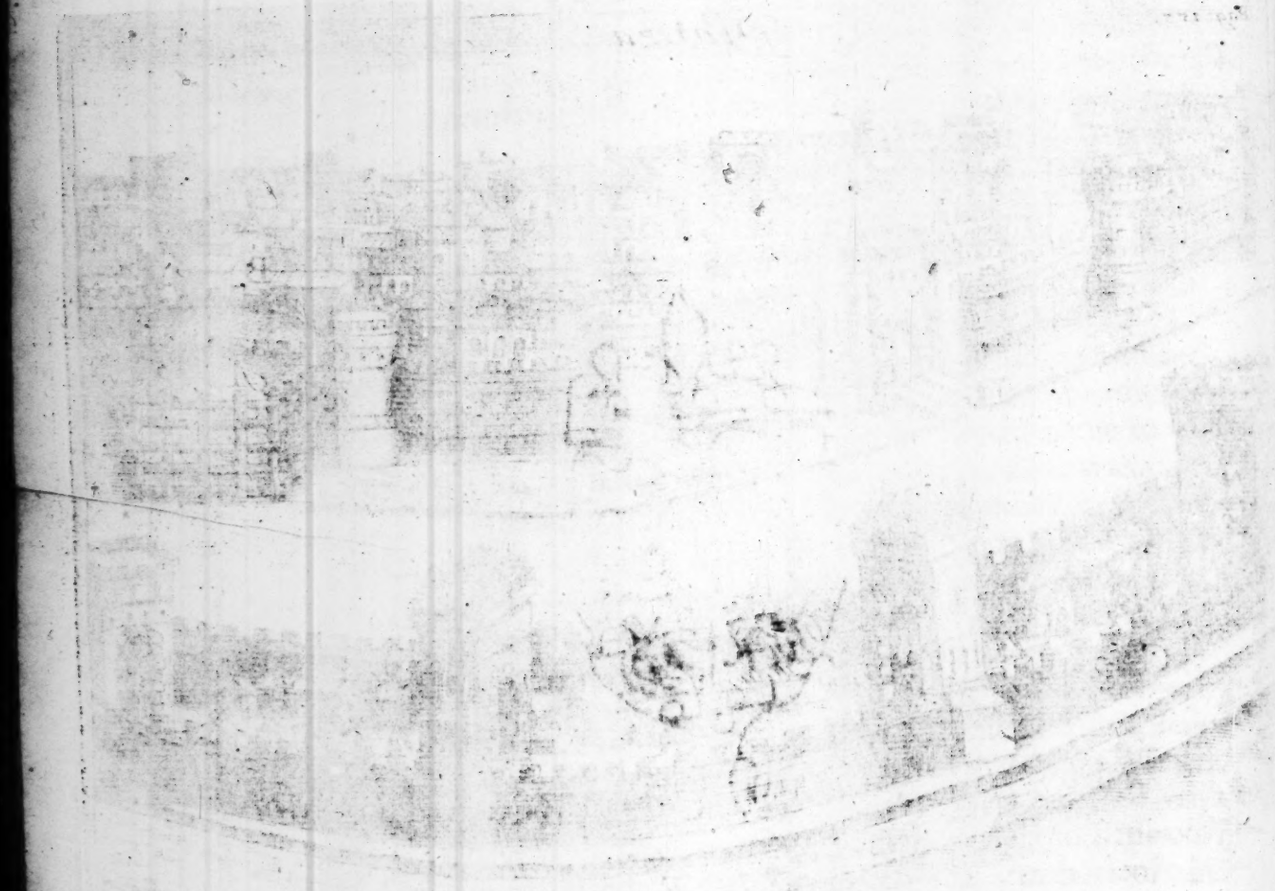
* 37500 *pound sterling.*

The escape of 212 men out of *Plataea*, thorow the workes of the enemy.

The same Winter the *Plataeans* (for they were yet besieged by the *Peloponnesians* and *Boeotians*) pressed now with want of Victuall, and hopelesse of reliefe from *Athens*, and no other meanes of safety appearing, tooke Counsell, both they, and the *Athenians* that were besieged with them, at first all to goe out, and if they could, to passe ouer the wall of the enemy by force. The Authors of this attempt, were *Theanetus the sonne of Timidas*, a Soothsayer, and *Eupolpidas the sonne of Daemachus*, one of their Commanders. But halfe of them afterwards, by one meanes or other, for the greatnesse of the danger, shrunke from it againe. But 220 or thereabouts, voluntarily persisted, to goe out, in this manner. They made them Ladders, fit for the height of the enemies wall; the wall they measured by the Layes of Bricke, on the part toward the Towne, where it was not Plaistered ouer; and diuers men at once

They make the length of their Ladders by coniecture vpon counting the Layes of Bricke.

A. the mount of earth Cast up by the Peloponnesians. B. The wall built inwards by the Plateans to frustrate the effect of the mount. C. The worke of the Peloponnesians. D. The place wher the Plateans go ouer. E. The ditch w^th^ out, full of water


B
C
D
E

A once numbred the layes of Bricke, whereof though some missed, yet the greatest part tooke the reckoning iust; especially, numbring them often, and at no great distance, but where they might easily see the part, to which their Ladders were to bee applyed; and so by guesse of the thickenesse of one Bricke, tooke the measure of their Ladders.

As for the Wall of the *Peloponnesians*, it was thus built. It consisted of a double Circle, one towards *Platæa*, and another outward, in case of an assault from *Athens*. The description of the fortification of the *Peloponnesians* about *Platæa*.

B These two Walles were distant one from the other about sixteene foot; and that sixteene foot of space which was betwixt them, was disposed and built into Cabines for the Watchmen, which were so ioyned and continued one to another, that the whole appeared to be one thicke Wall, with Battlements on either side. At euery tenne Battlements, stood a great Tower of a iust breadth, to comprehend both Walles, and reach from the outmost to the inmost front of the whole, so that there was no passage by the side of a Towre, but through the middest of it. And

C such nights as there happened any storme of Raine, they vsed to quit the Battlements of the Wall, and to watch vnder the Towres, as being not farre asunder, and couered beside ouer-head. Such was the forme of the Wall wherein the *Peloponnesians* kept their Watch. The *Plateans*, after they were ready, and had attended a tempestuous night, and withall Mooneleſſe, went out of the Citie, and were conducted by the same men that were the Authors of the Attempt. And first they passed the Ditch that was about the Towne, and then came vp close to the The description of the *Plateans* going ouer the Enemies Walles.

D Wall of the Enemy, who, because it was darke, could not see them comming; and the noyse they made as they went could not be heard for the blustering of the wind. And they came on besides at a good distance one from the other, that they might not bee betrayed by the clashing of their Armes; and were but lightly armed, and not shod but on the left foot, for the more steddinesse in the wet. They came thus to the Battlements, in one of the spaces betweene Towre and Towre, knowing that there was now no Watch kept there. And first came they that car-

E ried the Ladders, and placed them to the Wall; then 12. lightly armed, onely with a Dagger and a Brestplate, went

vp, led by *Aminias*, the ſonne of *Corabus*, who was the A
firſt that mounted; and they that followed him, went vp
into either Towre 6. To theſe ſucceeded others lightly-
armed, that carryed the Darts, for whom they that came
after, carried Targets at their backes, that they might bee
the more expedite to get vp, which Targets they were to
deliuer to them, when they came to the Enemy. At
length, when moſt of them were aſcended, they were
heard by the Watchmen that were in the Towres; for one
of the *Plateans* taking hold of the Battlements, threw
downe a Tyle, which made a noyſe in the fall; and pre- B
ſently there was an Alarme. And the Armie ran to the
Wall; for in the darke and ſtormie night, they knew not
what the danger was. And the *Plateans* that were left in
the Citie, came forth withall, and aſſaulted the Wall of
the *Peloponneſians*, on the oppoſite part to that where their
men went ouer. So that though they were all in a tumult
in their ſeuerall places, yet not any of them that watched,
durſt ſtirre to the ayde of the reſt, nor were able to conie-
cture what had happened. But * thoſe three hundred that
were appointed to aſsiſt the Watch vpon all occaſions of C
neede, went without the Wall, and made towards the
place of the clamor. They alſo held vp the fires, by which
they vſed to make knowne the approach of Enemies, to-
wards *Thebes*. But then the *Plateans* likewiſe, held out
many other fires from the Wall of the Citie, which for
that purpoſe they had before prepared, to render the fires
of the Enemie inſignificant, and that the *Thebans* appre-
hending the matter otherwiſe then it was, might forbeare
to ſend help, till their men were ouer, and had recouered
ſome place of ſafety. D

In the meane time, thoſe *Plateans*, which hauing ſcaled
the Wall firſt, and ſlaine the Watch, were now maſters
of both the Towres, not onely guarded the paſſages,
by ſtanding themſelues in the entries, but alſo applying
Ladders from the Wall to the Towres, and conueying
many men to the toppe, kept the enemies off with ſhot,
both from aboue and below. In the meane ſpace, the
greateſt number of them hauing reared to the Wall many
Ladders at once, and beaten downe the Battlements, paſ-
ſed quite ouer betweene the Towres, and euer as any of E
them got to the other ſide, they ſtood ſtill vpon the brinke
of

* *There is no mention of theſe 300. where the Author relateth the laying of the ſiege: But it muſt be vnderſtood.*

A of the Ditch without, and with Arrowes and Darts, kept off thoſe that came by the outſide of the Wall to hinder their paſſage. And when the reſt were ouer, then laſt of all, and with much adoe, came they alſo downe to the Ditch, which were in the two Towres. And by this time, the three hundred that were to aſsiſt the Watch, came and ſet vpon them, and had lights with them; by which meanes the *Plateans* that were on the further brinke of the Ditch, diſcerned them the better from out of the darke, and aimed their Arrowes and Darts at their moſt
B diſarmed parts. For, ſtanding in the darke, the lights of the Enemie made the *Plateans* the leſſe diſcernable. Inſomuch as theſe laſt paſſed the Ditch, though with difficulty and force. For the Water in it was frozen ouer, though not ſo hard as to beare, but watrie, and ſuch as when the Wind is at Eaſt, rather then at North: and the Snow which fell that night, together with ſo great a Wind as that was, had very much increaſed the Water, which they waded thorow, with ſcarce their heads aboue. But yet the greatneſſe of the ſtorme was the principall
C meanes of their eſcape.

From the Ditch, the *Plateans*, in troope, tooke the way towards *Thebes*, leauing on the left hand the *Temple of Iuno*, built by *Androcrates*, both for that they ſuppoſed, they would leaſt ſuſpect the way that led to their Enemies, and alſo becauſe they ſaw the *Peloponneſians* with their lights purſue that way, which by Mount *Cithæron*, and the *Oake-heads*, led to *Athens*. The *Plateans*, when they had gone 6. or 7. Furlongs, forſooke the *Theban* way, and turned into that which led towards the Mountaine, to *Erythræ*, and *Hyſiæ*, and hauing gotten the Hilles, eſcaped
D through to *Athens*, being 212. perſons of a greater number: for ſome of them returned into the Citie, before the reſt went ouer; and one of their Archers was taken vpon the Ditch without. And ſo the *Peloponneſians* gaue ouer the purſuite, and returned to their places. But the *Plateans* that were within the City, knowing nothing of the euent, and thoſe that turned backe hauing told them, that not a man eſcaped, as ſoone as it was day, ſent a Herald to entreat a Truce, for the taking vp of their dead bodies;
E but when they knew the truth, they gaue it ouer. And thus theſe men of *Platæa* paſſed through the Forti-

Fortification of their Enemies, and were ſaued. A

Salæthus a Lacedæmonian, entreth ſecretly into Mitylene, and confirmeth them with hope of ſpeedy aide.

About the end of the ſame Winter, *Salæthus* a *Lacedæmonian*, was ſent in a Gallie to *Mitylene*, and comming firſt to *Pyrrha*, and thence going to *Mitylene* by Land, entred the Citie by the dry channell of a certaine Torrent, which had a paſſage through the Wall of the *Athenians*, vndiſcouered. And hee told the Magiſtrates, that *Attica* ſhould againe be inuaded, and that the 40. Gallies which were to aide them, were comming; and that himſelfe was ſent afore, both to let them know it, and withall to giue order in the reſt of their affaires. Heereupon the B *Mitylenians* grew confident, and hearkned leſſe to compoſition with the *Athenians*. And the Winter ended, and the fourth yeere of this Warre written by *Thucydides*.

THE FIFTH YEERE.

* *It ſhould be* 40.

Attica the fourth time inuaded.

In the beginning of the Summer, after they had ſent *Alcidas* away with the * 42. Gallies, whereof he was Admirall, vnto *Mitylene*, both they and their Confederates inuaded *Attica*; to the end, that the *Athenians* troubled on both ſides, might the leſſe ſend ſupply againſt the Fleet now gone to *Mitylene*. In this Expedition, *Cleomenes* was

Pauſanias King of *Lacedæmon.*

Generall, in ſtead of *Pauſanias* the ſonne of *Pliſtoanax*, who C being King, was yet in minority, and *Cleomenes* was his Vncle by the Father. And they now cut downe, both what they had before waſted and began to grow againe, and alſo whatſoeuer elſe they had before prætermitted. And this was the ſharpeſt inuaſion of all but the ſecond. For whileſt they ſtayed to heare newes from their Fleet at *Lesbos*, which by this time they ſuppoſed to haue beene arriued, they went abroad, and deſtroyed moſt part of the Countrey. But when nothing ſucceeded according to their hopes, and ſeeing their Corne failed, they re- D tyred againe, and were diſſolued according to their Cities.

Salæthus armes the Commons for a Sally. They mutiny, and giue vp the Towne.

The *Mitylenians* in the meane time, ſeeing the Fleet came not from *Peloponneſus*, but delayed the time, and their victuals failed, were conſtrained to make their compoſition with the *Athenians*, vpon this occaſion. *Salæthus*, when hee alſo expected theſe Gallies no longer, armed the Commons of the Citie, who were before vnarmed, with intention to haue made a Sally vpon the *Athenians*; but they, as ſoone as they had gotten Armes, no longer obey- E ed the Magiſtrates, but holding Aſſemblies by themſelues,

A selues, required the rich men, either to bring their Corne to light, and diuide it amongst them all, or else, they said, they would make their composition by deliuering vp the Citie to the *Athenians*.

Those that managed the State, perceiuing this, and vnable to hinder it, knowing also their owne danger, in case they were excluded out of the composition, they all ioyntly agreed to yeeld the Citie to *Paches*, and his Army; with these conditions, *To be proceeded withall at the pleasure of the* people of Athens; *and to receiue the Armie into the*
B *Citie, and that the* Mitylenians *should send Ambassadors to* Athens, *about their owne businesse: And that* Paches *till their returne, should neither put in bonds, nor make Slaue of, nor slay any* Mitylenian. This was the effect of that composition. But such of the *Mitylenians* as had principally practized with the *Lacedæmonians*, being afraid of themselues, when the Army was entred the Citie, durst not trust to the Conditions agreed on, but tooke Sanctuary at the Altars. But *Paches* hauing raised them, vpon promise to doe them no iniury, sent them to *Tenedos*, to be in custody there, till the
C *people of Athens* should haue resolued what to doe. After this, he sent some Gallies to *Antissa*, and tooke in that Towne, and ordered the affaires of his Armie as he thought conuenient.

Some of the *Mitylenians* fearing the worst, take Sanctuary.

Whom *Paches* perswadeth to rise.
And sendeth them to bee in custody at *Tenedos*.

In the meane time, those 40 Gallies of *Peloponnesus* which should haue made all possible haste, trifled away the time about *Peloponnesus*, and making small speed in the rest of their Nauigation, arriued at *Delos*, vnknowne to the *Athenians* at *Athens*. From thence sayling to *Icarus* and *Myconum*, they got first intelligence of the losse of *Mitylene*.
D But to know the truth more certainly, they went thence to *Embatus* in *Erythræa*. It was about the seuenth day after the taking of *Mitylene*, that they arriued at *Embatus*, where vnderstanding the certainty, they went to counsell, about what they were to doe vpon the present occasion and *Teutiaplus* an *Elean*, deliuered his opinion to this effect.

The voyage of *Alcidas* with 40 Gallies into *Ionia*.

Alcidas with his Fleet, at *Embatus* is assured of the losse of *Mitylene*.

Alcidas, *and the rest that haue command of the* Peloponnesians *in this Army, it were not amisse, in my opinion, to goe to* Mitylene, *as we are, before aduice be giuen of our arriuall. (For in all probability, we shall find the City, in respect they haue but lately won*
E *it, very weakly guarded) and to the Sea, (where they expect no enemy, and we are chiefly strong) not guarded at all. It is also likely that their*

The aduise of *Teutiaplus* in the Councell of Warre.

their land Souldiers are diſperſed, ſome in one houſe, and ſome in another, careleſly as victors. Therefore if we fall vpon them ſuddenly, and by night, I thinke, with the helpe of thoſe within (if any bee left there that will take our part) we may be able to poſſeſſe our ſelues of the Citie. And we ſhall neuer feare the danger, if we but thinke this, that all Stratagems of Warre whatſoeuer, are no more, but ſuch occaſions as this, which if a Commander auoid in himſelfe, and take the aduantage of them, in the enemy, he ſhall for the moſt part haue good ſucceſſe. Thus ſaid he, but preuailed not with *Alcidas*. And ſome others, Fugitiues of *Ionia*, and thoſe *Lesbians* that were with him in the Fleet, gaue him counſell, *That ſeeing he feared the danger of this, he ſhould ſeaze ſome Citie of* Ionia, *or* Cume *in* Æolia, *that hauing ſome Towne for the ſeat of the Warre, they might from thence, force* Ionia *to reuolt, whereof there was hope, becauſe the* Ionians *would not be vnwilling to ſee him there. And if they could withdraw from the* Athenians *this their great reuenue, and withall put them to maintaine a Fleet againſt them, it would be a great exhauſting of their treaſure. They ſaid beſides, that they thought they ſhould be able to get* Piſſuthnes, *to ioyne with them in the Warre.*

The aduice of certaine Outlawes of *Ionia* and *Lesbos*.

The cowardly reſolution of *Alcidas*.

But *Alcidas* reiected this aduice likewiſe, inclining rather to this opinion, that ſince they were come too late to *Mitylene*, they were beſt to returne ſpeedily into *Peloponneſus*. Whereupon putting off from *Embatus*, he ſayled by the Shoare to *Myonneſus* of the *Teians*, and there ſlew moſt of the priſoners he had taken by the way. After this hee put in at *Epheſus*, and thither came Ambaſſadours to him from the *Samians* of *Anæa*, and told him, that it was but an ill manner of ſetting the *Grecians* at liberty, to kill ſuch as had not lift vp their hands againſt him, nor were indeed enemies to the *Peloponneſians*, but Confederates to the *Athenians* by conſtraint. And that vnleſſe he gaue ouer that courſe, he would make few of the enemies, his friends; but many now friends, to become his enemies. Wherefore vpon theſe words of the Ambaſſadours, he ſet the *Chians*, and ſome others, all that he had left aliue, at liberty. For when men ſaw their Fleet, they neuer fled from it, but came vnto them as to *Athenians*; little imagining that the *Athenians* being maſters of the Sea, the *Peloponneſians* durſt haue put ouer to *Ionia*.

He killeth his priſoners.

The *Samians* ſharpely reprehend him.

From *Epheſus*, *Alcidas* went away in haſte, indeed fled; for he had bin deſcried by the * *Salaminia*, and the **Paralus*, (which

Alcidas maketh haſt from *Epheſus* homeward.
* *The names of two Gallies of* Athens.

A (which by chance were then in their courſe for *Athens*,) whileſt he lay at Anchor about *Claros*, and fearing to bee chaſed, kept the wide Sea, meaning by his good will, to touch no Land, till hee came into *Peloponneſus*. But the newes of them came to *Paches* from diuers places, eſpecially from *Erythræa*: for the Cities of *Ionia* being vnwalled, were afraid extremely, leſt the *Peloponneſians* ſayling by, without intention to ſtay, ſhould haue pillaged them as they paſſed. But the *Salaminia* and the *Paralus* hauing ſeene him at *Claros*, brought the newes themſelues. And

Paches purſueth the *Peloponneſians*, and is glad he ouertaketh them not.

B *Paches* thereupon made great haſte after, and followed him as farre as *Latmos* * the Iland: but when he ſaw hee could not reach him, he came backe againe; and thought he had a good turne, ſeeing hee could not ouertake thoſe Gallies vpon the wide Sea, that the ſame were not compelled, by being taken in ſome place neere Land, to fortifie themſelues, and ſo to giue him occaſion with guards and Gallies, to attend them.

* *In diſtinction to* Latmus *the Mountaine. But I can finde no mention of this* Latmus *the Iland in any of the Geographers.*

As hee came by, in his returne, hee put in at *Notium*, a City of the *Colophonians*, into which the *Colophonians* came

Paches reſtoreth *Notium* to the *Colophonians*, driuen out by ſedition.

C and inhabited, after the * Towne aboue, through their owne ſedition, was taken by *Itamanes* and the *Barbarians*. (This Towne was taken at the time when *Attica* was the ſecond time inuaded by the *Peloponneſians*.) They then that came downe, and dwelt in *Notium*, falling againe into ſedition, the one part hauing procured ſome forces, *Arcadians* and *Barbarians* of *Piſſuthnes*, kept them in a part of the Towne, which they had ſeuered from the reſt with a Wall, and there, with ſuch of the *Colophonians* of the high Towne, as being of the *Medan* faction, entred with them,

* *The City of* Colophon, 2. *miles higher into the Land.*

D they gouerned the Citie at their pleaſure: and the other part which went out from theſe, and were the Fugitiues, brought in *Paches*. He, when he had called out *Hippias*, Captaine of the *Arcadians* that were within the ſaid wall, with promiſe, if they ſhould not agree, to ſet him ſafe and ſound within the Wall againe; and *Hippias* was there-vpon come to him; committed him to cuſtody, but without bonds; and withall aſſaulting the Wall on a ſudden, when they expected not, tooke it, and ſlew as many of the *Arcadians* and *Barbarians*

Paches parlieth with *Hippias*.

E as were within. And when hee had done, brought *Hippias* in againe, according as hee had promiſed.

His equiuocation with *Hippias* whom he put to death contrary to promiſe.

But after he had him there, laid hold on him, and cauſed him to bee ſhot to death; and reſtored *Notium* to the *Colophonians*, excluding onely ſuch as had Medized. Afterwards the *Athenians* ſent Gouernours to *Notium* of their owne, and hauing gathered together the *Colophonians* out of all Cities whatſoeuer, ſeated them there vnder the Law of the *Athenians*.

Paches taketh *Pyrrha*, and *Ereſſus*. He apprehendeth *Salæthus* in *Mitylene*.

Paches, when he came backe to *Mieylene*, tooke in *Pyrrha* and *Ereſſus*; and hauing found *Salæthus* the *Lacedæmonian* hidden in *Mitylene*, apprehended him, and ſent him, together with thoſe men he had put in cuſtody at *Tenedos*, and whomſoeuer elſe he thought Author of the Reuolt, to *Athens*. Hee likewiſe ſent away the greateſt part of his Armie, and with the reſt ſtayed, and ſettled the State of *Mitylene*, and the reſt of *Lesbos* as he thought conuenient.

The *Athenians* ſlay *Salæthus*, though he offer to withdraw the *Peloponneſians* from the ſiege of *Platea*.

Theſe men, and *Salæthus* with them, being arriued at *Athens*, the *Athenians* ſlew *Salæthus* preſently, though hee made them many offers, and amongſt other, to get the Armie of the *Peloponneſians* to riſe from before *Platæa*, (for it was yet beſieged) but vpon the reſt they went to Councell; and in their paſsion decreed to put them to death; not onely thoſe men there preſent, but alſo all the men of *Mitylene* that were of age, and to make ſlaues of the Women and children: laying to their charge the Reuolt it ſelfe, in that they reuolted not, being in ſubiection as others were: And withall the *Peloponneſian* Fleet, which durſt enter into *Ionia* to their ayde, had not a little aggrauated that Commotion. For by that, it ſeemed that the Reuolt was not made without much premeditation. They therefore ſent a Gally to enforme *Paches* of their Decree, with command to put the *Mitylenians* preſently to death.

The cruell decree of the *Athenians* in their paſſion againſt the *Mityleans*.

The *Athenians* repent of their decree, and conſult anew.

But the next day they felt a kind of repentance in themſelues, and began to conſider what a great and cruell Decree it was, that not the Authors onely, but the whole Citie ſhould be deſtroyed. Which when the Ambaſſadors of the *Mitylenians*, that were there preſent, & ſuch *Athenians* as fauoured them vnderſtood, they wrought with thoſe that bare office, to bring the matter again into debate; wherin they eaſily preuailed, forasmuch as to them alſo it was well knowne, that the moſt of the Citie were deſirous to haue meanes to conſult of the ſame anew. The Aſſembly beeing preſently met, amongſt the opinions of diuers others,

A others, Cleon also, the sonne of Cleaenetus, who in the former Assembly had won to haue them killed, being of all the Citizens most violent, and with the people at that time farre the most powerfull, stood forth, and said in this manner.

Cleon most popular, and most violent.

THE ORATION OF CLEON.

B *I Haue often on other occasions thought a Democratie vncapable of dominion ouer others; but most of all now, for this your repentance concerning the Mitylenians. For through your owne mutuall security and openesse, you imagine the same also in your Confederates, and consider not, that when at their perswasion you commit an error, or relent vpon compassion, you are softned thus, to the danger of the Common-wealth, not to the winning of the affections of your Confederates. Nor doe you consider, that your gouernment is a Tyranny, and those that be subiect to it, are against their willes so, and are plotting continually against you, and obey you not for any good turne, which to your owne detriment you shall*

C *doe them, but onely for that you exceed them in strength, and for no good will. But the worst mischiefe of all is this, that nothing wee decree shall stand firme, and that we will not know, that a City with the worse Lawes, if immoueable, is better then one with good Lawes, when they bee not binding; and that a plaine wit accompanied with modesty, is more profitable to the State, then dexterity with arrogance; and that the more ignorant sort of men, doe for the most part better regulate a Common-wealth, then they that are wiser. For these doue to appeare wiser then the Lawes, and in all publike debatings to carry the victory, as the worthiest things*

D *wherein to shew their wisdome; from whence most commonly proceedeth the ruine of the States they liue in. Whereas the other sort, mistrusting their owne wits, are content to be esteemed not so wise as the Lawes, and not able to carpe at what is well spoken by another; and so making themselues equall Iudges, rather then contenders for mastery, gouerne a State for the most part well. Wee therefore should doe the like, and not be carried away with combates of eloquence and wit, to giue such counsell to your multitude, as in our owne iudgements wee thinke not good. For my owne part, I am of the opinion I was before; and I wonder at these men, that*

E *haue brought this matter of the Mitylenians in question againe, and thereby cause delay, which is the aduantage onely of them that*

doe the iniury. For the sufferer by this meanes comes vpon the doer with his anger dulled, whereas reuenge, the opposite of iniurie, is then greatest, when it followes presently. I doe wonder also, what he is that shall stand vp now to dehort vs from, and shall thinke to proue, that the iniuries done vs by the Mitylenians, are good for vs, or that our calamities are any dammage to our Confederates. For certainely he must either trust in his eloquence, to make you beleeue, that that which was decreed, was not decreed, or moued with lucre, must with some elaborate speech endeuour to seduce you. Now of such matches [of eloquence] as these, the Citie giueth the prizes to others, but the danger that thence proceedeth, she her selfe sustaineth. And of all this, you your selues are the cause, by the euill institution of these matches, in that you vse to bee spectators of words, and hearers of actions, beholding future actions in the words of them that speake well, as possible to come to passe; and actions already past, in the Orations of such as make the most of them, and that with such assurance, as if what you saw with your eyes, were not more certaine, then what you heare related. You are excellent men for one to deceiue with a speech of a new straine, but backward to follow any tryed aduice: slaues to strange things, contemners of things vsuall. You would euery one chiefly giue the best aduice, but if you cannot, then you will contradict those that doe. You would not be thought to come after with your opinion; but rather if any thing bee acutely spoken, to applaud it first, and to appeare ready apprehenders of what is spoken, euen before it be out; but slow to preconceiue the sequell of the same. You would heare, as one may say, somewhat else then what our life is conuersant in; and yet you sufficiently vnderstand not that, that is before your eyes. And to speake plainely, ouercome with the delight of the eare, you are rather like vnto spectators, sitting to heare the contentions of Sophisters, then to men that deliberate of the state of a Common-wealth. To put you out of this humour, I say vnto you, that the Mitylenians haue done vs more iniury, then euer did any one Citie. For those that haue reuolted through the ouer-hard pressure of our gouernment, or that haue beene compelled to it by the enemy, I pardon them; but they that were Ilanders, and had their Citie walled, so as they needed not feare our Enemies, but onely by Sea; in which case also they were armed for them with sufficient prouision of Gallies; and they that were permitted to haue their owne Lawes, and whom wee principally honoured, and yet haue done thus; what haue they done but conspired against vs, and rather warred vpon vs, then reuolted from vs, (for a reuolt is wont of such as suffer violence) and ioyned with our bitterest Enemies to destroy vs? This is farre worse

then

The nature of the multitude in counsell, liuely set forth.

Aggrauation of the Reuolt of the *Mitylenians*.

A then if they had warred against vs for encreasing of their owne power. But these men would neyther take example by their neighbours calamity, who are, all that reuolted, already subdued by vs, nor could their owne present felicity, make them afraid of changing it into misery. But being bold against future euents, and ayming at matters aboue their strength, though below their desires, haue taken Armes against vs, and preferred force before Iustice. For no sooner they thought they might get the victory, but immediately, though without iniury done them, they rose against vs. But with Cities that come to great and vnexpected
B prosperity, it is vsuall to turne insolent. Whereas most commonly that prosperity which is attained according to the course of reason, is more firme then that which commeth vnhoped for. And such Cities, as one may say, doe more easily keepe off an aduerse, then maintaine a happy fortune. Indeed we should not formerly haue done any honour, more to the Mitylenians, then to the rest of our Confederates; for then they had neuer come to this degree of insolence. For it is naturall to men to contemne those that obserue them, and to haue in admiration such as will not giue them way. Now therefore let them be punished accor-
C ding to their wicked dealing; and let not the fault be laid vpon a few, and the people bee absolued; for they haue all alike taken Armes against vs. And the Commons, if they had beene constrained to it, might haue fled hither, and haue recouered their Citie afterwards againe. But they, esteeming it the safer aduenture, to ioyne with the Fewe, are alike with them culpable of the Reuolt. Haue also in consideration, your Confederates; And if you inflict the same punishment on them that reuolt vpon compulsion of the Enemie, that you doe on them that reuolt of their owne accord, who thinke you will not reuolt, though
D on light pretence; seeing that speeding they winne their liberty, and failing, their case is not incurable? Besides, that against euery City wee must bee at a new hazard both of our persons and fortunes. Wherein with the best successe, wee recouer but an exhausted Citie, and lose that, wherein our strength lyeth, the reuenue of it; but miscarrying, wee adde these Enemies to our former; and must spend that time in warring against our owne Confederates, which wee needed to employ against the Enemies, we haue already. Wee must not therefore giue our Confederates hope of pardon, either impetrable by words, or
E purchaseable by money, as if their errours were but such as are commonly incident to humanity. For these did vs not an iniury

vnwil-

vnwillingly, but wittingly conspired against vs; whereas it ought to bee inuoluntary, whatsoeuer it pardonable. Therefore both then at first, and now againe I maintaine, that you ought not to alter your former Decree, nor to offend in any of these three most disaduantagious things to Empire, rattle, Delight in plausible speeches, and Lenity. As for Pitty, it is iust to shew it on them that are like vs, and will haue pitty againe; but not vpon such as not onely would not haue had pitty vpon vs, but must also of necessity haue beene our enemies for euer hereafter. And for the Rhetoricians that delight you with their Orations, let them play their prizes in matters of lesse weight, and not in such wherein the City for a little pleasure, must suffer a great dammage, but they for their well speaking, must well * haue. Lastly for Lenity, it is to be vsed towards those that will be our friends hereafter, rather then towards such, as being suffered to liue, will still be as they are, not a iot the lesse our enemies. In summe I say onely this, that if you follow my aduice, you shall doe that, which is both iust in respect of the Mitylenians, and profitable for your selues; whereat if you decree otherwise, you doe not gratifie them, but condemne your selues. For if these haue iustly reuolted, you must vniustly haue had dominion ouer them. Nay though your dominion be against reason, yet if you resolue to hold it, you must also, as a matter conducing thereunto, against reason punish them; or else you must giue your dominion ouer, that you may be good without danger. But if you consider what was likely they would haue done to you, if they had preuailed, you cannot but thinke them worthy the same punishment; nor be lesse sensible you that haue escaped, then they that haue conspired; especially they hauing done the iniurie first. For such as doe an iniury without precedent cause, persecute most, and euen to the death, him they haue done it to; as iealous of the danger his remaining Enemy may create him. For hee that is wronged without cause, and escapeth, will commonly bee more cruell, then if it were against any Enemy on equall quarell. Let vs not therefore betray our selues, but in contemplation of what you were neere suffering, and how you once prized aboue all things else, to haue them in your power, requite them now accordingly. Bee not softned at the sight of their present estate, nor forget the danger that hung ouer our own heads so lately. Giue not onely vnto these their deserued punishment, but also vnto the rest of our Confederates a cleere example, that death is their sentence, whensoener they shall rebell. Which when they know, you shall the

* Meaning that the Orators are bribed and hired to giue counsell to the Commonwealth, according to the desire of other States.

A *the leſſe often haue occaſion to neglect your Enemies, and fight againſt your owne Confederates.* To this *purpoſe* ſpake *Cleon*.

After him, *Diodotus* the ſonne of *Eucrates*, who alſo in the former Aſſembly oppoſed moſt the putting of the *Mitylenians* to death, ſtood forth, and ſpake as followeth.

THE ORATION OF DIODOTVS.

B *I Will neither blame thoſe who haue propounded the buſineſſe of the* Mitylenians, *to be againe debated, nor commend thoſe that find fault with often conſulting in affaires of great importance. But I am of opinion that nothing is ſo contrary to good counſell as theſe two,* haſte *and* anger: *whereof the one is euer accompanied with madneſſe, and the other with want of iudgement. And whoſoeuer maintaineth, that words are not inſtructers to deeds, either hee is not wiſe, or doth it vpon ſome priuate intereſt of his owne. Not wiſe, if hee thinke that future and not apparent things, may bee demonſtrated otherwiſe then by words: Intereſſed, if deſiring to carry an ill matter, and knowing that a bad cauſe will not beare a good ſpeech, hee goe a-*
C *bout to deterre his oppoſers and bearers by a good calumniation. But they, of all others, are moſt intolerable, that when men giue publike aduice, will accuſe them alſo of bribery. For if they charged a man with no more, but ignorance, when he had ſpoken in vaine, hee might yet depart with the opinion of a foole. But when they impute corruption alſo, if his counſell take place, he is ſtill ſuſpected, and if it doe not take place, he ſhall be held not onely a foole, but alſo voide of honeſty. The Common-wealth gets no good by ſuch courſes; for through feare heereof, it will want counſellours, and the State would doe their buſi-*
D *neſſe for the moſt part well, if this kinde of Citizens were they that had leaſt ability in ſpeaking; for they ſhould then perſwade the City to the fewer errours. For a good Stateſman ſhould not goe about to terrifie thoſe that contradict him, but rather to make good his counſell vpon liberty of ſpeech. And a wiſe State ought not, either to adde vnto, or on the other ſide, to derogate from the honour of him that giueth good aduice; nor yet puniſh, nay nor diſgrace the man whoſe counſell they receiue not. And then, neither would hee that lighteth on good aduice, deliuer any thing againſt his owne conſcience, out of ambition of further honour, and to pleaſe the Auditory; nor hee that doth not,*
E *couet thereupon, by gratifying the people ſome way or other, that hee alſo may endeere them. But wee doe here the contrary, and beſides, if any man be ſuſpected of corruption, though hee giue the beſt counſell that*

that can be giuen, yet through enuy, for this vncertaine opinion of his gaine, we loſe a certaine beneſit to the Common-wealth. And our cuſtome is to hold good counſell giuen ſuddenly, no leſſe ſuſpect, then bad. By which meanes, as he that giues the moſt dangerous counſell, muſt get the ſame received, by fraud; ſo alſo he that giues the moſt ſound aduice, is forced by lying to get himſelfe beleeued. So that, the Common-wealth is it alone, which by reaſon of theſe ſuſpitious imaginations, no man can poſsibly benefit, by the plaine and open way, without artifice. For if any man ſhall doe a manifeſt good vnto the Common-wealth, he ſhall preſently be ſuſpected of ſome ſecret gaine vnto himſelfe in particular. We therefore, that in the moſt important affaires, and amidſt theſe iealouſies doe giue our aduice, haue need to foreſee farther then you, that looke not farre, and the rather, becauſe we ſtand accountable for our counſell, and you are to render no account of your hearing it. For if the perſwader, and the perſwaded, had equall harme, you would be the more moderate Iudges. But now, according to the paſsion that takes you, when at any time your affaires miſcary, you puniſh the ſentence of that one onely that gaue the counſell, not the many ſentences of your owne, that were in fault as well as his. For my owne part, I ſtood not forth with any purpoſe of contradiction, in the buſineſſe of the Mitylenians, nor to accuſe any man. For wee contend not now, if we be wiſe, about the iniury done by them, but about the wiſeſt counſell for our ſelues. For how great ſoeuer be their fault, yet I would neuer aduiſe to haue them put to death, vnleſſe it bee for our profit; nor yet would I pardon them, though they were pardonable, vnleſſe it be good for the Common-wealth. And in my opinion, our deliberation now is of the future, rather then of the preſent. And whereas Cleon contendeth, that it will be profitable for the future, to put them to death, in that it will keepe the reſt from rebelling, I, contending likewiſe for the future, affirme the contrary. And I deſire you not to reiect the profit of my aduice, for the faire pretexts of his, which agreeing more with your preſent anger againſt the Mitylenians, may quickly perhaps win your conſent. We pleade not iudicially with the Mitylenians, ſo as to need arguments of equity, but we conſult of them, which way we may ſerue our ſelues of them to our moſt aduantage hereafter. I ſay therefore, that death hath been in States, ordained for a puniſhment of many offences, and thoſe not ſo great, but farre leſſe then this. Yet encouraged by hope, men hazzard themſelues. Nor did any man euer yet enter into a practice, which he knew he could not goe through with. And a Citie when it reuolteth, ſuppoſeth it ſelfe to be better furniſhed, either of themſelues, or by their Confederates, then it is, or elſe it would neuer take the enterpriſe in hand. They haue

it

A it by nature, both men and Cities to commit offences; nor is there any Law that can preuent it. For men haue gone ouer all degrees of punishment, augmenting them still, in hope to be lesse annoyed by Malefactors; and it is likely that gentler punishments were inflicted of old, euen vpon the most haynous crimes; but that in tract of time, men continuing to transgresse, they were extended afterwards, to the taking away of life; and yet they still transgresse. And therefore either some greater terrour then death must be deuised, or death will not bee enough for coertion. For pouerty will alwayes adde boldnesse to necessity; and wealth, conetousnesse to pride and contempt. And the other
B [middle] fortunes, they also through humane passion, according as they are seuerally subiect to some insuperable one or other, impell men to danger. But Hope and Desire, worke this effect in all estates. And this as the Leader, that as the companion; this contriuing the enterprize, that suggesting the successe, are the cause of most crimes that are committed. And being least discerned, are more mischieuous, then euils seene. Besides these two, Fortune also puts men forward as much as any thing else. For presenting her selfe sometimes vnlookt for, she prouoketh some to aduenture, though not prouided, as they ought for the purpose; and specially Cities; because they venture
C for the greatest matters, as liberty and dominion ouer others; and amongst a generality, euery one, though without reason, somewhat the more magnifies himselfe in particular. In a word, it is a thing impossible, and of great simplicitie to beleeue, when humane nature is earnestly bent to doe a thing, that by force of Law, or any other danger, it can be diuerted. We must not therefore relying on the security of capitall punishment, decree the worst against them, nor make them desperate, as if there were no place to repent, and as soone as they can, to cancell their offence. For obserue; if a Citie reuolted, should know it could not hold out, it would now compound, whilst it were able, both to pay
D vs our charges for the present, and our tribute for the time to come. But the way that Cleon prescribeth, what Citie, thinke you, would not prouide it selfe better, then this did; and endure the siege to the very last, if to compound late, and soone be all one? And how can it be but detriment to vs, to be at charge of long sieges, through their obstinacy, and when we haue taken a Citie, to finde it exhausted, and to lose the reuenue of it for the future? And this reuenue is the onely strength we haue against our enemies. Wee are not then to be exact Iudges in the punition of offenders, but to looke rather how by their moderate punishment we may haue our Confederate Ci-
E ties, such as they may be able to pay vs tribute; and not thinke to keepe them in awe by the rigour of Lawes, but by the prouidence of

our owne actions. But wee to the contrary, when wee recouer a Citie, which hauing beene free, and held vnder our obedience by force, hath reuolted iustly, thinke now, that we ought to inflict some cruell punishment vpon them; whereas we ought rather not mightily to punish a free Citie reuolted, but mightily to looke to it before it reuolt, and to preuent the intention of it; but when we haue ouercome them, to lay the fault vpon as few as we can. Consider also, if you follow the aduice of Cleon, how much you shall offend likewise in this other point. For in all your Cities, the Commonalty are now your friends, and either reuolt not with the few, or if they be compelled to it by force, they presently turne enemies to them that caused the reuolt; whereby when you goe to Warre, you haue the Commons of the aduerse Citie on your side. But if you shall destroy the Commonalty of the Mitylenians, which did neither partake of the reuolt, and as soone as they were armed, presently deliuered the Citie into your hands, you shall first doe vniustly to kill such as haue done you seruice, and you shall effect a worke besides, which the great men doe euery where most desire. For when they haue made a Citie to reuolt, they shall haue the people presently on their side; you hauing foreseene them by the example, that both the guilty and not guilty must vndergoe the same punishment.

Whereas indeed, though they were guilty, yet wee ought to dissemble it, to the end that the onely party, now our friend, may not become our enemie. And for the assuring of our dominion, I thinke it farre more profitable, voluntarily to put vp an iniurie, then iustly to destroy such as wee should not. And that same, both Iustice and profit of reuenge, alledged by Cleon, can neuer possibly bee found together in the same thing.

You therefore, vpon knowledge that this is the best course, not vpon Compassion, or Lenitie (for neither would I, haue you wonne by that) but vpon consideration of what hath beene aduised, bee ruled by mee, and proceede to iudgement at your owne leasure, against those whom Paches hath sent hither as guilty, and suffer the rest to enioy their Citie. For that will bee both good for the future, and also of present terrour to the enemie. For hee that consulteth wisely, is a sorer enemie, then hee that assaulteth with the strength of action vnaduisedly.

Thus spake Diodotus.

After

A After these two opinions were deliuered, the one most
opposite to the other, the *Athenians* were at contention
which they should decree, and at the holding vp of hands,
they were both sides almost equall: but yet the sentence
of *Diodotus* preuailed. Whereupon they presently in haste
sent away another Gallie, lest not arriuing before the for-
mer, they should finde the Citie already destroyed. The
first Gallie set forth before the second, a day and a night.
But the *Mitylenian* Ambassadours hauing furnished
this latter with Wine and Barley Cakes, and promised
B them great rewards, if they ouertooke the other Gal-
lie, they rowed diligently, at one and the same time
both plying their Oares, and taking their refection of
the said Barley Cakes steeped in Wine and Oyle; and by
turnes part of them slept, and the other part rowed. It
happened also that there blew no Winde against them;
And the former Gallie making no great haste, as going
in so sad an errand, whereas the former proceeded in the
manner before mentioned, arriued indeed first, but onely
so much, as *Paches* had read the Sentence, and prepa-
C red to execute what they had decreed. But presently
after came in the other Gallie, and saued the Citie
from being destroyed. So neere were the *Mitylenians* to
the danger.

But those whom *Paches* had sent home, as most cul-
pable of the Reuolt, the *Athenians*, as *Cleon* had aduised,
put to death; being in number somewhat aboue a thou-
sand.

They also razed the Walles of *Mitylene*, and tooke from
them all their Gallies. After which they imposed on
D the *Lesbians* no more Tribute, but hauing diuided their
land, (all but that of the *Methymnæans*) into 3000 parts, 300
of those parts, of the choisest Land, they consecrated to
the Gods. And for the rest, they sent men by lot out
of their owne Citie to possesse it, of whom the *Lesbians*
at the rent of * two Minæ of Siluer yeerely, vpon a Lot,
had the Land againe to bee husbanded by themselues.
The *Athenians* tooke in all such Townes also, as the *Mityle-
nians* were Masters of in the Continent; which were after-
wards made Subiects to the *People of Athens*. Thus en-
E ded the businesse touching *Lesbos*.

The same Summer, after the recouery of *Lesbos*, the

The Sentence of *Diodotus taketh place*.

A Gallie sent out after the former, with a Sentence of mercy.

The speed of this latter Gallie to ouertake the former that carried the Decree of death.

The Commons of *Mitylens* very neere destruction.

Aboue a thousand principall authors of the Reuolt executed.

* *6 pound 5 shillings sterling.*

Nicias taketh *Minoa*, an Iland adiacent to *Megara*.

Athenians, vnder the conduct of *Nicias*, the sonne of *Niceratus*, made Warre on *Minoa*, an Iland adiacent to *Megara*. For the *Megareans* had built a Tower in it, and serued themselues of the Iland for a place of Garrison. But *Nicias* desired that the *Athenians* might keepe their Watch vpon *Megara*, in that Iland, as beeing neerer, and no more at *Budorum* and *Salamis*; to the end that the *Peloponnesians* might not goe out thence with their Gallies, vndiscryed, nor send out Pirates, as they had formerly done, and to prohibit the importation of all things to the *Megareans* by Sea. Wherefore when he had first taken two Towres that stood out from *Nisæa*, with Engines applyed from the Sea, and so made a free entrance for his Gallies, betweene the Iland and the firme Land, he tooke it in with a Wall also from the Continent, in that part where it might receiue ayde by a bridge ouer the Marishes; for it was not farre distant from the maine Land. And, that being in few dayes finished, hee built a Fort in the Iland it selfe, and leauing there a Garrison, carried the rest of his Armie backe.

The *Plateans* yeeld the City.

It happened also about the same time of this Summer, that the *Plateans* hauing spent their Victuall, and beeing vnable longer to hold out, yeelded their Citie in this manner to the *Peloponnesians*. The *Peloponnesians* assaulted the Walles, but they within were vnable to fight. Whereupon the *Lacedæmonian* Commander, perceiuing their weakenesse, would not take the place by force, (for he had command to that purpose from *Lacedæmon*, to the end that if they should euer make peace with the *Athenians*, with conditions of mutuall restitution of such Cities as on eyther side had beene taken by Warre, *Platæa*, as hauing come in of its own accord, might not be thereby recouerable;) but sent a Herald to them, who demanded whether or no they would giue vp their City voluntarily into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, and take them for their Iudges, with power to punish the offenders, but none without forme of Iustice. So said the Herald: and they (for they were now at the weakest) deliuered vp the Citie accordingly. So the *Peloponnesians* gaue the *Plateans* food for certaine dayes, till the Iudges, which were fiue, should arriue from *Lacedæmon*. And when they were come, no accusation was exhibited, but calling them man by man, they

The *Lacedæmonians* refuse to take *Platæa* by force, but will haue it by voluntary surrender.

A they asked of euery one, onely this question: *Whether they had done to the* Lacedæmonians, *and their Confederates in this Warre, any good seruice?* But the *Plateans* hauing sued to make their answer more at large, and hauing appointed *Astymachus the sonne of Asopolaus*, and *Dacon the sonne of Adimnestus* (who had been heretofore the Hoste of the *Lacedæmonians*) for their Speakers, said as followeth.

Vniust proceeding of the *Lacedæmonians*.

THE ORATION OF THE PLATÆANS.

B MEn *of* Lacedæmon, *relying vpon you, we yeelded vp our Citie, not expecting to vndergoe this, but some more Legall manner of proceeding, and we agreed not to stand to the iudgement of others, (as now we doe) but of your selues onely; conceiuing we should so obtaine the better iustice. But now we feare we haue beene deceiued in both. For we haue reason to suspect, both that the tryall is capitall, and you the Iudges partiall. Gathering so much, both from that, that there hath not been preferred any accusation, to which we might answer, and also from this, that the* C *interrogatory is short, and such, as if we answer to it with truth, we shall speake against our selues; and be easily conuinced, if we lie. But since we are on all hands, in a straight, we are forced (and it seemes our safest way) to try what we can obtaine by pleading. For, for men in our case, the speech not spoken, may giue occasion to some to thinke, that spoken, it had preserued vs. But besides other inconueniences, the meanes also of perswasion, go ill on our side. For if we had not knowne one another, we might haue helped our selues by producing testimony in things you knew not. Whereas now, all that we shall say, will be before men that know already what it is. And we* D *feare, not that you meane, because you know vs inferiour in vertue to your selues, to make that a crime, but lest you bring vs to a iudgement already iudged, to gratifie some body else. Nevertheless, we will produce our reasons of equity, against the quarrell of the* Thebans, *and withall make mention of our seruices done, both to you, and to the rest of* Greece, *and make tryall, if by any meanes we can perswade you. As to that short interrogatory,* Whether we haue any way done good in this present Warre to the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, or not? *If you aske vs as enemies, wee say, that if we haue done them no good, we haue also done them no wrong.* E *If you aske vs as friends, then we say, that they rather haue done vs the iniury, in that they made Warre vpon vs. But in the time of the*

Peace,

Peace, and in the Warre against the Medes, we behaued our selues A
well; for the one, we brake not first, and in the other, we were the
onely Bœotians that ioyned with you for the deliuery of Greece.
For though we dwell vp in the land, yet we fought by Sea at Artemi-
sium, and in the battell, fought in this our own territory we were with
you; and whatsoeuer dangers the Grecians in those times vnder-
went, we were partakers of all, euen beyond our strength. And vnto
you Lacedæmonians, in particular, when Sparta was in greatest
affright, after the Earthquake, vpon the Rebellion of the Helotes,
and seazing of Ithome, we sent the third part of our power to assist
you, which you haue no reason to forget. Such then wee shewed our B
selues in those ancient and most important affaires. It is true, wee
haue beene your enemies since, but for that you are to blame your selues.
For when oppressed by the Thebans, we sought league of you, you re-
iected vs, and bade vs goe to the Athenians that were neerer hand,
your selues being farre off. Neuertheless, you neither haue in this
Warre, nor were to haue suffered at our hands any thing that mis-be-
came vs. And if we denyed to reuolt from the Athenians, when you
bade vs; we did you no iniury in it. For they both ayded vs against the
Thebans, when you shrunke from vs; and it was now no more any
honesty to betray them. Especially hauing beene well vsed by them, C
and we our selues hauing sought their league, and been made denizens
also of their Citie. Nay, we ought rather to haue followed them in all
their commands with alacrity. When You, or the Athenians haue
the leading of the Confederates, if euill be done, not they that follow are
culpable, but you that lead to the euill. The Thebans haue done vs
many other iniuries; but this last, which is the cause of what wee now
suffer, you your selues know what it was. For we auenged vs but
iustly of those that in time of Peace, and vpon the day of our Noui-
luniall Sacrifice, had surprized our Citie; and by the Law of all
Nations it is lawfull to repell an assailing enemy; and therefore D
there is no reason you should punish vs now for them. For if you shall
measure Iustice by your, and their present benefit in the Warre, it will
manifestly appeare, that you are not Iudges of the Truth, but re-
specters onely of your profit. And yet if the Thebans seeme pro-
fitable to you now, we, and the rest of the Grecians were more profi-
table to you then, when you were in greater danger. For though the
Thebans are now on your side, when you inuade others; yet at that
time when the Barbarian came in to impose seruitude on all, they
were on his. It is but Iustice, that with our present offence (if wee
haue committed any) you compare our forwardnesse then; which you E
will finde both greater then our fault, and augmented also by the cir-

cumstance

A cumstance of such a season, when it was rare to find any Grecian that durst oppose his valour to Xerxes power, and when they were most commended, not that with safety helped to further his inuasion, but that aduentured to doe what was most honest, though with danger. But we being of that number, and honoured for it amongst the first, are afraid lest the same shall be now a cause of our destruction, as hauing chosen rather to follow the Athenians iustly, then you profitably. But you should euer haue the same opinion, in the same case; and thinke this onely to be profitable, that doing what is vsefull for the present occasion, you reserue withall a constant acknowledgement of the vertue of
B your good Confederates. Consider also, that you are an example of * honest dealing, to the most of the Grecians. Now if you shall decree otherwise then is iust, (for this iudgement of yours is conspicuous) you that be praised against vs, that be not blamed, take heed that they doe not dislike that good men should vndergoe an vniust sentence, though at the hands of better men, or that the spoyle of vs that haue done the Grecians seruice, should be dedicated in their Temples. For it will be thought a horrible matter, that Plateæ should be destroyed by Lacedæmonians, and that you, where as your Fathers in honour of our valour, inscribed the name of our Citie, on the Tripode
C at Delphi, should now blot it out of all Greece, to gratifie the Thebans. For we haue proceeded to such a degree of calamity, that if the Medes had preuailed, we must haue perished then, and now the Thebans haue ouercome vs againe in you, who were before our greatest friends, and haue put vs to two great hazzards, one before, of famishing if we yeelded not, and another now, of a capitall sentence. And we Plateans, who euen beyond our strength haue been zealous in the defence of the Grecians, are now abandoned and left vnreleeued by them all. But we beseech you for those gods sakes, in whose names once we made mutuall leagne, and for our valours sake shewne in the
D behalfe of the Grecians, to be moued toward vs, and if at the perswasion of the Thebans, you haue determined ought against vs, to change your mindes, and reciprocally to require at the hands of the Thebans this courtesie, that whom you ought to spare, them I would be contented not to kill, and so receiue an honest benefit, in recompence of a wicked one, and not to bestow pleasure vpon others, and receiue wickednesse vpon your selues in exchange. For though to take away our liues be a matter quickely done, yet to make the infamy of it cease, will be worke enough. For being none of your enemies, but well-willers, and such as haue entred into the Warre vpon constraint, you cannot put
E vs to death with Iustice. Therefore if you will iudge vncorruptly, you ought to secure our persons, and to remember that you receiued vs by our

* It doth not appeare by any thing in the time of this war, that the Lacedæmonians deserued any reputation for Iustice, but contrarily they appeare by this and diuers other actions, not to haue esteemed of iustice at all, when it crossed their owne interest or passion.

our owne voluntary submission, and with hands vpheld (and it is A
the Law among Grecians, not to put such to death) besides that,
we haue from time to time been beneficiall to you. For looke vpon
the sepulchres of your Fathers, whom slaine by the Medes, and
buried in this Territory of ours, we haue yeerely honoured at the
publike charge, both with Vestments and other Rites; and of such
things as our Land hath produced, we haue offered vnto them the
first fruits of it all, as friends in an amicable Land, and Confederats
vse to doe, to those that haue formerly been their fellowes in Armes.
But now by a wrong sentence, you shall doe the contrary of this. For
consider this: Pausanias, as he thought, enterred these men in ami- B
cable ground, and amongst their friends. But you, if you slay vs,
and of Plataeis, make Thebais, what doe you but leaue your Fa-
thers and kinred depriued of the honours they now haue, in an ho-
stile Territory, and amongst the very men that slew them? And
moreouer, put into seruitude that soyle whereon the Grecians were
put into liberty? and make desolate the Temples wherein they
prayed, when they preuailed against the Medes? and destroy the
Patriall sacrifices which were instituted by the Builders and Foun-
ders of the same?

These things are not for your glory, men of Lacedaemon, nor C
to violate the common institutions of Greece, and wrong your pro-
genitors, nor to destroy vs that haue done you seruice, for the ha-
tred of another, when you haue receiued no iniury from vs your
selues. But to spare our liues, to relent, to haue a moderate compas-
sion, in contemplation, not onely of the greatnesse of the punishment,
but also of who we are, that must suffer, and of the vncertainty
where calamity may light, and that vndeseruedly; which wee, (as
becommeth vs, and our need compelleth vs to doe) cry aloud vnto
the common gods of Greece to perswade you vnto; producing
the oath sworne by your Fathers, to put you in minde; and also wee D
become here, Sanctuary men, at the sepulchres of your Fathers,
crying out vpon the dead, not to suffer themselues to be in the power
of the Thebans, nor to let their greatest friends be betrayed into
the hands of their greatest enemies; remembring the of that day, vpon
which, though we haue done glorious acts in their company, yet wee
are in danger at this day of most miserable suffering. But to make
an end of speaking (which is, as necessary, so most bitter to men in our
case, because the hazzard of our liues commeth so soone after,) for a
conclusion we say, that it was not to the Thebans that we rendred
our Citie (for we would rather haue dyed of Famine, the most E
base perdition of all other) but we came out on trust in you. And it

it

A *is but iuſtice, that if wee cannot perſwade you, you ſhould ſet vs againe in the eſtate we were in, and let vs vndergoe the danger at our owne election. Alſo we require you,* Men of Lacedæmon, *not onely, not to deliuer vs* Platæans, *who haue beene moſt zealous in the ſeruice of the* Grecians, *eſpecially being Sanctuary men, out of your owne hands, and your owne truſt, into the hands of our moſt mortall Enemies the* Thebans, *but alſo to be our ſauiours, and not to deſtroy vs vtterly, you that ſet at liberty all other* Grecians. Thus ſpake the *Platæans.*

B But the *Thebans*, fearing leſt the *Lacedæmonians* might relent at their Oration, ſtood forth, and ſaid, that ſince the *Platæans* had had the liberty of a longer ſpeech (which they thought they ſhould not) then for anſwer to the queſtion was neceſſary, they alſo deſired to ſpeake, and being commanded to ſay on, ſpake to this effect.

THE ORATION OF THE THEBANS.

C *IF theſe men had anſwered briefly to the queſtion, and not both turned againſt vs with an accuſation, and alſo out of the purpoſe, and wherein they were not charged, made much apologie and commendation of themſelues in things vnqueſtioned, wee had neuer asked leaue to ſpeake; but as it is, we are to the one point to anſwer, and to confute the other, that neither the faults of vs, nor their owne reputation may doe them good, but your Sentence may bee guided, by hearing of the truth of both. The quarell betweene vs and them, aroſe at firſt from this, that when wee had built* Platæa *laſt of all the Cities of* Bœotia, *together with ſome o-*
D *ther places, which, hauing driuen out the promiſcuous Nations, wee had then in our dominion, they would not (as was ordained at firſt) allow vs to be their Leaders, but beeing the onely men of all the* Bœotians, *that tranſgreſſed the common ordinance of the Countrey, when they ſhould haue beene compelled to their duty, they turned vnto the* Athenians, *and together with them did vs many euils, for which they likewiſe ſuffered as many from vs. But when the* Barbarian *inuaded* Greece, *then, ſay they, that they of all the* Bœotians *onely alſo, Medized not. And this is*
E *the thing wherein they both glory moſt themſelues, and moſt detract from vs. Now wee confeſſe they Medized not, becauſe alſo the A-*thenians *did not. Neuertheleſſe when the* Athenians *afterwards*

inuaded the reſt of the Grecians, in the ſame kinde then of all the Boeotians, they onely Atticized. But take now into your conſideration withall, what forme of gouernment we were in both the one and the other, when wee did this. For then had wee our Citie gouerned, neither by an Oligarchy, with Lawes common to all, nor by a Democratie, but the State was mannaged by a Few with authority abſolute, then which there is nothing more contrary to Lawes, and moderation, nor more approaching vnto Tyranny. And theſe Few, hoping yet further, if the Medes preuailed, to increaſe their owne power, kept the people vnder, and furthered the comming in of the Barbarian. And ſo did the whole Citie, but it was not then Maſter of it ſelf, nor doth it deſerue to bee vpbraided with what it did when they had no Lawes, [but were at the will of others.] But when the Medes were gone, and our City had Lawes, conſider now, when the Athenians attempted to ſubdue all Greece, and this Territory of ours with the reſt, wherein through ſedition they had gotten many places already, whether by giuing them Battell at Coronea, and defeating them, we deliuered not Boeotia from ſeruitude then, and doe not alſo now with much zeale aſſiſt you in the aſſerting of the reſt, and finde not more Horſes, and more prouiſion of Warre, then any of the Confederates beſides. And ſo much bee ſpoken by way of Apologie to our Medizing. And wee will endeuour to proue now, that the Grecians haue beene rather wronged by you, and that you are more worthy of all manner of puniſhment. You became, you ſay, Confederates and Denizens of Athens, for to bee righted againſt vs; againſt vs then onely the Athenians ſhould haue come with you, and not you with them haue gone to the inuaſion of the reſt; eſpecially, when if the Athenians would haue led you whither you would not, you had the League of the Lacedæmonians, made with you againſt the Medes, which you ſo often obiect, to haue reſorted vnto, which was ſufficient not onely to haue protected you from vs, but which is the maine matter, to haue ſecured you to take what courſe you had pleaſed. But voluntarily, and without conſtraint, you rather choſe to follow the Athenians. And you ſay it had beene a diſhoneſt thing, to haue betrayed your benefactors. But it is more diſhoneſt, and more vniuſt by farre, to betray the Grecians vniuerſally, to whom you haue ſworne, then to betray the Athenians alone; eſpecially when theſe goe about to deliuer Greece from ſubiection, and the other to ſubdue it. Beſides, the requitall you make the Athenians is not proportionable, nor free from diſhoneſty; for you, as you ſay your ſelues, brought in the Athenians to right you againſt iniuries, and you cooperate with them in iniurying others.

A *others. And howsoeuer, it is not so dishoneſt to leaue a benefit vnrequited, as to make such a requitall, as though iuſtly due, cannot be iuſtly done. But you haue made it apparent, that euen then, it was not for the* Grecians *ſake, that you alone of all the* Bœotians, *medized not, but becauſe the* Athenians *did not; yet now, you that would do as the* Athenians *did, and contrary to what the* Grecians *did, claime fauour of theſe, for what you did for the others ſake. But there is no reaſon for that; But as you haue choſen the* Athenians, *ſo let them helpe you in this tryall. And produce not the Oath of the former League, as if that ſhould ſaue*
B *you now; for you haue relinquiſht it, and contrary to the ſame, haue rather helped the* Athenians *to ſubdue the* Æginetæ, *and others, then hindred them from it. And this you not onely did voluntarily, and hauing Lawes, the ſame you haue now, and none forcing you to it, as there did vs, but alſo reiected our laſt inuitation, (a little before the ſhutting vp of your Citie) to quietneſſe and neutrality. Who can therefore more deſeruedly bee hated of the* Grecians *in generall, then you, that pretend honeſty to their ruine? And thoſe acts wherein formerly, as you ſay, you haue beene beneficiall to the* Grecians, *you haue now made appa-*
C *rent to be none of yours, and made true proofe of what your owne nature inclines you to. For with* Athenians *you haue walked in the way of iniuſtice. And thus much wee haue laid open touching our inuoluntary Medizing, and your voluntary Atticizing. And for this laſt iniury you charge vs with, namely the vnlawfull inuading of your City in time of peace, and of your* New-moone Sacrifice, *we doe not thinke, no not in this action, that wee haue offended ſo much as you your ſelues. For though wee had done vniuſtly, if wee had aſſaulted your Citie, or waſted your Territory as enemies, of our owne accord, yet when the prime men of*
D *your owne Citie, both for wealth and Nobility, willing to diſcharge you of forraigne League, and conforme you to the common inſtitutions of all* Bœotia, *did of their owne accord call vs in, wherein lyeth the iniurie then? For they that leade tranſgreſſe, rather then they that follow. But as wee conceiue, neither they nor wee haue tranſgreſſed at all. But being Citizens, as well as you, and hauing more to hazzard, they opened their owne Gates, and tooke vs into the Citie as Friends, not as Enemies, with intention to keepe the ill-affected from beeing worſe, and to doe right to the good.*
E *Taking vpon them to bee moderators of your Councels, and not to depriue the Citie of your perſons: but to reduce*

you into one body with the reſt of your kindred; and not to engage you in hoſtility with any, but to ſettle you in peace with all. And for an argument, that wee did not this as enemies, wee did harme to no man, but proclaimed, that if any man were willing to haue the City gouerned after the common forme of all Bœotia, he ſhould come to vs. And you came willingly at firſt, and were quiet; but afterwards when you knew we were but few, (though we might ſeeme to haue done ſomewhat more then was fit to doe, without the conſent of your multitude) you did not by vs, as wee did by you, firſt innouate nothing in fact, and then with words perſwade vs to goe forth againe, but contrary to the compoſition, aſſaulted vs. And for thoſe men you ſlew in the affray, we grieue not ſo much (for they ſuffered by a kinde of Law) but to kill thoſe that held vp their hands for mercie, whom taken aliue, you afterwards had promiſed to ſpare, was not this a horrible cruelty? you committed in this buſineſſe three crimes, one in the necke of another. Firſt the breach of the compoſition, then the death that followed, of our men, and thirdly, the falſifying of your promiſe, to ſaue them, if we did no hurt to any thing of yours in the Fields. And yet you ſay that we are the tranſgreſſors, and that you for your parts deſerue not to vndergo a iudgement. But it is otherwiſe. And if theſe men iudge aright, you ſhall be puniſhed now for all your crimes at once. We haue herein men of Lacedæmon, beene thus large, both for your ſakes, and ours. For yours, to let you ſee, that if you condemne them, it will bee no iniuſtice; for ours, that the equity of our reuenge may the better appeare. Be not moued with the recitall of their vertues of old (if any they had) which though they ought to helpe the wronged, ſhould double the puniſhment of ſuch as commit wickedneſſe, becauſe their offence doth not become them. Nor let them fare euer the better for their lamentation, or your compaſſion, when they cry out vpon your Fathers Sepulchers, and their owne want of friends. For we on the other ſide affirme, that the Youth of our City ſuffered harder meaſure from them, and their Fathers, partly ſlaine at Coronea, in bringing Bœotia to your Confederation, and partly aliue and now old, and depriued of their children, make farre iuſter ſupplication to you for reuenge. And pitty belongeth to ſuch, as ſuffer vndeſeruedly, but on the contrary, when men are worthily puniſhed, (as theſe are) it is to bee reioyced at. And for their preſent want of friends, they may thanke themſelues. For of their owne accord they reiected the better Confederates. And the Law hath beene broken

by

A *by them, without precedent wrong from vs, in that they condemned our men spitefully, rather then iudicially; in which point wee shall not come short of requiting them, for they shall suffer Legally, and not, as they say they doe, with hands vpheld from battell, but as men that haue put themselues vpon triall by consent.*

Maintaine therefore (yee Lacedæmonians) *the Law of the* Grecians, *against these men that haue transgressed it, and giue vnto vs, that haue suffered contrary to the Law, the iust recompence of our alacritie in your seruice. And let not the words of these, giue vs a repulse from you. But set vp an example to the* B Grecians, *by presenting vnto these men, a tryall, not of words, but of facts; which if they be good, a short narration of them will serue the turne; if ill, compt Orations doe but veyle them. But if such as haue the authority, as you haue now, would collect the matter to a head, and according as any man should make answer thereunto, so proceed to sentence, men would be lesse in the search of faire speeches, wherewith to excuse the foulenesse of their actions.* Thus spake the *Thebans.*

And the *Lacedemonian* Iudges, concealing their Interrogatory to stand well, *Namely, whether they had receiued any* C *benefit by them or not, in this present War*, (For they had indeed intreated the both at other times, according to the ancient league of *Pausanias*, after the *Median* Warre, to stand neutrall: and also a little before the Siege, the *Plateans* had reiected their proposition of being common friend to both sides, according to the same league) taking themselues in respect of these their iust offers, to be now discharged of the league, and to haue receiued ill at their hands, caused them one by one to be brought forth, and hauing asked D them againe the same question, *Whether they had any way benefited the* Lacedæmonians, *and their Confederates in this present Warre, or not*; as they answered, *Not*, led them aside and slew them, not excepting any. Of the *Plateans* themselues they slew no lesse then 200. Of *Athenians*, who were besieged with them, 25. The Women they made slaues, and the *Thebans* assigned the Citie for a yeere, or thereabours, for an habitation to such *Megareans*, as in sedition had been driuen from their owne, and to all those *Plateans*, which liuing, were of the *Theban* faction.

E But afterwards, pulling it all downe to the very foundation, they built a Hospitall in the place, where the Temple

The *Lacedemonians* proceed with their question.

The *Plataans* are put to death.

25 *Athenians* slaine with them.

Platea pulled downe.

Temple of *Iuno*, of 200 foot diameter, with chambers on euery ſide in circle, both aboue and below; vſing therein the roofes, and doores of the *Plataeans* buildings. And of the reſt of the ſtuffe, that was in the Citie wall, as Braſſe and Iron, they made Bedſteds, and dedicated them to *Iuno*, to whom alſo they built a ſtone Chappell of 100 foote ouer. The Land they confiſcated, and ſet it to farme afterwards for ten yeeres to the *Thebans*. So farre were the *Lacedaemonians* alienated from the *Plataeans*, eſpecially, or rather altogether for the *Thebans* ſake, whom they thought vſefull to them in the Warre now on foot. So ended the buſineſſe at *Plataea*, in the fourſcore and thirteenh yeere after their league made with the *Athenians*.

The *Lacedaemonians* in their ſentence vpon the *Plataeans*, haue more reſpect to their owne profit, then to the merit of the cauſe.

The 40 Gallies, with *Alcidas*, come weather-beaten home.

The 40 Gallies of *Peloponneſus*, which hauing been ſent to ayde the *Lesbians*, fled, as hath beene related, through the wide Sea, chaſed by the *Athenians*, and toſſed by ſtormes on the Coaſt of *Crete*, came thence diſperſed, into *Peloponneſus*, and found thirteene Gallies, *Leucadians*, and *Ambraciotes*, in the Hauen of *Cyllene*, with *Braſidas the ſonne of Tellis*, come thither to be of counſell with *Alcidas*. For the *Lacedaemonians*, ſeeing they failed of *Lesbos*, determined with their Fleet augmented to ſayle to *Corcyra*, which was in ſedition, (there being but twelue *Athenian* Gallies about *Naupactus*) to the end they might be there before, the ſupply of a greater Fleet ſhould come from *Athens*. So *Braſidas* and *Alcidas* employed themſelues in that.

The ſedition of *Corcyra* occaſioned by the Captiues that came from *Corinth*.

The ſedition in *Corcyra*, began vpon the comming home of thoſe Captiues, which were taken in the battels by Sea, at *Epidamnus*, and releaſed afterwards by the *Corinthians*, at the ranſome, as was voyced, of eighty talents, for which they had giuen ſecurity to their Hoſtes; but in fact, for that they had perſwaded the *Corinthians*, that they would put *Corcyra* into their power. Theſe men going from man to man, ſolicited the Citie to reuolt from the *Athenians*. And two Gallies being now come in, one of *Athens*, another of *Corinth*, with Ambaſſadors from both thoſe States, the *Corcyreans* vpon audience of them both, decreed to hold the *Athenians* for their Confederates, on Articles agreed on; but withall to remaine friends to the *Peloponneſians*, as they had formerly been. There was one *Pithias*, voluntary Hoſte of the *Athenians*, and that had bin principall Magiſtrate of the people. Him theſe men called into iudgement,

Who perſwade the renouncing of their league with *Athens*.

A ment, and laid to his charge a practice to bring the Citie into the seruitude of the *Athenians*. He againe, being acquit, called in question, fiue of the wealthiest of the same men saying, they had cut * certaine Stakes in the ground, belonging to the Temples both of *Iupiter*, and of *Alcinus*, vpon euery of which, there lay a penalty of 2 * Stater. And the cause going against them, they tooke Sanctuary in the Temples, to the end, the summe being great, they might pay it by portions, as they should be taxed. But *Pithias* (for he was also of the Senate) obtained that the
B Law should proceed. These fiue being by the Law excluded the Senate, and vnderstanding that *Pithias*, as long as he was a Senator, would cause the people to hold for friends and foes, the same that were so to the *Athenians*, conspired with the rest, and armed with Daggers, suddenly brake into the Senate house, and slew both *Pithias* and others, as well priuate men as Senators, to the number of about sixty persons; onely a few of those of *Pithias* his faction, escaped into the *Athenian* Gallie that lay yet in the Harbour. When they had done this, and called the
C *Corcyreans* to an Assembly, they told them, that what they had done, was for the best, and that they should not be now in bondage to the *Athenians*. And for the future they aduised them to be in quiet, and to receiue neither party, with more then one Gallie at once; and to take them for enemies, if they were more. And when they had spoken, forced them to decree it accordingly. They also presently sent Ambassadors to *Athens*, both to shew that it was fit for them to doe what they had done, and also to dissuade such *Corcyreans* as were fled thither of the other
D faction, from doing any thing to their preiudice, for feare the matter should fall into a relapse.

When these arriued, the *Athenians* apprehended both the Ambassadors themselues, as seditious persons, and also all those *Corcyreans* whom they had there preuailed with; and sent them to custody in *Ægina*. In the meane time, vpon the comming in of a Gallie of *Corinth*, with Ambassadours from *Lacedæmon*, those that mannaged the State, assayled the Commons, and ouercame them in fight. And night comming on, the Commons fled into the Citadell,
E and the higher parts of the Citie, where they rallyed themselues, and encamped, and made themselues Masters of

Pithias, one of the *Athenian* faction, accused, and absolued, accuseth some of the other faction.

* *χάραξ* Stakes, either for Vine props, which are particularly called *χάραξ* or for other prophane vse.
* Of our money about 15 shillings 7 pence halfe penny.

Pithias and others slaine in the Senate.

The *Lacedemonian* faction assayle the Commons.

of the Hauen called the *Hillaique* Hauen. But the Nobility seazed on the Market place (where also the most of them dwelt,) and on the Hauen on the side toward the Continent. A

* *Arrowes, Darts, Stones, and the like missile weapons.*

The next day they skirmished a little with * shot, and both parts sent abroad into the Villages to solicite the slaues with promise of liberty; to take their parts. And the greatest part of the slaues tooke part with the Commons; and the other side had an aide of 800 men, from the Continent.

The *Commons* ouercome the *Oligarchicalls.*

The next day but one they fought againe, and the people had the Victory, hauing the oddes, both in strength of places, and in number of men. And the women also manfully assisted them, throwing Tyles from the houses, and enduring the tumult, euen beyond the condition of their Sexe. The *Few* began to flie about twilight, and fearing lest the people should euen with their shout take the Arsenall and so come on and put them to the sword, to stoppe their passage, set fire on the houses in circle about the Market place, and vpon others neere it. Much goods of Merchants was hereby burnt, and the whole City, if the wind had risen and carried the flame that way, had been in danger to haue been destroyed. When the people had gotten the Victory, the *Corinthian* Gallie stole away, and most of the auxiliaries, gat ouer priuily into the Continent. B C

The next day *Nicostratus, the sonne of Diotrephes*, an *Athenian* Commander, came in with 12 Gallies, and 300 *Messenian* men of Armes, from *Naupactus*, and both negotiated a reconciliation, and induced them (to the end they might agree) to condemne ten of the principall authors of the Sedition (who presently fled) and to let the rest alone, with Articles both betweene themselues, and with the *Athenians*, to esteeme friends and enemies, the same the *Athenians* did. When he had done this, he would haue been gone but the people perswaded him before he went, to leaue behind him fiue of his Gallies, the better to keepe their aduersaries from stirring, and to take as many of them, which they would man with *Cerayreans*, and send with him. To this he agreed, and they made a List of those that should imbarke, consisting altogether of their enemies. But these, fearing to be sent to *Athens*, tooke D E

Sanctuary

A Sanctuary in the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*; But *Nicoſtratus* endeauoured to raiſe them, and ſpake to them, to put them into courage: but when hee could not preuaile, the people (arming themſelues on pretence, that their diffidence to goe along with *Nicoſtratus* proceeded from ſome euill intention) tooke away their Armes out of their houſes, and would alſo haue killed ſome of them, ſuch as they chanced on, if *Nicoſtratus* had not hindred them.

Others alſo when they ſaw this, tooke Sanctuary in B the Temple of *Iuno*, and they were in all aboue foure hundred. But the people fearing ſome innouation, got them by perſwaſion to riſe, and conueying them into the Iland that lyeth ouer againſt the Temple of *Iuno*, ſent them their neceſſaries thither.

Alcidas and the *Peloponneſians* arriue and fight at Sea againſt the *Corcyraans*.

The Sedition ſtanding in theſe termes, the fourth or fifth day after the putting ouer of theſe men into the Iland, arriued the *Peloponneſian* Fleet from *Cyllene*, where, ſince their voyage of *Ionia*, they had lyen at Anchor, to the number of three and fiftie ſaile. *Alcidas* had the com- C mand of theſe, as before, and *Braſidas* came with him as a Counſellour. And hauing firſt put in at *Sybota*, a Hauen of the Continent, they came on the next morning by breake of day toward *Corcyra*.

The *Corcyraans* being in great tumult and feare, both of the Seditious within, and of the inuaſion without, made ready threeſcore Gallies, and ſtill as any of them were manned, ſent them out againſt the Enemie; whereas the *Athenians* had aduiſed them to giue leaue to them to goe forth firſt, and then the *Corcyraans* to follow after D with the whole Fleet together. When their Gallies came forth thus thinne, two of them preſently turned to the Enemie, and in others, they that were aboord, were together by the eares amongſt themſelues, and nothing was done in due order. The *Peloponneſians* ſeeing their confuſion, oppoſed themſelues to the *Corcyraans* with twenty Gallies onely, the reſt they ſet in array againſt the twelue Gallies of *Athens*, whereof the *Salaminia* and the *Paralus* were two.

The *Corcyraans* hauing come diſorderly vp, and by E few at once, were on their part, in much diſtreſſe; but the *Athenians*, fearing the Enemies number, and

doubting to bee inuironed, would neuer come vp to charge the Enemie where they ſtood thicke, nor would ſet vpon the Gallies that were placed in the middeſt, but charged one end of them, and drowned one of their Gallies: and when the *Peloponneſians* afterwards had put their Fleet into a circular figure, they then went about and about it, endeuouring to put them into diſorder; which they that were fighting againſt the *Corcyræans* perceiuing, and fearing ſuch another chance as befell them formerly at *Naupactus*, went to their ayde, and vniting themſelues, came vpon the *Athenians* all together.

But they retyring, rowed a ſterne, intending that the *Corcyræans* ſhould take that time to eſcape in; they themſelues in the meane time going as leaſurely backe as was poſsible, and keeping the enemie ſtill a head. Such was this Battell, and it ended about Sun-ſet.

The *Corcyræans* fearing leſt the Enemie in purſuit of their Victorie, ſhould haue come directly againſt the Citie, or take aboord the men which they had put ouer into the Iland, or doe them ſome other miſchiefe, fetcht backe the men into the *Temple of Iuno* againe, and guarded the City.

But the *Peloponneſians*, though they had wonne the Battell, yet durſt not inuade the Citie, but hauing taken thirteene of the *Corcyræan* Gallies, went backe into the Continent from whence they had ſet forth. The next day they came not vnto the Citie, no more then before, although it was in great tumult and affright: and though alſo *Braſidas* (as it is reported) aduiſed *Alcidas* to it, but had not equall authority; but onely landed Souldiers at the Promontory of *Leucimna*, and waſted their Territory.

Alcidas a coward.

In the mean time the people of *Corcyra*, fearing extremely, leſt thoſe Gallies ſhould come againſt the Citie, not onely conferred with thoſe in Sanctuary, and with the reſt, about how the Citie might be preſerued, but alſo induced ſome of them to goe aboard. For notwithſtanding the ſedition, they manned 60. Gallies, in expectation that the Fleet of the enemy ſhould haue entred. But the *Peloponneſians* hauing beene waſting of their Fieldes, till it was about noone, went their wayes againe. Within night,

A night, the *Corcyreans* had notice by fires of threescore *Athenian* Gallies comming toward them from *Leucas*, which the *Athenians*, vpon intelligence of the Sedition, and of the Fleet to goe to *Corcyra* vnder *Alcidas*, had sent to ayde them, vnder the conduct of *Eurymedon*, the Sonne of *Thucles*.

Threescore saile of *Athenians* come to ayde the *Corcyrean* Commons.

The *Peloponnesians* therefore, as soone as night came, sayled speedily home, keeping still the shore, and causing their Gallies to bee carried ouer at the Isthmus of *Leucas*, that they might not come in sight, as they went about.

The *Peloponnesians* depart with their Fleet.

B But the *People of Corcyra* hearing of the *Attique* Gallies comming in, and the going off of the *Peloponnesians*, brought into the Citie those * *Messenians*, which before were without, and appointing the Gallies which they had furnished, to come about into the *Hillaique* Hauen, whilest accordingly they went about, slew all the contrary Faction they could lay hands on; and also afterwards threw ouer-boord, out of the same Gallies, all those they had before perswaded to imbarque, and so went thence. And comming to the Temple of *Iuno*, they perswaded 50. of C those that had taken Sanctuarie, to referre themselues to a legall tryall; all which they condemned to dye. But the most of the Sanctuary men, that is, all those that were not induced to stand to tryall by Law, when they saw what was done, killed one another there-right in the Temple, some hanged themselues on Trees, euery one as he had means, made himselfe away. And for 7. daies together that *Eurymedon* stayed there with his 60. Gallies, the *Corcyreans* did nothing but kill such of their City as they tooke to bee their Enemies, laying to their charge a pra- D ctice to haue euerted the popular gouernment.

* that came with Nicostratus.

The people, vpon the comming in of the *Athenians*, most cruelly put to death whomsoeuer they can of the contrary Faction.

Amongst whom, some were slaine vpon priuate hatred, and some by their debtors, for the money which they had lent them. All formes of death were then seene, and (as in such cases it vsually falles out) whatsoeuer had happened at any time, happened also then, and more. For the Father slew his Sonne; men were dragged out of the Temples, and then slaine hard by; and some immured in the *Temple of Bacchus*, dyed within it. So cruell was this Sedition; and seemed so the more, because it was of these E the first. For afterwards, all *Greece*, as a man may say, was in commotion; and quarrels arose euery where be-

Description of the behauiour of the people in this sedition.

tweene the Patrons of the Commons, that sought to bring in the *Athenians*, and the Peeres, that desired to bring in the *Lacedæmonians*. Now in time of peace, they could haue had no pretence, nor would haue beene so forward to call them in; but being Warre, and Confederates to bee had for eyther party, both to hurt their Enemies, and strengthen themselues, such as desired alteration, easily got them to come in. And many and heynous things happened in the Cities through this Sedition, which though they haue beene before, and shall be euer, as long as humane nature is the same, yet they are more calme, and of different kinds, according to the seuerall conjunctures. For in peace and prosperity, aswell Cities as priuate men, are better minded, because they bee not plunged into necessity of doing any thing against their will; but Warre taking away the affluence of daily necessaries, is a most violent Master, & conformeth most mens passions to the present occasion. The Cities therefore being now in Sedition, and those that fell into it later, hauing heard what had beene done in the former, they farre exceeded the same in newnesse of conceipt, both for the art of assailing, and for the strangenesse of their reuenges. The receiued value of names imposed for signification of things, was changed into arbitrary. For inconsiderate boldnesse, was counted true-hearted manlinesse; prouident deliberation, a handsome feare; modesty, the cloake of cowardice; to be wise in euery thing, to be lazie in euery thing. A furious suddennesse was reputed a point of valour. To re-aduise for the better security, was held for a faire pretext of tergiuersation. Hee that was fierce, was alwayes trusty; and hee that contraried such a one, was suspected. Hee that did insidiate, if it tooke, was a wise man; but hee that could smell out a Trap laid, a more dangerous man then hee: But hee that had beene so prouident, as not to neede to doe the one or the other, was laid to bee a dissoluer of society, and one that stood in feare of his aduersary. In briefe, he that could outstrip another in the doing of an euill act, or that could perswade another thereto, that neuer meant it, was commended. To bee kinne to another, was not to be so neere as to be of his society, because these were ready to vndertake any thing, and not to dispute it. For these * Societies were not made vpon prescribed

Lawes

The manners of the seditious.

* The vniting of Companies vnder certaine Lawes, for the more profitable maneging of their Trades and arts, seemeth to haue beene in vse then, as now.

A Lawes of profit, but for rapine, contrary to the Lawes eſtabliſhed. And as for mutuall truſt amongſt them, it was confirmed not ſo much by ſtrunke Law, as by the communicatio of guilt. And what was well ſtudied of their aduerſaries, they receiued with an eye to their actions, to ſee whether they were too ſtrong for them, or not, and not ingenuouſly. To be reuenged was in more requeſt, then neuer to haue receiued iniurie. And for Oathes (which any were) of reconcilement, being adminiſtred in the preſent for neceſsity, were of force to ſuch as had otherwiſe no B power: but vpon opportunity, he that firſt durſt, thought his reuenge ſweeter by the truſt, then if he had taken the open way. For they did not onely put to account the ſafeneſſe of that courſe, but hauing circumuented their Aduerſary by fraud, aſſumed to themſelues withall, a maſterie in point of wit. And diſhoneſt men for the moſt part are ſooner called able, then ſimple men honeſt. And men are aſhamed of this title, but take a pride in the other. The cauſe of all this is *deſire of rule*, out of *Auarice* and *Ambition*, and the zeale of * contention from thoſe two proceC ding. For ſuch as were of authority in the Cities, both of the one and the other Faction, preferring their decent titles, one the *politicall equality of the multitude*, the other the moderate *Ariſtocratie*, though in words they ſeemed to be ſeruants of the Publique, they made it *in effect* but the Prize of their contention. And ſtriuing by whatſoeuer meanes to ouercome, both ventured on moſt horrible outrages, and proſecuted their reuenges ſtill further, without any regard of Iuſtice, or the publike good, but limiting them, each Faction, by their owne appetite: and ſtood D ready, whether by vniuſt ſentence, or with their owne hands, when they ſhould get power, to ſatisfie their preſent ſpight. So that neither ſide made account to haue any thing the ſooner done for Religion [of an Oath,] but hee was moſt commended, that could paſſe a buſineſſe againſt the haire with a faire Oration. The neutrals of the Citie were deſtroyed by both Factions; partly becauſe they would not ſide with them, and partly for enuie that they ſhould ſo eſcape.

Thus was wickedneſſe on foot in euery kind, throughE out all *Greece*, by the occaſion of their ſedition. Sincerity (whereof there is much in a generous nature) was laughed

* By oath.

* φιλονεικία properly that ſpight which reigneth in two aduerſaries whileſt they contend, or eagernesſe in ſtriuing.

ed downe. And it was farre the beſt courſe, to ſtand diffidently againſt each other, with their thoughts in battell array, which no ſpeech was ſo powerfull, nor Oath terrible enough to disband. And being all of them, the more they conſidered, the more deſperate of aſſurance, they rather contriued how to auoid a miſchiefe, then were able to rely on any mans faith. And for the moſt part, ſuch as had the leaſt wit, had the beſt ſucceſſe; for both their owne defect, and the ſubtilty of their aduerſaries, putting them into a great feare to be ouercome in words, or at leaſt in pre-inſidiation, by their enemies great craft, they therefore went roundly to worke with them, with deedes. Whereas the other, not caring though they were perceiued, and thinking they needed not to take by force, what they might doe by plot, were thereby vnprouided, and ſo the more eaſily ſlaine.

In ſeditions and confuſion, they that diſtruſt their wits, ſuddenly vſe their hands, and defeate the Stratagems of the more ſubtile ſort.

In *Coreyra* then were theſe euils for the moſt part committed firſt; and ſo were all other, which either ſuch men as haue beene gouerned with pride, rather then modeſty, by thoſe on whom they take reuenge, were like to commit in taking it; or which ſuch men as ſtand vpon their deliuery frō long pouerty, out of couetouſnes (chiefly to haue their neighbours goods) would contrary to iuſtice giue their voices to: or which men, not for couetouſnes, but aſſailing each other on equall termes, carried away with the vnruſineſſe of their anger, would cruelly and inexorably execute.

And the common courſe of life being at that time confounded in the Citie; the nature of man, which is wont euen againſt Law to doe euill, gotten now aboue the Law, ſhewed it ſelfe with delight, to be too weake for paſsion, too ſtrong for iuſtice, and enemie to all ſuperiority. Elſe they would neuer haue preferred reuenge before innocence, nor lucre (whenſoeuer the enuie of it was without power to doe them hurt) before iuſtice. And for the Lawes common to all men in ſuch caſes, (which, as long as they be in force, giue hope to all that ſuffer iniury) men deſire not to leaue them ſtanding, againſt the neede a man in danger may haue of thē, but by their reuenges on others, to be beforehand in ſubuerting them. Such were the paſsions of the *Corcyraans* firſt of all other *Grecians*, towards one another in the City. And *Eurymedon* and the *Athenians* departed with their Gallies.

The *Athenian* Fleet goes away.

After-

A Afterwards, such of the *Corcyreans* as had fled (for there escaped about 500. of them) hauing seazed on the Forts in the Continent, impatronized themselues of their owne Territory on the other side, and from thence came ouer and robbed the Ilanders, and did them much hurt, and there grew a great Famine in the Citie. They likewise sent Ambassadours to *Lacedæmon* and *Corinth*, concerning their reduction; and when they could get nothing done, hauing gotten boates, and some auxiliary souldiers, they passed, a while after, to the number of about 600. B into the Iland. Where when they had set fire on their Boates, that they might trust to nothing, but to make themselues masters of the Field, they went vp into the Hill *Istone*, and hauing there fortified themselues with a Wall, infested those within, and were masters of the Territory.

500. of the Nobility that escaped, seaze on such places as belonged to the *Corcyreans* in the Continent.

They come ouer & fortify themselues in there.

In the end of the same Summer, the *Athenians* sent twenty Gallies into *Sicily*, vnder the command of *Laches* the sonne of *Melanopus*, and *Charidas* the sonne of *Euphiletus*: For the *Syracusians* and the *Leontines* were now warring a- C gainst eath other. The Confederates of the *Syracusians* were all the *Dorique* Cities, (except the *Camarinæans*) which also in the beginning of this Warre were reckoned in the League of the *Lacedæmonians*, but had not yet ayded them in the Warre. The Confederates of the *Leontines*, were the *Chalcidique* Cities, together with *Camarina*. And in *Italy*, the *Locrians* were with the *Syracusians*; but the *Rhegians*, according to their consanguinity, tooke part with the *Leontines*. Now the Confederates of the *Leontines*, in respect of their ancient alliance with the *Athenians*, as al- D so for that they were *Ionians* obtained of the *Athenians*, to send them Gallies; for that the *Leontines* were depriued by the *Syracusians* of the vse both of the Land and Sea. And so the *People of Athens* sent ayde vnto them, pretending propinquity, but intending, both to hinder the transportation of Corne from thence into *Peloponnesus*, and also to tast the possibility of taking the States of *Sicily* into their own hands. These arriuing at *Rhegium* in *Italy*, ioyned with the Confederates, and beganne the Warre; and so ended this Summer. E

The *Athenians* send 20. Gallies into *Sicily*, in pretence to ayde the *Leontines*, but with intention to hinder the coming of corne from thence into *Peloponnesus*, and to spy out the possibility of subduing that Iland.

The end of the fifth Summer.

E The next winter, the Sickneſſe fell vpon the *Athenians* againe (hauing in deed neuer totally left the Citie, though there

The Plague againe at *Athens*.

there was ſome intermiſsion, and continued aboue a yeere after. But the former laſted two yeeres: inſomuch as nothing afflicted the *Athenians*, or empaired their ſtrength more then it. For the number that dyed of it, of men of Armes enrolled, were no leſſe then 4400. and Horſemen, 300. of the other multitude, innumerable. There happened alſo at the ſame time many Earthquakes, both in *Athens*, and in *Eubœa*, and alſo amongſt the *Bœotians*; and in *Bœotia*, chiefly at *Orchomenus*.

The *Athenians* inuade the *Liparæans*, and Ilands called the Ilas of Æolus.

The *Athenians* and *Rhegians* that were now in *Sicily*, made Warre the ſame Winter on the Ilands called *the Ilands of Æolus*, with thirty Gallies. For in Summer it was impoſsible to Warre vpon them for the ſhallowneſſe of the Water. Theſe Ilands are inhabited by the *Liparæans*, who are a Colonie of the *Cnidians*, and dwell in one of the ſame Ilands, no great one, called *Lipara*, and thence they goe forth, and husband the reſt, which are *Dydime*, *Strongyle*, and *Hiera*. The Inhabitants of thoſe places haue an opinion, that in *Hiera*, *Vulcan* exerciſeth the craft of a Smith. For it is ſeene to ſend forth abundance of fire in the day time, and of Smoake in the night. Theſe Ilands are adiacent to the Territorie of the * *Siculi*, and *Meſſanians*, but were Confederates of the *Syracuſians*. When the *Athenians* had waſted their Fields, and ſaw they would not come in, they put off againe and went to *Rhegium*. And ſo ended this Winter, and the fifth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

* Σικελοί. There are in Thucidides mentioned Σικελοί and Σικανοῖ, whereof the later is the name of the inhabitants of Sicily in generall, the former, are onely thoſe that were of that name antiently in Italy, and comming ouer into Sicily, gaue that name to the Iland.

THE SIXTH YEERE.

The next Summer, the *Peloponneſians* and their Confederates came as farre as the *Iſthmus*, vnder the conduct of *Agis* the Sonne of *Archidamus*, intending to haue inuaded *Attica*; but by reaſon of the many Earthquakes that then happened, they turned backe, and the inuaſion proceeded not.

Earthquakes about Eubœa, and inundations.

About the ſame time, (*Eubœa* being then troubled with Earthquakes) the Sea came in at *Orobiæ*, on the part which then was Land, and being impetuous withall, ouerflowed moſt part of the Citie, whereof part it couered, and part it waſhed downe, and made lower in the returne; ſo that it is now Sea, which before was Land. And the People, as many as could not preuent it by running vp into the higher ground, periſhed. Another inundation like vnto this, hapned in the Ile of *Atalanta*, on the Coaſt of *Locris* of

A of the *Opuntians*, and carried away part of the *Athenians* Fort there, and of two Gallies that lay on dry Land, it brake one in pieces.

Also there happened at *Peparethus* a certaine rising of the water, but it brake not in. And a part of the Wall, the * Towne-house, and some few houses besides, were ouerthrowne by the Earthquakes. The cause of such inundation, for my part, I take to be this; that the Earthquake, where it was very great, did there send off the Sea, and the Sea returning on a sudden, caused the Water to
B come on with greater violence. And it seemeth vnto me, that without an Earthquake, such an accident could neuer happen.

The same Summer, diuers others, as they had seuerall occasions, made Warre in *Sicily*. So also did the * *Sicilians* amongst themselues, and the *Athenians* with their Confederates. But I will make mention, onely of such most memorable things, as were done either by the Confederates there with the *Athenians*, or against the *Athenians* by the Enemie.

C *Charæades* the *Athenian* Generall being slaine by the *Syracusians*, *Laches*, who was now sole Commander of the Fleet, together with the Confederates, made Warre on *Myla*, a Towne belonging to *Messana*. There were in *Myla* two companies of *Messanians* in Garrison, the which also laid a certaine Ambush for those that came vp from the Fleet. But the *Athenians* and their Confederates, both put to flight those that were in ambush, with the slaughter of the most of them, and also assaulting their Fortification, forced them on composition, both to render the
D Citadell, and to goe along with them against *Messana*. After this, vpon the approach of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, the *Messanians* compounded likewise, and gaue them Hostages, and such other security as was requisite.

The same Summer, the *Athenians* sent thirtie Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, vnder the command of *Demosthenes* the sonne of *Anisthenes*, and *Proclus* the sonne of *Theodorus*; and 60. Gallies more, with 2000. men of Armes, commanded by *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*,
E into *Melos*. For the *Athenians*, in respect that the * *Melians* were Ilanders, and yet would neither bee their

* τὸ μέγεθος.
The naturall cause of Inundation giuen by the Author.

* Σικελιῶται.

The *Athenians* win *Myla*.

And *Messana*.

The *Athenians* send *Demosthenes* with 30. Gallies about *Peloponnesus*.

And *Nicias* with 60. Gallies into the Iland of *Melos*.

* Μήλιοι. *The Melians mentioned a little after this, are not Ilanders, nor termed* Μήλιοι, *but* Μήλιες.

Subiects, nor of their League, intending to subdue them. But when vpon the wasting of their Fields, they still stood out, they departed from *Melos*, and sayled to *Oropus*, in the opposite Continent.

A

Being there arriued within night, the men of Armes left the Gallies, and marched presently by Land to *Tanagra* in *Boetia*. To which place, vpon a signe giuen, the *Athenians* that were in the Citie of *Athens*, came also forth with their whole Forces, led by *Hipponicus* the sonne of *Callias*, and *Eurymedon* the sonne of *Thucles*, and ioyned with them; and pitching their Campe, spent the day in wasting the Territory of *Tanagra*, and lay there the night following.

B

The Army of Milia, and another Armie from the Citie of *Athens*, meete vpon a signe giuen, at *Tanagra* in *Boetia*.

They ouercome the *Tanagrians* in battell.

The next day they defeated in Battell, such of the *Tanagrians* as came out against them, and also certaine succours sent them from *Thebes*; and when they had taken vp the Armes of those that were slaine, and erected a Trophie, they returned backe, the one part to *Athens*, the other to their Fleet. And *Nicias* with his 60. Gallies, hauing first sailed along the Coast of *Locris*, and wasted it, came home likewise.

C

The *Lacedæmonians* build the City *Heraclea*.

About the same time, the *Peloponnesians* erected the Colonie of *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*, with this intention: The *Melians* in the whole containe these three parts; *Paralians*, *Hieræus*, and *Trachinians*. Of these the *Trachinians* being afflicted with Warre from the *Oetæans* their borderers, thought at first to haue ioyned themselues to the *Athenians*, but fearing that they would not bee faithfull vnto them, they sent to *Lacedæmon*, choosing for their Ambassadour *Tisamenus*. And the *Dorians*, who are the Mother Nation to the *Lacedæmonians*, sent their Ambassadours likewise with him, with the same requests. For they also were infested with Warre from the same *Oetæans*.

D

* *Melians*, A people of Thessaly, neere the Melian Gulfe.

Vpon audience of these Ambassadours, the *Lacedæmonians* concluded to send out a Colonie, both intending the reparation of the iniuries done to the *Trachinians* and to the *Dorians*; and conceiuing withall, that the Towne would stand very commodiously, for their Warre with the *Athenians*, inasmuch as they might thereby haue a Navie ready, where the passage was but short, against *Eubœa*; and it would much further

E

The commodious seate of this new City for the Warre.

their

A their conuoyance of Souldiers into *Thrace*. And they had their minde wholly bent to the building of the place.

First therefore they asked counsell of the Oracle in *Delphi*; and the Oracle hauing bidden them doe it, they sent Inhabitants thither, both of their owne people, and of the neighbours about them, and gaue leaue also to any that would, to goe thither, out of the rest of *Greece*, saue onely to the *Ionians*, *Achaians*, and some few other Nations.

B The Conductors of the Colonie were three *Lacedæmonians*, *Leon*, *Alcidas*, and *Damagon*: who taking in it hand, built the Citie which is now called *Heraclea*, from the very Foundation; being distant from *Thermopylæ* fortie Furlongs, and from the Sea twenty. Also they made houses for Gallies to lye vnder, beginning close to *Thermopylæ*, against the very streight, to the end to haue them the more defensible.

The *Athenians*, when this Citie was peopled, were at first afraid, and thought it to bee set vp especially against C *Eubœa*; because from thence to *Ceneum*, a Promontory of *Eubœa*, the passage is but short. But it fell out afterwards otherwise then they imagined; for they had no great harme by it. The reason whereof was this: That the *Thessalians* who had the Townes of those parts in their power, and vpon whose ground it was built, afflicted these new planters with a continuall Warre, till they had worne them out, though they were many indeed in the beginning, (for being the foundation of the *Lacedæmonians*, euery one went thither boldly, conceiuing the Citie to bee D an assured one) and chiefly the Gouernours themselues, sent thither from *Lacedæmon*, vndid the businesse, and dispeopled the City by frighting most men away, for that they gouerned seuerely, and sometimes also vniustly, by which meanes their neighbours more easily preuailed against them.

The *Thessalians* infest the new Citie with continuall Warre, for feare they should be too great.

The seuerity of the *Lacedemonians* gouernment dispeopled the Citie of *Heraclea*, and frighted men from it.

The *Lacedemonians* alwayes seuere, not alwaies iust.

Demosthenes warreth on *Leucas*.

The same Summer, and about the same time that the *Athenians* stayed in *Melos*, those other *Athenians* that were in the thirtie Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, slew first certaine Garrison Souldiers in *Ellomenus*, E a place of *Leucadia*, by Ambushment. But afterwards with a greater Fleet, and with the whole power of the

Acarnanians (who followed the Army, all (but the *Oeniades*) that could beare Armes) and with the *Zacynthians*, and *Cephalonians*, and fifteene Gallies of the *Corcyræans*, made Warre againſt the City it ſelfe of *Leucas*. The *Leucadians*, though they ſaw their Territorie waſted by them, both without the *Iſthmus*, and within, (where the Citie of *Leucas* ſtandeth, and the Temple of *Apollo*) yet they durſt not ſtirre, becauſe the number of the Enemie was ſo great. And the *Acarnanians* entreated *Demoſthenes* the *Athenian* Generall to Wall them vp, conceauing that they might eaſily be expugned by a Siege, and deſiring to be rid of a Citie their continuall Enemy. But *Demoſthenes* was perſwaded at the ſame time by the *Meſſenians*, that ſeeing ſo great an Armie was together, it would bee honourable for him to inuade the *Ætolians*, principally, as being Enemies to *Naupactus*; and that if theſe were ſubdued, the reſt of the Continent thereabouts would eaſily bee added to the *Athenian* dominion. For they alledged, that though the Nation of the *Ætolians* were great and Warlike, yet their habitation was in Villages vnwalled, and thoſe at great diſtances; and were but light-armed, and might therefore with no great difficulty bee all ſubdued, before they could vnite themſelues for defence. And they aduiſed him to take in hand firſt the *Apodotians*, next, the *Ophionians*, and after them the *Eurytanians*, which are the greateſt part of *Ætolia*, of a moſt ſtrange language, and that are reported to eate raw fleſh; for theſe beeing ſubdued, the reſt would eaſily follow.

Demoſthenes inuadeth *Ætolia* at the perſwaſion of the *Meſſenians*.

But hee, induced by the *Meſſenians*, whom he fauoured, but eſpecially becauſe hee thought, without the Forces of the *People of Athens*, with the Confederates onely of the Continent, and with the *Ætolians*, to inuade *Bœotia* by Land, going firſt through the *Locri Ozolæ*, and ſo to *Cytinium* of *Doris*, hauing *Pernaſſus* on the right hand, till the deſcent thereof into the Territory of the *Phocæans*, (which people, for the friendſhip they euer bore to the *Athenians*, would, he thought, be willing to follow his Armie, and if not, might be forced) and vpon the *Phocæans* bordereth *Bœotia*. Putting off therefore with his whole Armie, againſt the minds of the *Acarnanians*, from *Leucas*, he ſailed vnto *Solium* by the ſhoare, and there hauing communicated his conceit with the *Acarnanians*, when they would not approue

The ambition of *Demoſthenes*, the chiefe cauſe of his vnfortunate Enterprize in *Ætolia*.

A approue of it, becauſe of his refuſall to beſiege *Leucas*, he himſelfe with the reſt of his Armie, *Cephalonians*, *Zacynthians*, and 300. *Athenians*, the Souldiers of his own Fleet, (for the fifteene Gallies of *Corcyra* were now gone away) warred on the *Ætolians*, hauing *Oeneon*, a Citie of *Locris*, for the ſeate of his Warre. Now theſe *Locrians* called *Ozola*, were Confederates of the *Athenians*, and were to meete them with their whole power in the heart of the Countrey. For being Confiners on the *Ætolians*, and vſing the ſame manner of arming, it was thought it would bee a B matter of great vtility in the Warre, to haue them in their Armie; for that they knew their manner of fight, and were acquainted with the Country. Hauing lyen the night with his whole Armie in the *Temple of *Iupiter Nemeius*, (wherein the Poet *Heſiodus* is reported by them that dwell thereabout to haue dyed, foretold by an Oracle, that hee ſhould dye in *Nemea*) in the morning betimes he diſlodged, and marched into *Ætolia*.

*Ieqov. The whole conſecrated ground wherein the Temple ſtood, not the Church only. *Heſiod* the Poet ſaid to haue dyed in this Temple of *Jupiter Nemeius*.

The firſt day hee tooke *Potidania*, the ſecond day, *Crocylium*, the third, *Tichium*. There he ſtayed, and ſent the C booty hee had gotten, to *Eupolium* in *Locris*. For he purpoſed, when hee had ſubdued the reſt, to inuade the *Ophionians* afterwards, (if they ſubmitted not) in his returne to *Naupactus*.

Potidania.
Crocylium.
Tichium.

Ophionei.

But the *Ætolians* knew of this preparation when it was firſt reſolued on; and afterwards, when the Armie was entred, they were vnited into a mighty Armie to make head. Inſomuch as that the furtheſt off of the *Ophionians*, that reach out to the *Melian* Gulfe, the *Bomians* and *Callians* came in with their aydes.

The *Ætolians* vnite themſelues againſt the inuaſion of *Demoſthenes*.

Bomians.
Callians.

D The *Meſſenians* gaue the ſame aduice to *Demoſthenes* that they had done before; and alleadging that the Conqueſt of the *Ætolians* would bee but eaſie, willed him to march with all ſpeed againſt them, Village after Village, and not to ſtay till they were all vnited, and in order of Battell againſt him, but to attempt alwayes the place which was next to hand. Hee, perſwaded by them, and confident of his fortune, becauſe nothing had croſſed him hitherto, without tarrying for the *Locrians* that ſhould haue come in with their aides, (for his greateſt want was E of Darters light-armed) marched to *Ægitium*, which approaching, hee wonne by force, the men hauing fled ſecretly

Ægitium.

cretly out, and encamped themſelues on the Hilles aboue it: for it ſtood in a Mountainous place, and about eighty Furlongs from the Sea. But the *Ætolians*, (for by this time they were come with their Forces to *Ægitium*) charged the *Athenians* and their Confederates, and running downe vpon them, ſome one way, ſome another, from the Hilles, plyed them with their Darts. And when the Armie of the *Athenians* aſſaulted them, they retired; and when it retired, they aſſaulted. So that the Fight for a good while, was nothing but alternate chaſe and retreate; and the *Athenians* had the worſt in both.

The *Ætolians* giue *Demoſthenes* a great ouerthrow.

Neuertheleſſe, as long as their Archers had Arrowes, and were able to vſe them, (for the *Ætolians*, by reaſon they were not armed, were put backe ſtill with the ſhot) they held out. But when vpon the death of their Captaine, the Archers were diſperſed, and the reſt were alſo wearied, hauing a long time continued the ſaid labour of purſuing and retyring, and the *Ætolians* continually afflicting them with their Darts, they were forced at length to fly; and lighting into Hollowes without iſſue, and into places they were not acquainted withall, were deſtroyed. For *Chromon* a *Meſſenian*, who was their Guide for the wayes, was ſlaine. And the *Ætolians* purſuing them ſtill with Darts, ſlew many of them quickly, whileſt they fled, being ſwift of foot, and without Armour. But the moſt of them miſsing their way, and entring into a Wood, which had no paſſage through, the *Ætolians* ſet it on fire, and burnt it about them.

All kinds of ſhifts to fly, and all kindes of deſtruction were that day in the Armie of the *Athenians*. Such as remained, with much adoe, got to the Sea, and to *Oeneon*, a Citie of *Locris*, from whence they firſt ſet forth.

There dyed very many of the Confederates, and a hundred and twenty men of Armes of the *Athenians*; that was their number, and all of them able men. Theſe men of the very beſt dyed in this Warre: *Procles* alſo was there ſlaine, one of the Generals. When they had receiued the bodies of their dead from the *Ætolians* vnder truce, and were gotten againe to *Naupactus*, they returned with the Fleet to *Athens*. But they left *Demoſthenes* about *Naupactus*, and thoſe parts, becauſe hee was afraid of the *Athenian People*, for the loſſe that had happened.

Demoſthenes afraid to come home.

About

A About the same time, the *Athenians* that were on the Coast of *Sicily*, sayled vnto *Locris*, and landing, ouercame such as made head, and tooke in *Peripolium*, scituate on the Riuer *Halex*.

The *Athenian* Fleet in *Sicily* sayle to *Locris*, and take *Peripolium*.

The same Summer, the *Ætolians* hauing sent their Ambassadours, *Telephus* an *Ophionian*, *Boryades*, an *Eurytanian*, and *Tisander* an *Apodotian*, to *Corinth* and *Lacedæmon*, perswaded them to send an Armie against *Naupactus*, for that it harboured the *Athenians* against them. And the *Lacedæmonians*, towards the end of Autumne, sent them three B thousand men of Armes, of their Confederates; of which fiue hundred were of *Heraclea*, the new-built Citie of *Trachinia*. The Generall of the Armie was *Eurylochus* a *Spartan*, with whom * *Macarius* and *Menedatus* went also along, *Spartans* likewise.

The *Ætolians* and *Peloponnesians* make a iourney against *Naupactus*.

* *These are afterwards called* Macarius & Menedaius.

When the Armie was assembled at *Delphi*, *Eurylochus* sent a Herald to the *Locrians* of *Ozole*, both because their way lay through them to *Naupactus*, and also because hee desired to make them reuolt from the *Athenians*. Of all the *Locrians*, the *Amphissians* cooperated with him most, C as standing most in feare for the enmitie of the *Phocæans*. And they first giuing Hostages, induced others, (who likewise were afraid of the comming in of the Armie) to doe the like: the *Myonians* first, beeing their neighbours, (for this way is *Locris* of most difficult accesse) then the *Ipnæans*, *Messapians*, *Tritæans*, *Challæans*, *Tolophonians*, *Hessians*, and the *Oeanthians*. All these went with them to the Warre. The *Olpæans* gaue them Hostages, but followed not the Armie. But the *Hyeans* would giue them no Hostages, till they had taken a Village of theirs called D *Polis*.

When euery thing was ready, and hee had sent the Hostages away to *Cytinium* in *Doris*, hee marched with his Armie towards *Naupactus*, through the Territorie of the *Locrians*. And as hee marched, hee tooke *Oeneon*, a Towne of theirs, and *Eupolium*, because they refused to yeeld vnto him.

When they were come into the Territory of *Naupactus*, the *Ætolians* being there already to ioyne with them, they wasted the Fields about, and tooke the Suburbes of the E Citie, being vnfortified. Then they went to *Molycbrium*, a Colonie of the *Corinthians*, but subiect to the People of *Athens*.

Athens, and tooke that. Now *Demosthenes* the *Athenian*, (for euer since the *Ætolian* businesse, he abode about *Naupactus*) hauing been præaduertised of this Army, and being afraid to lose the Citie, went amongst the *Acarnanians*, and with much adoe, because of his departure from before *Leucas*, perswaded them to relieue *Naupactus*, and they sent along with him in his Gallies 1000 men of Armes, which entring were the preseruation of the City; for there was danger, the walles being of a great compasse, and the defendants few, that else they should not haue been able to make them good. *Eurylochus*, and those that were with him, when they perceyued that those forces were entred, and that it was impossible to take the Citie by assault, departed thence, not into *Peloponnesus*, but to *Ælis*, now called *Calydon*, and to *Pleuron*, and other places thereabouts, and also to *Proschion* in *Ætolia*. For the *Ambraciotes* comming to them, perswaded them to vndertake, together with themselues, the enterprize against *Argos*, and the rest of *Amphilochia*, and *Acarnania*, saying withall, that if they could ouercome these, the rest of that Continent would enter into the league of the *Lacedæmonians*. Whereunto *Eurylochus* assented, and dismissing the *Ætolians*, lay quiet in those parts with his Armie, till such time as the *Ambraciotes* being come with their forces before *Argos*, he should haue need to aid them. And so this Summer ended.

Demosthenes relieueth Naupactus.

The end of the sixt Summer.

The *Athenians* in Sicily assault *Nessa*.

The *Athenians* that were in *Sicily*, in the beginning of Winter, together with the *Grecians* of their league, and as many of the * *Siculi*, as hauing obeyed the *Syracusians* by force, or being their Confederates before, had now reuolted, warred ioyntly against * *Nessa*, a town of *Sicily*, the Citadell whereof, was in the hands of the *Syracusians*; and they assaulted the same, but when they could not winne it, they retyred. In the retreat, the *Syracusians* that were in the Cittadell, sallied out vpon the Confederates, that retired later then the *Athenians*, and charging, put a part of the Army to flight, and killed, not a few.

* Σικελοί.

* Nessa other Inessa. The Inhabytants be called Inessæi. lib. 6.

After this, *Laches*, and the *Athenians*, Landed sometime at *Locris*; and ouercame in battell, by the Riuer *Caleinus*, about 300 *Locrians*, who with *Proxenus* the sonne of *Capiton*, came out to make resistance; and when they had stripped them of their Armes, departed.

Delos hallowed.

The same Winter also, the *Athenians* hallowed the Ile of

A of *Delos*, by the admonition indeed of a certaine Oracle. For *Piſiſtratus* alſo the Tyrant, hallowed the ſame before, not all, but onely ſo much as was within the proſpect of the Temple. But now they hallowed it all ouer in this manner. They tooke away all Sepulchers whatſoeuer, of ſuch as had dyed there before; and for the future, made an Edict, that none ſhould bee ſuffered to dye, nor any Woman to bring forth child in the Iland; but when they were neere the time, either of the one or the other, they ſhould bee carried ouer into *Rhenea*.

An Edict, that none ſhould be ſuffered to be borne or dye in *Delos*.

B This *Rhenea* is ſo little a way diſtant from *Delos*, that *Polycrates* the Tyrant of Samos, who was once of great power by Sea, and had the dominion of the other Ilands, when hee wonne *Rhenea*, dedicated the ſame to *Apollo* of *Delos*, tying it vnto *Delos* with a Chaine. And now after the hallowing of it, the *Athenians* inſtituted the keeping, euery fifth yeere, of the *Delian* Games.

Rhenea an Iland, tyed to *Delos* with a chaine, and dedicated to *Apollo* of *Delos*.

The *Athenians* inſtitute the quinquēniall Games at *Delos*.

There had alſo in old time beene great concourſe in *Delos*, both of *Ionians*, and of the Ilanders round about. C For they then came to ſee the Games, with their Wiues and Children, as the *Ionians* doe now the Games at *Epheſus*.

There were likewiſe Matches ſet of bodily exerciſe, and of Muſicke; and the Cities did ſeuerally ſet forth Dances. Which things to haue beene ſo, is principally declared by *Homer*, in theſe Verſes of his Hymne to *Apollo*.

Hom. Hym. ad *Apoll.* verſ. 146.

D *But thou*, Apollo, *takeſt moſt delight*
In Delos. *There aſſemble in thy ſight,*
The long coate Ions *with their Children deare,*
And venerable Bedfellowes; and there,
In Matches ſet, of Buffets, Song, *and* Dance,
Both ſhew thee paſtime, and thy Name advance.

That there were alſo Matches of Muſique, and that men reſorted thither to contend therein, hee againe maketh manifeſt in theſe Verſes of the ſame Hymne. For after hee hath ſpoken of the *Delian* Dance of the Wo-
E men, hee endeth their praiſe with theſe Verſes, wherin alſo he maketh mention of himſelfe.

A

Hom Hymn. ad *Apoll.* ver. 165.

But well: let Phœbus *and* Diana *bee*
Propitious; and farewell you each one;
But yet remember me when I am gone:
And if of earthly men you chance to ſee
Any toyl'd Pilgrim, that ſhall aske you, Who,
O Damſels, is the man that liuing here,
Was ſweet'ſt in Song, and that moſt had your eare?
Then all, with a ioynt murmur, thereunto
Make anſwer thus; A man depriu'd of ſeeing,
In th'Ile of Sandie Chios *is his beeing.* B

So much hath *Homer* witneſſed touching the great meeting, and ſolemnity celebrated of old, in the Ile of *Delos*. And the Ilanders, and the *Athenians*, ſince that time, haue continued ſtill to ſend Dancers along with their Sacrificers, but the Games, and things of that kind were worne out, as is likely, by aduerſity. Till now that the *Athenians* reſtored the Games, and added the Horſe-race, which was not before.

The *Ambraciotes* and *Peloponneſians* make Warre againſt the *Acarnanians* and *Amphilochians* vnfortunately.

The ſame Winter the *Ambraciotes*, (according to their promiſe made to *Eurylochus*) when they reteyned his Armie, made Warre vpon *Argos* in *Amphilochia*, with three thouſand men of Armes, and inuading *Argia*, they tooke *Olpæ*, a ſtrong Fort on a Hill by the Sea-ſide, which the *Acarnanians* had fortified, and vſed for the place of their common meetings, for matters of Iuſtice, and is diſtant from the Citie of *Argos*, which ſtands alſo on the Sea-ſide, about twenty fiue furlongs. The *Acarnanians* with part of their Forces, came to relieue *Argos*, and with reſt they encamped in that part of *Amphilochia* which is called *Crene*, to watch the *Peloponneſians* that were with *Eurylochus*, that they might not paſſe through to the *Ambraciotes* without their knowledge; and ſent to *Demoſthenes*, who had beene Leader of the *Athenians* in the expedition againſt the *Ætolians*, to come to them, and bee their Generall.

They take *Olpæ*.

The *Acarnanians* make *Demoſthenes* their Generall.

They ſent alſo to the twenty *Athenian* Gallies, that chanced to be then on the Coaſt of *Peloponneſus*, vnder the Conduct of *Ariſtoteles*, the ſonne of *Timocrates*, and *Ierophon*, the ſonne of *Antimneſtus*. In like manner the *Ambraciotes* that were at *Olpæ*, ſent a meſſenger to the Citie of *Ambracia*,

The *Ambraciotes* at *Olpæ*, ſend to the *Ambraciotes* at home, to come to their ayde.

A *Ambracia*, willing them to come to their ayde with their whole power; as fearing that thoſe with *Eurylochus* would not bee able to paſſe by the *Acarnans*, and ſo they ſhould bee either froced to fight alone, or elſe haue an vnſafe Retreat.

But the *Peloponneſians* that were with *Eurylochus*, as ſoone as they vnderſtood that the *Ambraciotes* were come to *Olpæ*, diſlodging from *Proſchion*, went with all ſpeede to aſsiſt them. And paſsing ouer the Riuer *Achelous*, marched through *Acarnania*, (which, by reaſon of the aydes
B ſent to *Argos*, was now diſfurniſhed,) on their right hand they had the Citie of *Stratus*, and that Garriſon; on the left, the reſt of *Acarnania*. Hauing paſt the Territory of the *Stratians*, they marched through *Phytia*, and againe by the vtmoſt limits of *Medeon*, then through *Limnæa*, then they went into the Territory of the *Agræans*, which are out of *Acarnania*, and their friends, and getting to the Hill *Thiamus*, which is a deſart Hill, they marched ouer it, and came downe into *Argia*, when it was now night; and paſsing betweene the Citie of the *Argiues*, and the *Acarnans*
C that kept watch at *the Welles*, came vnſeene, and ioyned with the *Ambraciotes* at *Olpæ*.

When they were all together, they ſate downe about breake of day, at a place called *Metropolis*, and there encamped. And the *Athenians* not long after with their 20. Gallies, arriued in the *Ambracian* Gulfe, to the aide of the *Argiues*. To whom alſo came *Demoſthenes* with 200. *Meſſenian* men of Armes, and threſcore *Athenian* Archers. The Gallies lay at Sea, before the Hill vpon which the Fort of *Olpæ* ſtandeth. But the *Acarnanians*, and thoſe
D few *Amphilochians* (for the greateſt part of them the *Ambraciotes* kept backe by force) that were come already together at *Argos*, prepared themſelues to giue the Enemy Battell, and choſe *Demoſthenes* with their owne Commanders, for Generall of the whole League. Hee, when hee had brought them vp, neere vnto *Olpæ*, there encamped. There was betweene them a great Hollow; and for fiue dayes together, they ſtirred not; but the ſixth day both ſides put themſelues into array for the Battell. The Armie of the *Peloponneſians* reached a great way
E beyond the other, for indeed it was much greater; but *Demoſthenes*, fearing to bee encompaſſed, placed an

Demoſthenes choſen Generall.

Ambuſh in a certaine hollow way, and fit for ſuch a purpoſe, of armed and vnarmed Souldiers, in all to the number of 400. which in that part where the number of the Enemies ouer-reached, ſhould in the heate of the battell riſe out of Ambuſh, and charge them on their backes. When the Battels were in order on either ſide, they came to Blowes. *Demoſthenes* with the *Meſſenians*, and thoſe few *Athenians* that were there, ſtood in the right Wing; and the *Acarnanians* (as they could one after another bee put in order) and thoſe *Amphilochian* Darters which were preſent, made vp the other. The *Peloponneſians* and *Ambraciotes* were ranged promiſcuouſly, except onely the *Mantineans*, who ſtood together, moſt of them in the left Wing, but not in the vtmoſt part of it, for *Eurylochus* and thoſe that were with him, made the extremity of the left Wing againſt *Demoſthenes*, and the *Meſſenians*.

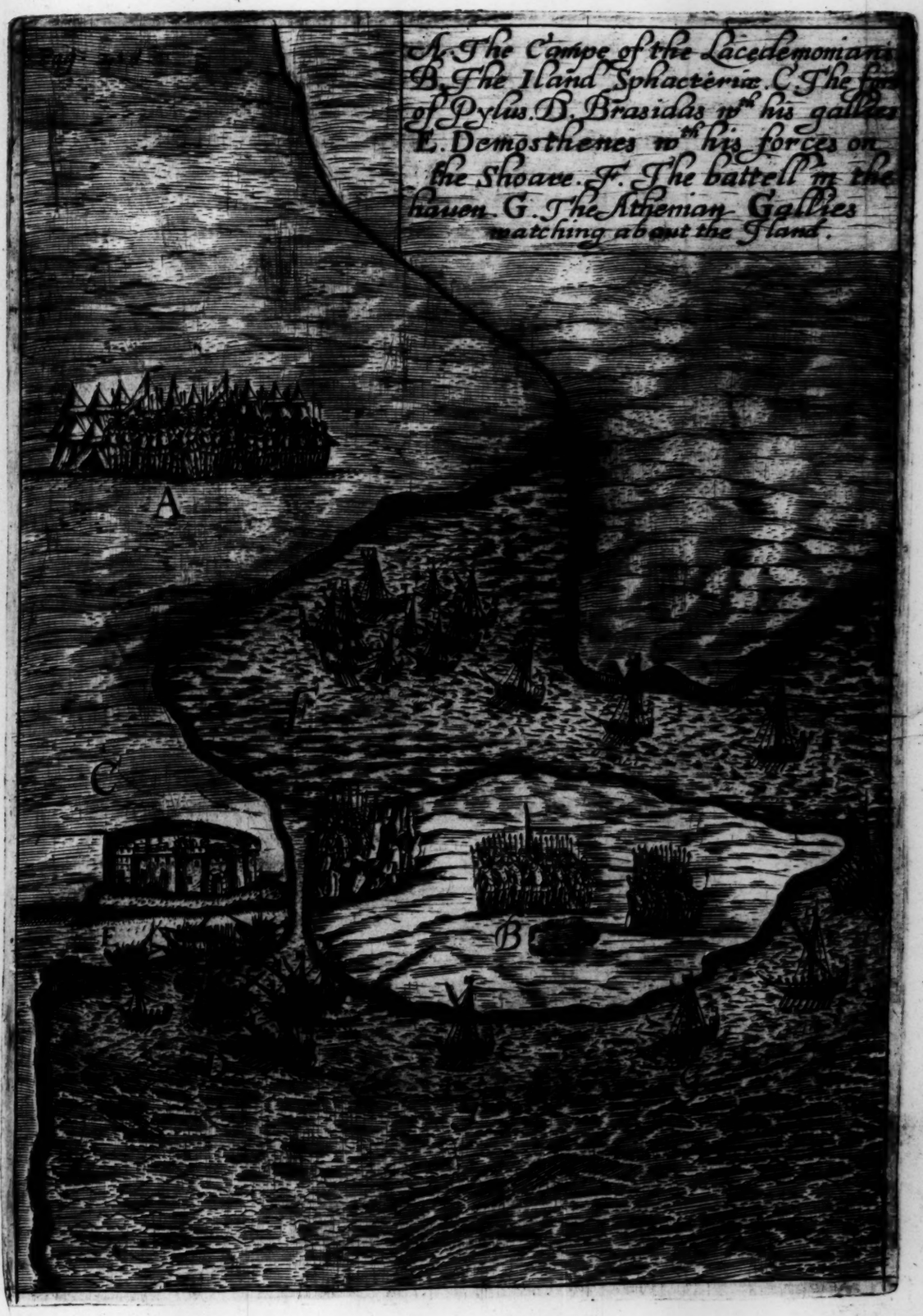
The Battell betweene the *Ambraciotes* and *Acarnanians*.

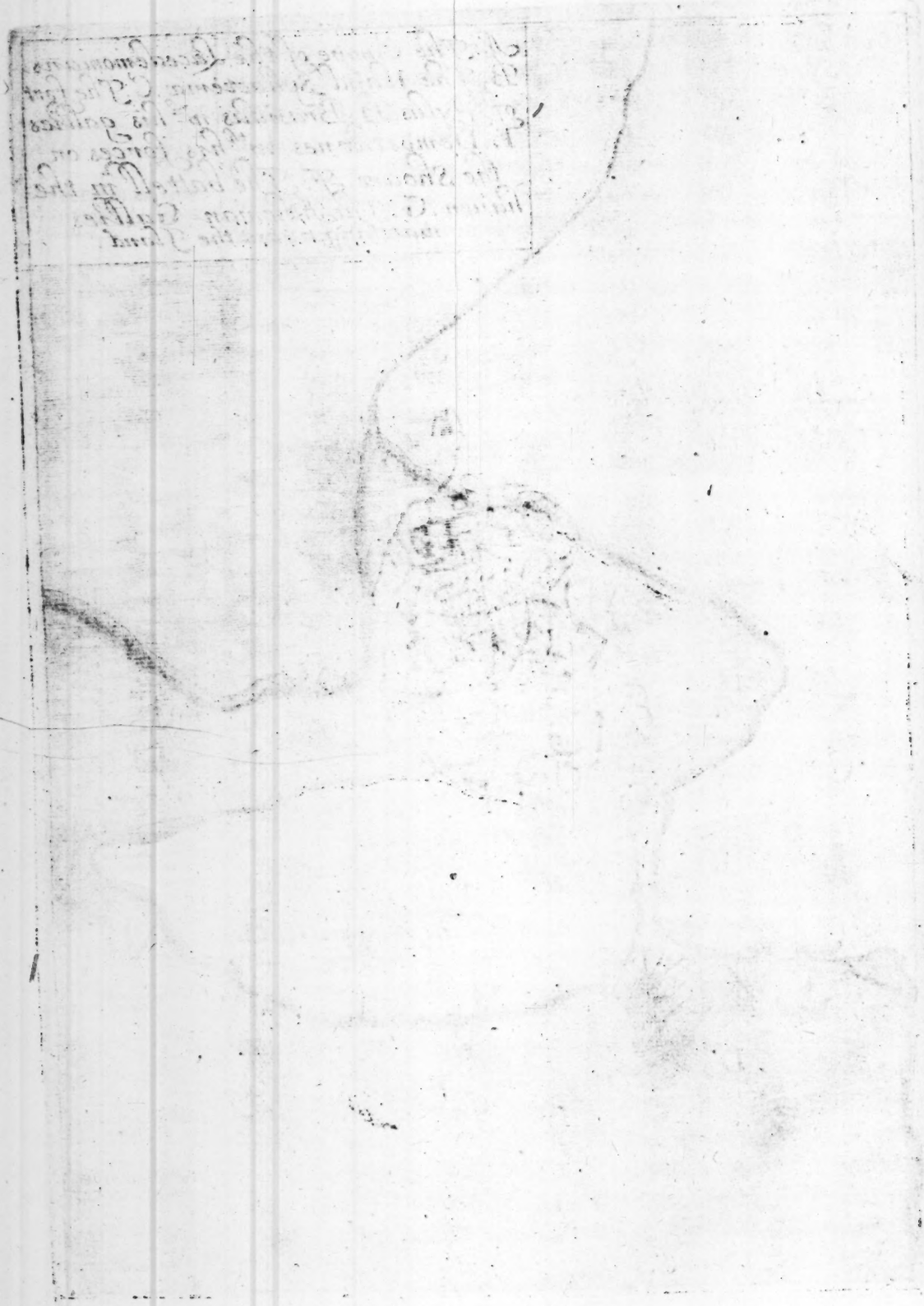
When they were in fight, and that the *Peloponneſians* with that Wing ouer-reached, and had encircled the right Wing of their Enemies, thoſe *Acarnanians* that lay in Ambuſh, comming in at their backes, charged them, and put them to flight, in ſuch ſort as they endured not the firſt brunt; and beſides, cauſed the greateſt part of the Armie through affright to runne away. For when they ſaw that part of it defeated, which was with *Eurylochus*, which was the beſt of their Armie, they were a great deale the more affraid. And the *Meſſenians* that were in that part of the Armie with *Demoſthenes*, purſuing them, diſpatched the greateſt part of the execution. But the *Ambraciotes*, that were in the right Wing, on that part, had the Victorie, and chaſed the Enemie vnto the Citie of *Argos*; but in their Retreat, when they ſaw that the greateſt part of the Armie was vanquiſhed, the reſt of the *Acarnanians* ſetting vpon them, they had much adoe to recouer *Olpæ* in ſafety; and many of them were ſlaine, whileſt they ranne into it out of array, and in diſorder. Saue onely the *Mantineans*; for theſe made a more orderly Retreat then any part of the Armie. And ſo this Battell ended, hauing laſted till the Euening.

The Ambraciotes and Peloponneſians fly.

The next day, * *Menedaius*, (*Eurylochus* and * *Macarius* beeing now ſlaine) taking the Command vpon him, and not finding how, if hee ſtaid, hee ſhould bee able

* called before Menedatus and Maſſarius.


A. The Campe of the Lacedemonians
B. The Iland Sphactèriæ. C. The Fort
of Pylus. D. Brasidas wth his gallies
E. Demosthenes wth his forces on
the Shoare. F. The battell in the
haven. G. The Athenian Gallies
watching about the Iland.
A
B
C



A to sustaine a Siege, wherein hee should both bee shut vp by Land, and also with those *Attique* Gallies by Sea; or if hee should depart, how hee might doe it safely, had speech with *Demosthenes*, and the *Acarnian* Captaines, both about a Truce for his departure, and for the receiuing of the bodies of the slaine. And they deliuered vnto them their dead; and hauing erected a Trophie, tooke vp their owne dead, which were about three hundred; but for their departure they would make no Truce openly, nor to all: but secretly, *Demosthenes*, with his *Acarnanian* B fellow-Commanders, made a Truce with the *Mantineans*, and with *Menedaius*, and the rest of the *Peloponnesian* Captaines, and men of most worth, to bee gone as speedily as they could; with purpose to disguard the *Ambraciotes*, and multitude of mercenary Strangers, and withall to vse this as a meanes to bring the *Peloponnesians* into hatred with the *Grecians* of those parts, as men that had treacherously aduanced their particular interest. Accordingly they tooke vp their dead, and buryed them as fast as they could; and such as had leaue, consulted secretly touching C how to bee gone.

Demosthenes suffereth the principall *Peloponnesians* to retire from *Olpæ* secretly; to disgard the *Ambraciotes* of their ayd, and procure the *Peloponnesians* the hatred of the Nations thereabouts.

Demosthenes and the *Acarnanians* had now intelligence, that the *Ambraciotes* from the Citie of *Ambracia*, according to the message sent to them before from *Olpæ*, (which was, that they should bring their whole power through *Amphilochia* to their ayde) were already on their March, (ignorant of what had passed here) to ioyne with those at *Olpæ*. And hereupon he sent a part of his Armie presently forth, to beset the wayes with Ambushment, and to preoccupate all places of strength, and prepared withall, to D encounter with the rest of his Armie.

Demosthenes sendeth part of his Armie to lye in Ambush by the wayes by which the *Ambracicte* supplies were to come from the Citie.

In the meane time, the *Mantineans*, and such as had part in the Truce, going out, on pretence to gather Pothearbs, and Fire-wood, stole away by small numbers, and as they went, did indeed gather such things as they pretended to goe forth for; but when they were gotten farre from *Olpæ*, they went faster away. But the *Ambraciotes*, and others that came forth in the same manner, but in greater troopes, seeing the others goe quite away, were eager to bee gone likewise, and ranne out-right, as desE ring to ouertake those that were gone before. The *Acarnanians* at first thought they had gone all without Truce alike,

The *Mantineans* retire from *Olpæ*.

The *Ambraciotes* goe after them, and are slaine to the number of 200.

alike, and pursued the *Peloponnesians*, and threw darts at A
their owne Captaines for forbidding them, and for saying
that they went away vnder truce, as thinking themselues
betrayed. But at last they let goe the *Mantineans*, and *Pe-*
loponnesians, and slew the *Ambraciotes* onely. And there was
much contention, and ignorance, of which was an *Ambra-*
ciote, and which a *Peloponnesian*. So they slew about 200
of them, and the rest escaped into *Agrai*, a bordering
Territory, where *Salynthius* King of the *Agræans*, and their
friend, receiued them.

The rest escape to *Salynthius*, King of the *Agræans*.

Demosthenes goeth out to meet the supply of *Ambraciotes* that came from the Citie.

The *Ambraciotes*, out of the Citie of *Ambracia*, were come B
as farre as *Idomene*. *Idomene* are two high hils, to the grea-
ter whereof, came first vndiscouered that night, they whom
Demosthenes had sent afore from the Campe, and seazed it.
But the *Ambraciotes* got first to the lesser, and there encam-
ped the same night. *Demosthenes* after Supper, in the twi-
light, marched forward with the rest of the Army, one
halfe whereof himselfe tooke with him, for the assault of
the Campe, and the other halfe he sent about through the
Mountaines of *Amphilochia*.

The *Ambraciotes* surprized in their lodgings.

And the next morning before day, he inuaded the *Ambra-* C
ciotes, whilest they were yet in their lodgings, and knew not
what was the matter, but thought rather, that they had
been some of their owne company. For *Demosthenes* had
placed the *Messenians* on purpose in the formost rankes,
and commanded them to speake vnto them as they went,
in the *Dorique* Dialect, and to make the Sentinels secure;
Especially, seeing their faces could not be discerned, for it
was yet night. Wherefore they put the Army of the
Ambraciotes to flight, at the first onset, and slew many vp-
on the place. The rest fled as fast as they could towards D
the Mountaines. But the wayes being beset, and the *Am-*
philochians being well acquainted with their owne Terri-
tory, and armed but lightly, against men in Armour, vnac-
quainted, and vtterly ignorant which way to take; they
light into hollow wayes, and to the places forelayed with
Ambushes, and perished. And hauing been put to all
manner of shift for their liues, some fled towards the Sea,
and when they saw the Gallies of *Athens* saying by the
Shoare, (this accident concurring with their defeate,)
swamme to them, and chose rather in their present feare, to E
be killed of those in the Gallies, then by the *Barbarians*,
and

The *Ambraciotes* put to flight.

A and their moſt mortall enemies the *Amphilochians*. The *Ambraciotes* with this loſſe, came home a few of many in ſafety to their Citie. And the *Acarnanians* hauing taken the ſpoyle of the dead, and erected their Trophies, returned vnto *Argos*.

The next day there came a Herald from thoſe *Ambraciotes* which fled from *Olpæ*, into *Agræis*; to demand leaue to carry away the bodies of thoſe dead, which were ſlaine after the firſt battell, when, without Truce, they went away together with the *Mantineans*, and with thoſe that had
B Truce. But when the Herald ſaw the Armors of thoſe *Ambraciotes*, that came from the City, he wondred at the number. For he knew nothing of this laſt blow, but thought they had been the Armors of thoſe with them. Then one asked him, *what hee wondred at, and how many hee thought were ſlaine.* For he that asked him the queſtion, thought, on the other ſide, that he had been a Herald, ſent from thoſe at *Idomene*. And he anſwered, *about* 200. *Then* he that asked, replyed, and ſaid, *Then theſe are not the armours of them, but of aboue a thouſand. Then*, ſaid he againe, *they belong*
C *not to them that were in the battell with vs.* The other anſwered, *yes, if you fought yeſterday in* Idomene. *But we fought not yeſterday at all, but the other day in our retreate. But we yet fought yeſterday with thoſe* Ambraciotes *that came from the Citie to ayde the reſt.* When the Herald heard that, and knew that the ayde from the Citie was defeated, he burſt out into *Aimees* and aſtoniſhed with the greatneſſe of the preſent loſſe, forthwith went his way, without his errand, and required the dead bodies no further. For this loſſe was greater then in the like number of dayes happened to any one
D Citie of *Greece*, in all this Warre. I haue not written the number of the ſlaine, becauſe it was ſaid to be ſuch, as is incredible, for the quantity of the City. But this I know, that if the *Acarnanians*, and *Amphilochians*, as *Demoſthenes*, and the *Athenians* would haue had them, would haue ſubdued *Ambracia*, they might haue done it euen with the ſhout of their voyces; but they feared now, that if the *Athenians* poſſeſſed it, they would proue more troubleſome Neighbors vnto them then the other.

After this, hauing beſtowed the third part of the ſpoyles
E vpon the *Athenians*, they diſtributed the other two parts according to the Cities. The *Athenians* part was loſt by Sea.

The conference of the Herald from the *Ambraciotes* in *Agræis*, with one of *Demoſthenes* his Army, about the number of the ſlaine.

The *Acarnanians* will not let the *Athenians* ſubdue the *Ambraciotes* vtterly, becauſe they thought the *Ambraciotes* better neighbours then the *Athenians*.

Sea. For thoſe 300 compleat Armors which are dedicated in the Temples in *Attica*, were pick'd out for *Demoſthenes* himſelfe, and he brought them away with him. His returne was withall the ſafer for this action, after his defeate in *Ætolia*. And the *Athenians* that were in the twenty Gallies returned to *Naupactus*.

The *Acarnanians*, and *Amphilochians*, when the *Athenians*, and *Demoſthenes* were gone, granted Truce at the Citie of the *Oeniades* to thoſe *Ambraciotes* and *Peloponneſians* that were fled to *Salynthius*, & the *Agræans*, to retyre, the *Oeniades* being gone ouer to *Salynthius*, and the *Agræans* likewiſe. And for the future, the *Acarnanians*, & *Amphilochians* made a league with the *Ambraciotes* for an hundred yeeres, vpon theſe conditions. *That neither the* Ambraciotes, *with the* Acarnanians, *ſhould make Warre againſt the* Peloponneſians, *nor the* Acarnanians *with the* Ambraciotes, *againſt the* Athenians. *That they ſhould giue mutuall ayde to o're anothers Countrey. That the* Ambraciotes *ſhould reſtore, whatſoeuer Townes or bordering fields they held of the* Amphilochians, *and that they ſhould at no time ayde* Anactorium, *which was in hoſtility with the* Acarnanians. And vpon this compoſition, the Warre ended. After this, the *Corinthians* ſent a Garriſon of about 300 men of Armes of their owne Citie to *Ambracia*, vnder the Conduct of *Xenoclides the ſonne* of *Euthycles*; who with much difficulty paſsing through *Epirus*, at length arriued. Thus paſſed the buſineſſe in *Ambracia*.

League for 100 yeeres betweene the *Ambraciotes* and *Acarnanians*.

The same Winter the *Athenians* that were in *Sicily*, inuaded *Himeræa* by Sea, ayded by the * *Sicilians* that inuaded the skirts of the ſame by Land. They ſayled alſo to the Ilands of *Æolus*. Returning afterwards to *Rhegium*, they found there *Pythodorus, the ſonne of Iſolochus*, with certaine Gallies, come to receiue charge of the Fleet commanded by *Laches*. For the *Sicilian* Confederates had ſent to *Athens*, and perſwaded the people, to aſsiſt them with a greater Fleet. For though the *Syracuſians* were maſters by Land, yet ſeeing they hindred them, but with few Gallies from the liberty of the Sea, they made preparation, and were gathering together a Fleet, with intention to reſiſt them. And the *Athenians* furniſhed out forty Gallies to ſend into *Sicily*, conceiuing that the Warre there would the ſooner be at an end, and deſiring withall to

The *Athenian* Fleet in *Sycily*, inuade *Himeræa*.
* Συρακοσίων.

Pythodorus ſent to take the Fleet from *Laches*.

A to traine their men in nauall exercise. Therefore *Pythodorus*, one of the Commanders, they sent presently away, with a few of those Gallies, and intended to send *Sophocles* the sonne of *Sostratides*, and *Eurymedon* the sonne of *Thucles*, with the greatest number afterwards. But *Pythodorus* hauing now the Command of *Laches* his Fleet, sayled in the end of Winter, vnto a certaine Garrison of the *Locrians*, which *Laches* had formerly taken, and ouerthrowne in a Battell there by the *Locrians*, retired.

The same Spring, there issued a great * streame of Fire
B out of the Mountaine *Ætna*, as it had also done in former times, and burned part of the Territory of the *Cataneans*, that dwell at the Foot of *Ætna*, which is the highest Mountaine of all *Sicily*. From the last time that the fire brake out before, to this time, it is said to bee fifty yeeres. And it hath now broken out thrice in all, since *Sicily* was inhabited by the *Grecians*. These were the things that came to passe this Winter. And so ended the sixth yeere of this War, written by

THVCYDIDES.

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C

The fire breaketh out of and *Ætna*, burneth the Fields of *Catana*,
* ῥοὴ πυρός, a streame of fire; and was a kind of melted stone, gushing out of the sides of the Mountaine,

D

E

A to traine their men in manall exercife. Therefore Propo-
ras, one of the Commanders, they fent prefently away
with a few of thole Gallies, and intended to lend Sapi-
dus the lonne of Sapradus, and Eurymedon the lonne of Eu-
dus, with the greateft number afterwards. But Periander
hauing now the Command of Laeder his Fleet, layled in
the end of Winter, vnto a certaine Quarter of the Lemni-
ans, which Laeder had formerly taken, and ouerthrowne in a
Battell there by the Lemnians, retired.

The lame Spring, there ilfued a great * ftreame of Fire
B out of the Mountaine Aetna, as it had alſo done in former
times, and burned part of the Territory of the Catanaeans,
that dwell at the Foot of Aetna, which is the higheſt
Mountaine of all Sicily. From the laſt time that the fire
brake out before, to this time, it is ſaid to bee fifty yeeres.
And it hath now broken out thrice in all, ſince Sicily was
inhabited by the Greekes. Thele were the things that
came to paſſe this Winter. And ſo ended the
fixth yeere of this War, written by
THVCYDIDES.

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THE FOVRTH BOOK OF THE HISTORY OF THVCYDIDES.

The principall Contents.

The Athenians *take and fortifie* Pylus *in* Laconia. *The* Lacedæmonians *to recouer it, put ouer* 400. *of their best men into the Iland* Sphacteria: *whom the* Athenians, *hauing ouercome the* Lacedæmonian *Fleet, doe there besiege. The* Athenians *and* Syracusians *fight in the Streight of* Messana. Cleon *undertaketh himselfe rashly to take or kill the* Lacedæmonians *in* Sphacteria *within* 20. *daies, and by good fortune performeth it. The Sedition ceaseth in* Corcyra. Nicias *invadeth* Peloponnesus. *The* Sicilians *agreeing, take from the* Athenians *their pretence of sailing vpon that Coast with their Fleet. The* Athenians *take* Nisæa, *but faile of* Megara. *The ouerthrow of the* Athenians *at* Delium. *The Cities on the Confines of* Thrace, *vpon the comming of* Brasidas, *revolt to the* Lacedæmonians. *Truce for a yeere. And thus in three yeeres more of the same Warre.*

THE Spring following, when Corne began to bee in the eare, tenne Gallies of *Syracuse*, and as many of *Locris*, went to *Messena* in *Sicily*, called in by the Citizens themselues, and tooke it, and *Messa* reuolted from the *Athenians*. This was done by the practise chiefly of the *Syracusians*, that saw the place to bee commodious for inuasion of *Sicily*, and feared lest the *Athenians* some time or other hereafter, making it the seate of

THE SEVENTH YEERE.

Messina.

Messana reuolteth from the Athenians.

their Warre, might come with greater forces into *Sicily*, and inuade them from thence; but partly alſo of the *Locrians*, as being in hoſtility with the *Rhegians*, & deſirous to make Warre vpon them on both ſides. The *Locrians* had now alſo entred the Lands of the *Rhegians* with their whole power; both becauſe they would hinder them from aſsiſting the *Meſſenians* and becauſe they were ſollicited therevnto by the baniſhed men of *Rhegium*, that were with them. For they of *Rhegium* had beene long in Sedition, and were vnable for the preſent to giue them Battell, for which cauſe, they the rather alſo now inuaded them. And after they had waſted the Countrey, the *Locrians* withdrew their Land-forces, but their Gallies lay ſtill at the guard of *Meſſana*, and more were ſetting forth, to lye in the ſame Harbour, to make the Warre on that ſide.

The *Locrians* waſte the Territory of *Rhegium*.

Rheggio.

About the ſame time of the Spring, and before Corne was at full growth, the *Peloponneſians* and their Confederates, vnder the Conduct of *Agis* the ſonne of *Archidamus*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, inuaded *Attica*, and there lay and waſted the Countrey about.

The fifth inuaſion of *Attica*.

And the *Athenians* ſent fortie Gallies into *Sicily*, the ſame which they had prouided before for that purpoſe, and with them the other two Generals, *Eurymedon* & *Sophocles*. For *Pythodorus*, who was the third in that Commiſsion, was arriued in *Sicily* before. To theſe they gaue commandment alſo, to take order as they went by, for the ſtate of thoſe *Corcyræans* that were in the Citie, and were pillaged by the Outlawes in the Mountaine: and threeſcore Gallies of the *Peloponneſians* were gone out, to take part with thoſe in the Mountaine; who, becauſe there was a great Famine in the Citie, thought they might eaſily be maſters of that State. To *Demoſthenes* alſo (who euer ſince his returne out of *Acarnania* had liued priuately) they gaue authority, at his owne requeſt, to make vſe of the ſame Gallies, if hee thought good ſo to doe, about *Peloponneſus*.

The *Athenians* ſend forty Gallies into *Sicily*.

Who are to put in by the way at *Corcyra*, being ſtill in ſedition, the Outlawes holding the Field, and the Commons, the Citie.

As they ſayled by the Coaſt of *Laconia*, and had intelligence that the *Peloponneſian* Fleet was at *Corcyra* already, *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles* haſted to *Corcyra*; but *Demoſthenes* willed them to put in firſt at *Pylus*, and when they had done what was requiſite there, then to proceed in their Voyage. But whileſt they denyed to doe it, the Fleet

Demoſthenes vrgeth to put in at *Pylus*.

was

A was driuen into *Pylus* by a Tempeſt that then aroſe by chance. And preſently *Demoſthenes* required them to fortifie the place, alledging that hee came with them for no other purpoſe, and ſhewing how there was great ſtore of Timber and Stone, and that the place it ſelfe was naturally ſtrong, and deſart, both it, and a great deale of the Countrey about. For it lyeth from *Sparta* about 400. Furlongs, in the Territory that belonging once to the *Meſſenians*, is called by the *Lacedæmonians*, *Coryphaſion*. But they anſwered him, that there were many deſart Promontories
B in *Peloponneſus*, if they were minded to put the Citie to charges in taking them in. But there appeared vnto *Demoſthenes* a great difference betweene this place and other places; becauſe there was heere a Hauen, and the *Meſſenians*, the ancient Inhabitants thereof, ſpeaking the ſame language the *Lacedæmonians* did, would both be able to annoy them much by excurſions thence, and be alſo faithfull Guardians of the place.

When hee could not preuaile, neither with the Generals, nor with the Souldiers, hauing alſo at laſt communi-
C cated the ſame to the Captaines of Companies, hee gaue it ouer, till at laſt, the weather not ſeruing to bee gone, there came vpon the Souldiers lying idle, a deſire, occaſioned by diſſention, to Wall in the place of their owne accord. And falling in hand with the worke, they performed it, not with yron tooles to hew ſtone, but picked out ſuch ſtones as they thought good, and afterwards placed them as they would ſeuerally fit. And for Morter, where it needed, for want of Veſſels, they carried it on their backes, with their bodies enclining forward, ſo as it might
D beſt lye, and their hands clapſed behinde, to ſtay it from falling; making all poſsible haſte to preuent the *Lacedæmonians*, and to finiſh the moſt aſſaileable parts, before they came to ſuccour it. For the greateſt part of the place was ſtrong by nature, and needed no fortifying at all.

The *Lacedæmonians* were that day celebrating a certaine Holiday, and when they heard the newes, did ſet lightly by it; conceiuing, that whenſoeuer it ſhould pleaſe them to goe thither, they ſhould finde them either alrea-
E dy gone, or eaſily take the place by force. Somewhat alſo they were retarded, by reaſon that their Armie was in

The Fleet driuen in to *Pylus* by weather.

The commodity of *Pylus*.

The *Athenians* build the Fort of *Pylus*.

The *Lacedæmonians* at home regard the taking of *Pylus* but lightly.

in *Attica*. The *Athenians* hauing in sixe dayes finished the Wall to the Land, and in the places where was most need, left *Demosthenes* with fiue Gallies to defend it, and with the rest, hastend on in their course for *Corcyra*, and *Sicily*.

The *Lacedemonians* army, and *Agis* take it more to heart.

The *Peloponnesians* that were in *Attica*, when they were aduertised of the taking of *Pylus*, returned speedily home. For the *Lacedemonians*, and *Agis* their King, tooke this accident of *Pylus* to concerne their owne particular. And the inuasion was withall so early, (Corne being yet greene) that the most of them were scanted with victuall, the Armie was also much troubled with the weather, which was colder then for the season, so as for many reasons it fell out, that they returned sooner now, then at other times they had done; and this inuasion was the shortest, for they continued in *Attica*, in all but fifteene dayes.

The *Athenians* take *Eion* in *Thrace*, and lose it againe.

About the same time *Cimon* the *Athenian* Commander, hauing drawne a few *Athenians* together out of the Garrisons, and a number of the Confederates of those parts, tooke the Citie of *Eion* in *Thrace*, a Colonie of the *Medes*, that was their Enemie, by Treason; but was presently againe driuen out by the *Chalcideans* and *Bottiæans*, that came to succour it, and lost many of his Souldiers.

The *Lacedemonians* by Sea and Land, seeke to recouer *Pylus*.

When the *Peloponnesians* were returned out of *Attica*, they of the Citie of *Sparta*, and of other the next neighbouring Townes, went presently to the aide of *Pylus*, but vowelt of the *Lacedemonians* came howbeit on foot, as being newly come from the former Expedition. Vnto them therefore they sent about, to the Cities of *Peloponnesus* to require their assistance with all speed at *Pylus*, and also to the eight before Gallies that were at *Corcyra*. Which, hauing passed ouer the *Isthmus* of *Leucas*, arriued at *Cyllene*, where the *Athenian* Gallies lying at *Zante*, and the ordinary Armie of foot was also there. Whilest the *Peloponnesian* Gallies were comming towards *Pylus*, *Demosthenes* sent two Gallies secretly to *Eurymedon* and the *Athenian* fleet at *Zacynthus*, in all haste, to tell them, that they must come presently to him, for as much as the place was in danger to be lost. And according as *Demosthenes* his message imported, so the Fleet made haste. The *Lacedemonians* in the

Zante.

Demosthenes sends to call backe the fleete to helpe him.

A the meane time prepared themselues to assault the Fort both by Sea and Land; hoping easily to winne it, beeing a thing built in haste, and not many men within it. And because they expected the comming of the *Athenian* Fleet from *Zacynthus*, they had a purpose, if they tooke not the Fort before, to barre vp the entries of the Harbour. For the Iland called *Sphacteria*, lying iust before, and very neere to the place, maketh the Hauen safe, and the entries straight; one of them, neerest to *Pylus*, and to the *Athenian* Fortification, admitting passage for no more but two Gal-
B lies in Front; and the other which lyeth against the other part of the Continent, for not aboue eight or nine. The Iland, by beeing desart, was all Wood, and vntrodden, in bignesse about fifteene Furlongs ouer. Therefore they determined with their Gallies thicke set; and with the Beake-heads outward, to stop vp the entries of the Hauen. And because they feared the Iland, lest the *Athenians* putting men into it, should make Warre vpon them from thence, they carried ouer men of Armes into the same, and placed others likewise along the
C shoare of the Continent. For by this meanes the *Athenians* at their comming should finde the Iland their Enemie, and no meanes of landing in the Continent. For the Coast of *Pylus* it selfe, without these two entries, being to the Sea harbourlesse, would afford them no place from whence to set forth to the ayde of their fellowes. And they, in all probability, might by siege, without battell by Sea, or other danger, winne the place, seeing there was no prouision of Victuall within it, and that the Enemie tooke it but on short preparation. Hauing
D thus resolued, they put ouer into the Iland their men of Armes, out of euery Band by Lot; some also had beene sent ouer before by turnes; but they which went ouer now last, and were left there, were 420, besides the *Helotes* that were with them. And their Captaine was *Epitadas* the sonne of *Molobrus*,

Demosthenes, when he saw the *Lacedæmonians* bent to assault him, both from their Gallies, and with their Armie by Land, prepared also to defend the place. And when hee had drawne vp his Gallies, all that were left him, vn
E to the Land, hee placed them athwart the Fort, and armed the Mariners that belonged to them, with Bucklers, though

The *Lacedæmonians* prepare themselues to assault the Fort.

The scituation of the Ile *Sphacteria*.

The *Lacedæmonians* put ouer 420 men of Armes, besides their seruants, into the Ile *Sphacteria*, ouer against *Pylus*.

Demosthenes prepareth himselfe to keepe the *Lacedæmonians* from landing on the shoare.

though bad ones, and for the greateſt part made of Oſiers. A
For they had no meanes in a deſart place to prouide themſelues of *Armes*. Thoſe they had, they tooke out of a
* χάλης. Peiraticall Boate, of thirty Oares, and a * Light-horſeman of the *Meſſenians*, which came by by chance. And the men of Armes of the *Meſſenians* were about 40. which hee made vſe of amongſt the reſt. The greateſt part therfore, both of armed and vnarmed, he placed on the parts of the Wall toward the Land, which were of moſt ſtrength, and commanded them to make good the place againſt the Land-forces, if they aſſaulted it; and hee himſelfe, with B
60. men of Armes, choſen out of the whole number, and a few Archers, came forth of the Fort to the Sea-ſide, in that part where he moſt expected their landing. Which part was of troubleſome acceſſe, and ſtonie, and lay to the wide Sea. But becauſe their Wall was there the weakeſt, he thought they would be drawne to aduenture for that. For neither did the *Athenians* thinke they ſhould euer haue beene maſtred with Gallies, which cauſed them to make the place to the Sea-ward the leſſe ſtrong; and if the *Peloponneſians* ſhould by force come to land, they made no other C
account but the place would bee loſt. Comming therefore in this part to the very brinke of the Sea, hee put in order his men of Armes, and encouraged them with words to this effect.

THE ORATION OF *DEMOSTHENES* to his Souldiers.

YOV that participate with mee in the preſent danger, let not any of you in this extremity, goe about to ſeeme wiſe, and reckon D
euery perill that now beſetteth vs; but let him rather come vp to the Enemie with little circumſpection, and much hope, and looke for his ſafety by that. For things that are come once to a pinch, as theſe are, admit not debate, but a ſpeedy hazard. And yet if wee ſtand it out, and betray not our aduantages with feare of the number of the Enemie, I ſee well enough, that moſt things are with vs. For I make account, the difficultie of their landing makes for vs: which, as long as wee abide our ſelues, will helpe vs, but if wee retire, though the place be difficult, yet when there is none to impeach them, they will land well enough. For whileſt they are in their Gallies, they are moſt E
eaſie to be fought withall; and in their disbarking being but on equall

termes,

A *termes, their number is not greatly to bee feared; for though they bee many, yet they muſt fight but by few, for want of roome to fight in. And for an Armie to haue oddes by Land, is another matter, then when they are to fight from Gallies, where they ſtand in need of ſo many accidents to fall out opportunely from the Sea. So that I thinke their great difficulties doe but ſet them euen with our ſmall number. And for you, that bee* Athenians, *and by experience of disbarking againſt others, know, that if a man ſtand it out, and doe not, for feare of the ſowſing of a Waue, or the menacing approach of a Gallie, giue*
B *backe of himſelfe, hee can neuer bee put backe by violence; I expect that you ſhould keepe your ground, and by fighting it out vpon the very edge of the water, preſerue both your ſelues and the Fort.*

Vpon this exhortation of *Demoſthenes*, the *Athenians* tooke better heart, and went downe, and arranged themſelues cloſe by the Sea. And the *Lacedæmonians* came and aſſaulted the Fort, both with their Armie by Land, and with their Fleet, conſiſting of three and fortie
C Gallies, in which was Admirall, *Thraſymelidas*, the ſonne of *Crateſiclas*, a *Spartan*; and he made his approach where *Demoſthenes* had before expected him. So the *Athenians* were aſſaulted on both ſides, both by Sea and by Land.

The *Athenians* take heart.

The *Lacedæmonians* aſſault the Fort by Land, and ſeeke to force landing from their Gallies.

The *Peloponneſians* diuiding their Gallies into ſmall numbers, becauſe they could not come neere with many at once, and reſting betweene, aſſailed them by turnes; vſing all poſſible valour, and mutuall encouragement, to put the *Athenians* backe, and gaine the Fort.

D Moſt eminent of all the reſt was *Braſidas*: For hauing the Command of a Gallie, and ſeeing other Captaines of Gallies, and Steereſmen (the place beeing hard of acceſſe) when there appeared ſometimes poſſibility of putting aſhoare, to bee affraid; and tender of breaking their Gallies, hee would cry out vnto them, ſaying, *They did not well, for ſparing of Wood, to let the Enemie fortifie in their Countrey.* And to the *Lacedæmonians* hee gaue aduice, to force landing with the breaking of their Gallies; and prayed the Confederates,
E *that in requitall of many benefits, they would not ſticke to beſtow their Gallies at this time vpon the* Lacedæmonians, *and run-*

The valour of *Braſidas*.

ning them aſhoare, to vſe any meanes whatſoeuer to Land, and to get into their hands both the Men in the Ile, and the Fort. A

Thus hee vrged others; and hauing compelled the Steereſman of his owne Gallie to runne her aſhore, hee came to the * Ladders, but attempting to get downe, was by the *Athenians* put backe, and after he had receiued many wounds, ſwouned, and falling vpon the * ledges of the Gallie, his Buckler tumbled ouer into the Sea, which brought to Land, the *Athenians* tooke vp, and vſed afterwards in the Trophie which they ſet vp for this aſſault. Alſo the reſt endeauoured with much courage to come aland; but the place being ill to land in, and the *Athenians* not boudging, they could not doe it. So that at this time Fortune came ſo much about, that the *Athenians* fought from the Land, *Laconique* Land, againſt *Lacedæmonians* in Gallies; and the *Lacedæmonians* from their Gallies, fought againſt the *Athenians*, to get landing in their owne now hoſtile Territory. For at that time there was an opinion farre ſpred, that theſe were rather Land-men, and expert in a Battell of Foot; and that in maritime and nauall actions the other excelled. B C

This day then, and a part of the next, they made ſundry aſſaults, and after that gaue ouer. And the third day they ſent out ſome Gallies to *Aſine*, for Timber, wherewith to make Engines; hoping with Engines to take that part of the Wall that looketh into the Hauen; which, though it were higher, yet the landing to it was eaſier.

In the meane time arriue the fortie *Athenian* Gallies from *Zacynthus*; for there were ioyned with them certaine Gallies of the Garriſon of *Naupactus*, and foure of *Chios*. And when they ſaw both the Continent and the Iland full of men of Armes, and that the Gallies that were in the Hauen would not come foorth, not knowing where to caſt Anchor, they ſayled for the preſent to the Ile *Prote*, being neere, and defart, and there lay for that night. D

The next day, after they had put themſelues in order, they put to Sea againe, with purpoſe to offer them Battell, if the other would come foorth into the wide Sea E

*Σκάλαι, Ladders or Plankes to disbarke by. Braſidas ſwoneth by reaſon of his wounds.

* ἐπωτίδιον. Fori. *the place on the outſide of the Gally for Souldiers to ſtand and fight on, betweene the Rowers and the water.*

The Lacedæmonian, after three dayes aſſault, without effect, giue ouer that courſe.

The Athenian Fleet returne from Zacynthus, to ayde the Athenians in Pylus.

A Sea against them, if not, to enter the Hauen vpon them. But the *Peloponnesians* neither came out against them, nor had stopped vp the entries of the Hauen, as they had before determined, but lying still on the shoare, manned out their Gallies, and prepared to fight, if any entred, in the Hauen it selfe, which was no small one. The *Athenians* vnderstanding this, came in violently vpon them, at both the mouths of the Hauen, and most of the *Lacedæmonian* Gallies, which were already set out, and opposed them they charged, and put to flight. And in following B the chase, which was but short, they brake many of them, and tooke fiue, whereof one with all her men in her; and they fell in also, with them that fled to the shoare; and the Gallies which were but in manning out, were torne and rent, before they could put off from the Land. Others they tyed to their owne Gallies, and towed them away empty. Which the *Lacedæmonians* perceiuing, and extremely grieued with the losse, because their fellowes were heereby intercepted in the Iland, came in with their ayde from the Land, and entring armed into the Sea, C tooke hold of the Gallies with their hands, to haue pulled them backe againe; euery one conceiuing the businesse to proceed the worse, wherein himselfe was not present. So there arose a great affray about the Gallies, and such as was contrary to the manner of them both. For the *Lacedæmonians* out of eagrenesse, and out of feare, did (as one may say) nothing else but make a Sea-fight from the Land; and the *Athenians*, who had the victory, and desired to extend their present fortune to the vtmost, made a Land-fight from their Gallies. But at length, hauing D wearied and wounded each other, they fell asunder; and the *Lacedæmonians* recouered all their Gallies, saue onely those which were taken at the first onset. When they were on both sides retired to their Campes, the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, deliuered to the Enemie their dead, and possessed the wrecke, and immediately went round the Iland with their Gallies, keeping watch vpon it, as hauing intercepted the men within it. The *Peloponnesians* in the meane time, that were in the Continent, and were by this time assembled there with their succours from all parts of *Peloponnesus*, remained vpon the E place at *Pylus*.

The *Athenians* ouercome *Peloponnesian* fleete in the Hauen of *Pylus*

The *Athenians* getting the victory beseege the men cut off from the army, in the Iland.

As soone as the newes of what had passed was related at *Sparta*, they thought fit, in respect the losse was great, to send the Magistrates downe to the Campe, to determine, vpon view of the state of their present affaires there, what they thought requisite to be done. These, when they saw there was no possibility to relieue their men, and were not willing to put them to the danger either of suffering by Famine, or of being forced by multitude, concluded amongst themselues, to take Truce with the *Athenian* Commanders, as farre as concerned the particulars of *Pylus*, if they also would bee content, and to send Ambassadours to *Athens*, about agreement, and to endeuour to fetch off their men as soone as they could. The *Athenian* Commanders accepting the proposition, the Truce was made, in this manner.

The Magistrates of *Sparta* come to view the state of the Campe, and conclude there to send to *Athens* about peace.

Truce betweene the Armies, till Ambassadours might be sent to *Athens*.

The Articles of the Truce.

THAT the Lacedæmonians *should deliuer vp, not onely those Gallies wherein they fought, but also bring to* Pylus, *and put into the* Athenians *hands, whatsoeuer Vessels of the * long forme of building were any where else in* Laconia.

That they should not make any assault vpon the Fort, neither by Sea nor Land. That the Athenians *should permit the* Lacedæmonians *that were in the Continent, to send ouer to those in the Iland, a portion of ground corne, agreed on, to wit, to euery one two* Attique * Chœnickes *of Meale, and two * Cotyles of Wine, and a piece of Flesh; and to euery of their seruants halfe that quantitie.*

That they should send this, the Athenians *looking on, and not send ouer any Vessell by stealth.*

That the Athenians *should neuertheless continue garding of the Iland, prouided that they landed not in it; and should not inuade the* Peloponnesian *Armie neither by Land nor Sea.*

That if either side transgressed in any part thereof, the truce was then immediately to bee voyd, otherwise to hold good till the returne of the Lacedæmonian *Ambassadours from* Athens.

That the Athenians *should conuoy them in a Gallie vnto* Athens, *and backe. That at their returne the Truce should end, and the* Athenians *should restore them their Gallies, in as good estate as they had receiued them.*

Thus was the Truce made, and the Gallies were deliuered

* Out of this and other places it appeares, that the shipping of those times was of two formes, long and round. The long, which principally vsed the Oare, serued for the Warres; the round, which vsed only the saile, serued for Merchants vses and transportation of prouision. Of the first sort were all Gallies, whether of one, two, three, or more tire of Oares; of the latter were the Ships called στρογγύλαι.

* a Chœnix. a measure of about three pintes of ours.

* Κοτύλη, a quarter of a Chœnix.

A uered to the *Athenians*, to the number of about threescore: and the Ambassadours were sent away; who arriuing at *Athens*, said as followeth.

THE ORATION OF THE LACEDÆMONIAN Ambassadours.

MEN *of* Athens, *the* Lacedæmonians *haue sent vs hither, to ern*ing *our men in the Iland, to see if wee can perswade you to such a course, as being most profitable for you,*
B *may in this misfortune, be the most honourable for vs, that our present condition is capable of. We will not be longer in discourse then standeth with our custome, being the *fashion with vs, where few words suffice, there indeed not to vse many; but yet to vse more, when the occasion requireth that by* words *wee should make plaine that which is to bee done in* actions *of importance. But the words we shall vse, wee pray you to receiue, not with the minde of an Enemie, nor as if wee went about to instruct you, as men ignorant, but for a remembrance to you, of what you know, that you may deliberate wisely therein. It is now in your power to assure your present good fortune*
C *with reputation, holding what you haue, with the addition of honour and glory besides; and to auoyd that which befalleth men vpon extraordinary successe, who through hope, aspire to greater fortune, because the fortune they haue already, came vnhoped for. Whereas they that haue felt many changes of both fortunes, ought indeed to bee most suspicious of the good. So ought your Citie, and ours especially, vpon experience, in all reason to bee. Know it, by seeing this present misfortune falne on vs, who being of greatest dignity of all the* Grecians, *come to you, to aske that, which before wee thought chiefely in our owne hands to giue. And yet wee are not brought to this through*
D *weakenesse, nor through insolence vpon addition of strength, but because it succeeded not with the power wee had, as we thought it should which may as well happen to any other, as to our selues. So that you haue no reason to conceiue, that for your power, and purchases, fortune also must be therefore alwaies yours. Such wise men as safely reckon their prosperity in the account of things doubtfull, doe most wisely also addresse themselues towards aduersity; and not thinke that Warre will so farre follow, and no further, as one shall please more or lesse to take it in hand: but rather so farre as fortune shall leade it. Such men also seldome miscarrying, because they bee not puft*
E *vp with the confidence of successe, choose then principally to giue ouer, when they are in their better fortune. And so it will bee good*

* Brevity of speech was so customary and naturall to the Laconians, that it grew to a prouerbe.

for

for you, men of Athens, to doe with vs; and not, if reiecting our aduice, you chance to miscarry (as many wayes you may) to haue it thought hereafter that all your present successes were but meere fortune. A

Whereas, on the contrary, it is in your hands, without danger, to leaue a reputation to posterity both of strength and wisedome. The Lacedæmonians call you to a Peace, and end of the Warre, giuing you peace, and alliance, and much other friendship and mutuall familiarity, requiring for the same, onely those their men that are in the Iland; though also we thinke it better for both sides, not to try the chance of Warre; Whether it fall out that by some occasion of safety offered, they escape by force, or being expugned by siege, should be more in your power then they be. For wee are of this mind, that great hatred is most safely canceld, not when one that hauing beaten his enemy, and gotten much the better in the Warre, brings him through necessity to take an oath, and to make peace on vnequall termes; but when hauing it in his power, lawfully so to doe, if he please, he ouercome him likewise in goodnesse, and contrary to what he expects, be reconciled to him on moderate conditions. B For in this case, his enemy being obliged, not to seeke reuenge, as one that had beene forced, but to requite his goodnesse, will, for shame, be the more enclined to the conditions agreed on. And naturally, to those that relent of their owne accord, men giue way reciprocally, with content; but against the arrogant, they will hazard all, euen when in their owne iudgements they be too weake. But for vs both, if euer it were good to agree, it is surely so at this present, and before any irreparable accident be interposed. Whereby wee should be compelled besides the common, to beare you a particular eternall hatred, and you be depriued of the commodities we now offer you. Let vs be reconciled while matters stand vndecided, and whilst you haue gained reputation, and our friendship, and we not suffered dishonour, and but indifferent losse. And we shall not onely our selues preferre Peace before Warre, but also giue a cessation of their miseries to all the rest of the Grecians, who will acknowledge it rather from you, then vs. For they make Warre, not knowing whether side begun; but if an end be made, (which is now for the most part in your owne hands) the thankes will bee yours. C D

And by decreeing the Peace, you may make the Lacedæmonians your sure friends, in as much as they call you to it, and are therein not forced, but gratified. Wherein consider how many commodities are like to ensue, for if we and you goe one way, you E know

A *know the rest of* Greece, *being inferior to vs,* * *will honour vs in the highest degree.* Thus spake the *Lacedæmonians*, thinking that in times past, the *Athenians* had coueted Peace, and been hindered of it by them, and that being now offered, they would gladly accept of it.

But they, hauing these men intercepted in the Iland, thought they might compound at pleasure, and aspired to greater matters. To this, they were set on, for the most part by *Cleon, the sonne of Cleænetus*, a popular man, at that B time, and of greatest sway with the multitude. He perswaded them to giue this answer:

That they in the Iland ought first to deliuer vp their Armes, and come themselues to Athens, *and when they should be there, if the* Lacedæmonians *would make restitution of* Nisæa, *and* Pegæ, *and* Træzen, *and* Achaia, (the which they had not won in Warre, but had receiued by former Treaty, when the *Athenian* being in distresse, and at that time, in more need of Peace then now, yeelded them vp into their hands) *then they should haue their men againe, and peace should be made, for as* C *long as they both should thinke good.*

To this answer, they replyed nothing, but desired that Commissioners might be chosen to treat with them, who by alternate speaking, and hearing, might quietly make such an agreement, as they could perswade each other vnto. But then *Cleon* came mightily vpon them, saying, he knew before, that they had no honest purpose, and that the same was now manifest, in that they refused to speake before the people, but sought to sit in consultation, onely with a few; And willed them, if they had ought to say, D that was reall, to speake it before them all. But the *Lacedæmonians* finding, that although they had a mind to make Peace with them, vpon this occasion of aduersity, yet it would not be fit to speake in it before the multitude, lest speaking, and not obtaining, they should incurre * calumny with their Confederates, and seeing withall, that the *Athenians* would not grant what they sued for, vpon reasonable conditions, they went backe againe without effect.

Vpon their returne, presently the Truce at *Pylus* was at an end, and the *Lacedæmonians*, according to agreement, demanded restitution of their Gallies. But the *Athenians*, E laying to their charge, an assault made vpon the Fort, contrary

* τὰ μέγιστα τιμῶντες. *Will giue vs highest honour, Couetying to the vnderstanding of the wiser sort of the hearers, the consideration of tyrannizing the rest of Greece for by the highest honour, he meanes tyranny, but auoyding the enuy of the word; because if he had said it plainely, the Confederates would see, that they which termed themselues* the deliuerers of Greece, *would now, out of priuate interest, be content to ioyne with the* Athenians, *to tyrannize it.*

The insolent demaund of the people of *Athens*, by the aduice of *Cleon.*

The *Lacedæmonians* desire to speake before a priuate Committee.

* *Viz. for buying Peace at the cost of the Confederates subiection, for the thing they durst not propound before the people was thus, that by the amity of these two great states the rest of* Greece *would be forced to serue them, which they touched also, but obscurely in the last words of their Oration, as I haue noted before.*

The Ambassadors returne without effect, and the Truce endeth.

The *Athenians* cauill, and keepe the Gallies of the *Lacedæmonians.*

ry

ry to the Articles, and other matters of no great importance, refuſed to render them; ſtanding vpon this, that it was ſaid that the accord ſhould be voyd, vpon whatſoeuer the leſt tranſgreſsion of the ſame. But the *Lacedæmonians* denying it, and proteſting this detention of their Gallies for an iniury, went their wayes, and betooke themſelues to the Warre. So the Warre at *Pylus* was on both ſides renued with all their power.

The Warre at *Pylus* goes on.

The *Athenians* went euery day about the Iland with two Gallies, one going one way, another, another way, and lay at Anchor about it euery night with their whole Fleet, except on that part which lyeth to the open Sea, and that onely when it was windy. From *Athens* alſo, there came a ſupply of thirty Gallies more, to guard the Iland, ſo that they were in the whole threeſcore and ten. And the *Lacedæmonians* made aſſaults vpon the Fort, and watched euery opportunity that ſhould preſent it ſelfe, to ſaue their men in the Iland.

The *Syracuſians* and *Athenians* fight in the ſtraight betweene *Meſſana* and *Rhegium*.

Meſſana.

Whileſt theſe things paſſed, the *Syracuſians*, and their Confederates in *Sicily*, adding to thoſe Gallies that lay in Garriſon at *Meſſana*, the reſt of the Fleet which they had prepared, made Warre out of *Meſſana*, inſtigated thereto, chiefly, by the *Locrians*, as enemies to the *Rhegians*, (whoſe Territory they had alſo inuaded with their whole forces by Land) and ſeeing the *Athenians* had but a few Gallies preſent, and hearing that the greater number which were to come to them, were employed in the ſiege of the * Iland, deſired to try with them a Battell by Sea; for if they could get the better with their Nauie, they hoped, lying before *Rhegium*, both with their Land-forces on the Field ſide, and with their Fleet by Sea, eaſily to take it into their hands, and thereby ſtrengthen their affaires. For *Rhegium* a * Promontorie of *Italy*, and *Meſſana* in *Sicily* lying neere together, they might both hinder the *Athenians* from lying at Anchor there againſt them, and make themſelues Maſters of the Streight. This Streight is the Sea betweene *Rhegium* and *Meſſana*, where *Sicily* is neereſt to the Continent, and is that which is called * *Charybdis*, where *Vlyſſes* is ſaid to haue paſſed through; which, for that it is very narrow, and becauſe the Sea falleth in there, from two great maines, the *Tyrrhene* and *Sicilian*, and is rough, hath therefore not without good cauſe beene eſteemed dangerous.

* Sphacteria.

* Rhegium, *being a promontory, and deriued from* Pῆγνυμι, *which ſignifies to breake, makes it probable that* Sicily *was once a part of* Italy, *and there broken off by ſome Earthquake, but yet* Scylla *is neerer to* Sicily *then* Rhegium *is.*

* Charybdis, *here taken for the name of the whole ſtrait, is but a part neere to* Meſſana, *betweene it and* Pelorus, *ſubiect to extraordinary agitation in ſtormy weather, but nothing to that it was, or was fained to be of old.*

A In this Straight then, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, with somewhat more then 30. Gallies, were constrained in the later end of the day to come to a Sea-fight, hauing bin drawne forth about the passage of a certaine Boat, to vndertake 16. Gallies of *Athens*, and 8. of *Rhegium*; and being ouercome by the *Athenians*, fell off with the losse of one Gallie, and went speedily, each side to their own Campe at *Messana*, and *Rhegium*; and the night ouertooke them in the action. After this the *Locrians* departed out of the Territory of the *Rhegians*, and the Fleet of the *Syracusians* and their
B Confederates came together to an Anchor at * *Pelori*, and had their Land-forces by them. But the *Athenians* and *Rhegians* came vp to them, and finding their Gallies empty of men, fell in amongst them, and by meanes of a Grapnel * cast into one of their Gallies, they lost that Gallie, but the men swam out. Vpon this the *Syracusians* went aboard, and whilest they were towed along the shore towards *Messana*, the *Athenians* came vp to them againe, and the *Syracusians* * opening themselues, charged first, and sunke another of their Gallies; so the *Syracusians* passed on to
C the Port of *Messana*, hauing had the better in their passage by the shore, and in the Sea-fight, which were both together in such manner as is declared.

The *Athenians*, vpon newes that *Camarina* should by *Archias* and his complices bee betrayed to the *Syracusians*, went thither. In the meane time the *Messanians* with their whole power, by Land, and also with their Fleet, warred on *Naxus* a * *Chalcidique* Citie, & their borderer. The first day hauing forced the *Naxians* to retire within their Walls, they spoiled their fields; the next day they sent their Fleet about in-
D to the Riuer *Acesine*, which spoiled the Countrey as it went vp the Riuer, & with their Land-forces assaulted the City. In the meane time many of the *Siculi*, Mountainers, came down to their assistance against the *Messanians*; which when they of *Naxus* perceiued, they tooke heart, and encouraging themselues with an opinion, that the *Leontines*, and all the rest of the Grecians their Confederates, had come to succour them, sallied suddenly out of the Citie, and charged vpon the *Messanians*, and put them to flight, with the slaughter of a thousand of their Souldiers, the rest hard-
E ly escaping home. For the *Barbarians* fell vpon them, and slew the most part of them in the High-wayes.

The *Syracusians* and *Athenians* fight at Sea.

* *a Promontory of* Sicily, *hard by* Messana.

* *cast in by the Souldiers on shore.*

The *Messanians* warre on the Citie of *Naxus*, and receiue a great losse.

* *of those which were founded by the* Chalcideans *of* Greece.

And the Gallies that lay at *Messana*, not long after, diuided themselues, and went to their * seuerall homes. A

* Syracusa *and* Locris.

The *Athenians* and *Leontines* attempt to take *Messana*.

Hereupon the *Leontines* and their Confederates, together with the *Athenians*, marched presently against *Messana*, as being now weakned, and assaulted it; the *Athenians* with their Fleet, by the Hauen; and the Land-forces, at the Wall to the Field. But the *Messanians*, and certaine *Locrians* with *Demoteles*, who after this losse had beene left there in Garrison, issuing forth, and falling suddenly vpon them, put a great part of the *Leontines* Armie to flight, and slew many; but the *Athenians*, seeing that, disbarked, B and relieued them; and comming vpon the *Messanians* now in disorder, chased them againe into the Citie. Then they erected a Trophie, and put ouer to *Rhegium*. After this, the *Grecians* of *Sicily* warred one vpon another, without the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* are much troubled to watch the Iland.

All this while the *Athenians* at *Pylus* besieged the *Lacedæmonians* in the Iland; and the Armie of the *Peloponnesians* in the Continent remained still vpon the place. This keeping of Watch was exceeding painefull to the *Athenians*, in respect of the want they had, both of Corne and C Water; for there was no Well but one, and that was in the Fort it selfe of *Pylus*, and no great one. And the greatest number turned vp the grauell, and drunke such water as they were * like to finde there. They were also scanted of roome for their Campe; and their Gallies not hauing place to ride in, they were forced by turnes, some to stay ashore, and others to take their victuall, and lye off at Anchor. But their greatest discouragement was, the time which they had stayed there, longer then they had thought to haue done; for they thought to haue famished them D out in a few dayes, being in a desart Iland, and hauing nothing to drinke but salt water. The cause hereof were the *Lacedæmonians*, who had * proclaimed that any man that would, should carry in Meale, Wine, Cheese, and all other esculents necessary for a Siege, into the Iland, appointing for the same a great reward of siluer: and if any *Helote* should carry in any thing, they promised him liberty. Heereupon diuers with much danger, imported victuall; but especially the *Helotes*, who putting off from all parts of *Peloponnesus*, whersoeuer they chanced to bee, came E in at the parts of the Iland that lay to the wide Sea. But they

* *The water which is found by digging in the Sea-sands is commonly fresh, being strained, and so purged of the saltnesse in the passage of the water through the sand, but not so good as fitter off from the Sea.*

The shift of the *Lacedæmonians* to relieue the besieged with victuall.

* *to the people of the Country about.*

A they had a care aboue all, to take such a time as to bee brought in with the Wind. For when it blew from the Sea, they could escape the watch of the Gallies easily. For they could not then lye round about the Iland at Anchor. And the *Helotes* were nothing tender in putting ashoare; for they ranne their Gallies on ground, valued at a price in money, and the men of Armes also watched at all the landing places of the Iland. But as many as made attempt when the weather was calme, were intercepted. There were also such as could diue, that swam ouer into the Iland B through the Hauen, drawing after them in a string, Bottles filled with * Poppy, tempred with Honie, and pounded Lintseed: wherof some at the first passed vnseene, but were afterwards watched. So that on either part they vsed all possible art, one side to send ouer food, the other to apprehend those that carried it.

* *A medicine for hunger and thirst, not meate. Scholiastes.*

The *People of Athens* being aduertised of the state of their Armie, how it was in distresse, and that victuall was transported into the Iland, knew not what they should doe to it, and feared lest Winter should ouertake them in their C Siege; fearing not onely that to prouide them of necessaries about *Peloponnesus*, and in a desart place withall, would bee a thing impossible, but also that they should be vnable to send forth so many things as were requisite, though it were Summer; and againe, that the parts thereabout being without Harbour, there would bee no place to lye at Anchor in against them, but that the Watch there ceasing of it selfe, the men would by that meanes escape, or in some foule weather bee carried away in the same Boats that brought them meate. But that which they feared D most, was, that the *Lacedæmonians* seemed to haue some assurance of them already, because they sent no more to negotiate about them. And they repented now, that they had not accepted of the Peace. But *Cleon* knowing himselfe to be the man suspected for hindering the agreement, said, that they who brought the newes, reported not the truth. Whereupon, they that came thence, aduising them, if they would not beleeue it, to send to view the estate of the Army, he and *Theogenes* were chosen by the *Athenians* to view it. But when hee saw that hee must of force E eyther say as they said, whom hee before calumniated, or saying the contrary be proued a lyer, hee aduised the

The *Athenians* are angry, that their Armie is detained so long in the siege of the Iland.

Cleon to auoyd the enuie of hindering the peace, engageth himselfe ere hee was aware, to fetch those that were besieged in the Iland, home to *Athens*.

Athenians, ſeeing them enclined of themſelues, to ſend thither greater forces, then they had before thought to doe, that it was not fit to ſend to view the place, nor to loſe their opportunity by delay, but if the report ſeemed vnto them to bee true, they ſhould make a voyage againſt thoſe men, and glanced at *Nicias* the ſonne of *Niceratus*, then * Generall, vpon malice, and with language of reproach. Saying it was eaſie, if the Leaders were men, to goe and take them there in the Iland. And that himſelfe, if hee had the Command, would doe it. But *Nicias*, ſeeing the *Athenians* to bee in a kinde of tumult againſt *Cleon*, for that when hee thought it ſo eaſie a matter, hee did not preſently put it in practice, & ſeeing alſo he had vpbraided him, willed him to take what ſtrength hee would, that they could giue him, and vndertake it. *Cleon* ſuppoſing at firſt that he gaue him this leaue but in words, was ready to accept it; but when he knew he would giue him the authority in good earneſt, then he ſhrunke backe, and ſaid, that not he, but *Nicias* was Generall; being now indeed afraid, and hoping that he durſt not haue giuen ouer the office to him. But then, *Nicias* againe bade him doe it, and gaue ouer his command to him, for ſo much as concerned *Pylus*, and called the *Athenians* to witneſſe it. They (as is the faſhion of the multitude) the more *Cleon* declined the Voyage, and went backe from his word, preſſed *Nicias* ſo much the more to reſigne his * power to him, and cryed out vpon *Cleon* to goe. Inſomuch as not knowing how to diſengage himſelfe of his word, hee vndertooke the Voyage, and ſtood forth, ſaying, that he feared not the *Lacedæmonians*, and that hee would not carry any man with him out of the Citie, but onely the *Lemnians* and *Imbrians* that then were preſent, and thoſe Targettieres that were come to them from *Ænus*, and 400. Archers out of other places, and with theſe, he ſaid, added to the Souldiers that were at *Pylus* already, he would within twenty dayes, either fetch away the *Lacedæmonians* aliue, or kill them vpon the place.

This vaine ſpeech moued amongſt the *Athenians* ſome laughter, and was heard with great content of the wiſer ſort. For of two benefits, the one muſt needs fall out; either to be rid of *Cleon*, (which was their greateſt hope) or if they were deceiued in that, then to get thoſe *Lacedæmonians*

* ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν, *The Magiſtrate to whoſe authority was committed the leuying and muſtering of Souldiers.*

Cleon vndertaketh to fetch thoſe in the Iland priſoners to *Athens*.

Cleon taken at his word, would haue declined the employment, but cannot

* *his power to leuy Souldiers.*

A glorious boaſt of *Cleon* well taken.

A *nians* into their hands. Now when he had dispatched with the Assembly, and the *Athenians* had by their voices decreed him the Voyage, he ioyned vnto himselfe *Demosthenes*, one of the Commanders at *Pylus*, and presently put to Sea. Hee made choice of *Demosthenes* for his Companion, because he heard that hee also, of himselfe, had a purpose to set his Souldiers aland in the Ile. For the Armie hauing suffered much by the straightnesse of the place, and being rather the besieged, then the besieger, had a great desire to put the matter to the hazard of a Battell: con-
B firmed therein the more, for that the Iland had been burnt. For hauing beene for the most part wood, and (by reason it had lyen euer desart) without path, they were before the more afraid, and thought it the aduantage of the Enemie; for assaulting them out of sight, they might annoy a very great Armie that should offer to come aland. For their errours, being in the Wood, and their preparation could not so well haue beene discerned: whereas all the faults of their owne Armie should haue beene in sight. So that the Enemy might haue set vpon them suddenly, in
C what part soeuer they had pleased; because the onset had beene in their owne election. Againe, if they should by force come vp to fight with the *Lacedæmonians* at hand in the thicke Woods, the fewer, and skilfull of the wayes, hee thought would bee too hard for the many and vnskilfull. Besides, their owne Armie beeing great, it might receiue an ouerthrow before they could know of it, because they could not see where it was needfull to relieue one another.

The reason why *Demosthenes* durst not land in the Iland to subdue the besieged by fight.

These things came into his head, especially from the
D losse hee receiued in *Ætolia*. Which in part also happened, by occasion of the Woods. But the * Souldiers, for want of roome, hauing beene forced to put in at the outside of the Iland, to dresse their dinners with a watch before them, and one of them hauing set fire on the Wood, it burnt on by little and little, and the Wind afterwards rising, the most of it was burnt before they were aware. By this accident, *Demosthenes* the better discerning that the *Lacedæmonians* were more then hee had imagined, hauing before, by victuall sent vnto them, thought them not so
E many, did now prepare himselfe for the Enterprize, as a matter deseruing the *Athenians* vtmost care, and as hauing better

* *The* Athenian *Souldiers.*

The wood of the Iland burnt by accident.

better commodity of landing in the Iland, then before he had; and both ſent for the forces of ſuch Confederates as were neere, and put in readineſſe euery other needfull thing. And *Cleon*, who had ſent a Meſſenger before to ſignifie his comming, came himſelfe alſo with thoſe forces which he had required, vnto *Pylus*. When they were both together, firſt they ſent a Herald to the Campe in the Continent, to know if they would command thoſe in the Iland to deliuer vp themſelues and their Armes without battell, to be held with eaſie impriſonment, till ſome agreement were made touching the maine Warre. Which when they refuſed, the *Athenians* for one day held their hands, but the next day, hauing put aboord vpon a few Gallies, all their men of Armes, they put off in the night, and landed a little before day on both ſides of the Iland, both from the Mayne, and from the Hauen, to the number of about 800 men of Armes, and marched vpon high ſpeed towards the formoſt watch of the Iland. For thus the *Lacedæmonians* lay quartered. In this formoſt watch were about thirty men of Armes. The middeſt, and eueneſt part of the Iland, and about the water, was kept by *Epitadas* their Captaine, with the greateſt part of the whole number. And another part of them, which were not many, kept the laſt guard towards *Pylus*, which place to the Sea-ward was on a Cliffe, and leaſt aſſaileable by Land. For there was alſo a certaine Fort which was old, and made of choſen, not of hewne ſtones, which they thought would ſtand them in ſtead in caſe of violent retreat. Thus they were quartered. Now the *Athenians* preſently killed thoſe of the formoſt guard, (which they ſo ran to) in their Cabins, and as they were taking Armes. For they knew not of their landing, but thought thoſe Gallies, had come thither to Anchor in the night, according to cuſtome, as they had been wont to doe. Aſſoone as it was morning, the * reſt of the Army alſo landed, out of ſomewhat more then 70 Gallies, euery one with ſuch Armes as he had; being all that rowed, (except only the **Thalamij*) eight hundred Archers; Targuetiers as many; all the *Meſſenians* that came to aide them, and as many of them beſides, as held any place about *Pylus*, except onely the Garriſon of the Fort it ſelfe. *Demoſthenes* then diſpoſing his Army by two hundred, and more in a company,

Cleon arriueth at *Pylus*.

The *Athenians* inuade the Iland:

And kill thoſe that were in the firſt and moſt remote watch from *Pylus*.

* *Viz.* the light-armed.

* *Thalamij*. There were three ranks of rowers amongſt the Athenians, the vppermoſt called Thranitæ, the ſecond Zygitæ, and the laſt Thalamitæ, or Thalamij. In the Gally called a Bireme, there were no Zeugitæ, in a Trireme were all 3. ranks, in a Quadrireme and vpwards, all the middle ranks were Zeugitæ: onely the vppermoſt were Thranitæ, and the nethermoſt Thalamitæ.

A pany, and in some lesse, at certaine distances, seazed on all the higher grounds, to the end that the enemies compassed about on euery side, might the lesse know what to doe, or against what part to set themselues in battel, and be subiect to the shot of the multitude from euery part; and when they should make head against those that fronted them, be charged behind; and when they should turne to those that were opposed to their flancks, be charged at once both behind and before. And which way soeuer they marched, the light-armed, and such as were meanli-
B est prouided of Armes, followed them at the backe, with Arrowes, Darts, Stones, and Slings; who haue courage enough afarre off, and could not be charged, but would ouercome flying, and also presse the enemies when they should retyre. With this designe, *Demosthenes*, both intended his landing at first, and afterwards ordered his forces accordingly in the action. Those that were about *Epitadis*, who were the greatest part of those in the Iland, when they saw that the formost guard was slaine, and that the Army marched towards them, put them-
C selues in array, and went towards the men of Armes of the *Athenians*, with intent to charge them; for these were opposed to them in front, and the light-armed Souldiers on their flancks, and at their backs. But they could neither come to ioyne with them, nor any way make vse of their *skill. For both the light-armed Souldiers kept them off, with shot from either side, and the men of Armes aduanced not. Where the light-armed Souldiers approached neerest, they were driuen backe; but returning, they charged them afresh, being men armed lightly, and that
D easily got out of their reach by running, especially the ground being vneasie, and rough, by hauing been formerly desert; so that the *Lacedæmonians* in their Armour, could not follow them. Thus for a little while they skirmished one against another, a farre off. But when the *Lacedæmonians* were no longer able to run out after them, where they charged, these light-armed Souldiers seeing them lesse earnest in chasing them, and taking courage chiefly from their sight, as being many times their number, and hauing also been vsed to them so much, as not to thinke them now
E so dangerous as they had done, for that they had not receiued so much hurt at their hands, as their subdued mindes, because

The *Athenians* diuide themselues into many troopes, against the maine body of the *Lacedæmonian* Souldiers.

The fight betweene the *Athenians*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, in the middle of the *Iland*.

**The skill of fighting, a standing fight, was thought a peculiar vertue of the Lacedæmonians, as the Sea-fight was thought to the Athenians.*

because they were to fight against the *Lacedæmonians*, had at their first landing pre-iudged, contemned them; and with a great cry ran all at once vpon them, casting Stones, Arrowes, and Darts, as to euery man came next to hand. Vpon this cry, and assault, they were much terrified, as not accustomed to such kind of fight; and withall a great dust of the woods lately burnt, mounted into the ayre, so that by reason of the Arrowes, and Stones, that together with the dust flew from such a multitude of men, they could hardly see before them. Then the battell grew sore on the *Lacedæmonians* side, for their * Iackes now gaue way to the Arrowes, and the Darts that were throwne, stucke broken in them, so as they could not handle themselues, as neither seeing before them, nor hearing any direction giuen them, for the greater noyse of the enemy; but (danger being on all sides) were hopelesse to saue themselues vpon any side by fighting. In the end, many of them being now wounded, for that they could not shift their ground, they made their retreat in close order, to the last guard of the Iland, and to the watch that was there. When they once gaue ground, then were the light-armed Souldiers much more confident then before, and pressed vpon them with a mighty noyse. And as many of the *Lacedæmonians* as they could intercept in their retreat, they slew; but the most of them recouered the Fort, and together with the watch of the same, put themselues in order to defend it in all parts that were subiect to assault. The *Athenians* following, could not now encompasse and hemme them in, for the strong situation of the place, but assaulting them in the face, sought onely how to put them from the wall. And thus they held out a long time, the better part of a day, either side tyred with the fight, and with thirst, and with the Sunne, one endeauouring to driue the enemy from the top, the other to keepe their ground. And the *Lacedæmonians* defended themselues easilier now then before, because they were not now encompassed vpon their flancks. When there was no end of the businesse, the Captaine of the *Messenians* said vnto *Cleon*, and *Demosthenes*, that they spent their labour there in vaine, and that if they would deliuer vnto him a part of the Archers, and light-armed Souldiers, to get vp by such a way as he himselfe should find out, and come

A B C D E

* πίλοι. *A kind of quilted Armour, or of Stuffe close beaten like Felt.*

The *Lacedæmonians* retire to the Fort, where the last guard was placed.

The *Athenians* assault them there.

A come behinde vpon their backes, hee thought the entrance might bee forced. And hauing receiued the Forces hee asked, hee tooke his way from a place out of ſight to the *Lacedæmonians*, that hee might not be diſcouered; making his approach vnder the Cliffes of the Iland, where they were continuall; in which part, truſting to the naturall ſtrength therof, they kept no watch; and with much labour, and hardly vnſeene, came behinde them. And appearing ſuddenly from aboue at their backes, both terrified the Enemies with the ſight of what they B expected not, and much confirmed the *Athenians* with the ſight of what they expected. And the *Lacedæmonians* being now charged with their ſhot both before and behind, were in the ſame caſe (to compare ſmall matters with great) that they were in at * *Thermopylæ*. For then they were ſlaine by the *Perſians*, ſhut vp on both ſides in a narrow path. And theſe now being charged on both ſides, could make good the place no longer, but fighting, few againſt many, and beeing weake withall for want of foode, were at laſt forced to giue ground; and the *Athenians* C by this time, were alſo Maſters of all the entrances.

But *Cleon* and *Demoſthenes*, knowing that the more they gaue backe, the faſter they would bee killed by their Armie, ſtaid the fight, and held in the Souldiers, with deſire to carry them aliue to *Athens*, in caſe their ſpirits were ſo much broken, and their courage abated by this miſerie, as vpon Proclamation made, they would bee content to deliuer vp their Armes. So they proclaimed, that they ſhould deliuer vp their Armes and themD ſelues to the *Athenians*, to be diſpoſed of as to them ſhould ſeeme good.

Vpon hearing heereof, the moſt of them threw downe their Bucklers, and ſhooke their hands aboue their heads, ſignifying their acceptation of what was proclaimed. Whereupon a Truce was made, and they came to treat, *Cleon* and *Demoſthenes* of one ſide, and *Styphon* the ſonne of *Pharax*, on the other ſide. For of them that had Command there, *Epitadas*, who was the firſt, was ſlaine; and *Hippagretes*, who was choſen to ſucceed E him, lay amongſt the dead, though yet aliue; and this man was the third to ſucceed in the Cõmand by the* Law, in caſe

Some of the *Athenians* climbe vp behind the *Lacedæmonians* vnſeene, and appeare at their backes.

* 5000. *Lacedæmonians*, *vnder their King* Leonidas, *in the Streight of* Thermopylæ, *withſtood* 300000. Perſians, *till they were circumuented, and charged both before and behinde, and ſo all ſlaine.* Herod. lib. 7.

The *Lacedæmonians* yeeld.

* *This manner of ſubordaining diuers Commanders to be chiefe in ſucceſſion, was in thoſe times much vſed.*

the others ſhould miſcarry. *Styphon*, and thoſe that were with him, ſaid they would ſend ouer to the *Lacedæmonians* in the Continent, to know what they there would aduiſe them to; but the *Athenians* letting none goe thence, called for Heralds out of the Continent; and the queſtion hauing beene twice or thrice asked, the laſt of the *Lacedæmonians* that came ouer from the Continent, brought them this Anſwer: *The* Lacedæmonians *bid you take aduice touching your ſelues, ſuch as you ſhall thinke good, prouided you doe nothing diſhonourably.* Whereupon hauing conſulted, they yeelded vp themſelues and their Armes; and the *Athenians* attended them that day, and the night following, with a watch. But the next day, after they had ſet vp their Trophie in the Iland, they prepared to bee gone, and committed the priſoners to the cuſtody of the Captaines of the Gallies. And the *Lacedæmonians* ſent ouer a Herald, and tooke vp the bodies of their dead. The number of them that were ſlaine and taken aliue in the Iland, was thus. There went ouer into the Iland in all, foure hundred and twenty men of Armes; of theſe were ſent away aliue, three hundred wanting eight, and the reſt ſlaine. Of thoſe that liued, there were of the Citie it ſelfe of *Sparta*, one hundred and twenty. Of the *Athenians* there dyed not many, for it was no ſtanding fight.

The *Lacedæmonians* yeeld vp their Armes, and are carried priſoners to *Athens*.

The number of the ſlain, and of the priſoners.

The whole time of the ſiege of theſe men in the Iland, from the fight of the Gallies, to the fight in the Iland, was 72. dayes; of which, for 20. dayes, victuall was allowed to bee carried to them, that is to ſay, in the time that the Ambaſſadours were away, that went about the Peace; in the reſt, they were fed by ſuch onely as put in thither by ſtealth, and yet there was both Corne and other food left in the Iland. For their Captaine *Epitadas* had diſtributed it more ſparingly then hee needed to haue done. So the *Athenians* and the *Peloponneſians* departed from *Pylus*, and went home both of them with their Armies. And the promiſe of *Cleon*, as ſenſeleſſe as it was, tooke effect: For within twenty dayes he brought home the men, as he had vndertaken.

Of all the accidents of this Warre, this ſame fell out the moſt contrary to the opinion of the *Grecians*. For they expected that the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould neuer, neither by Famine, nor whatſoeuer other neceſsity, haue bin conſtrained

The yelding of the *Lacedæmonians* was contrary to the opinion had of their vertue.

A ned to deliuer vp their Armes, but haue dyed with them in their hands, fighting as long as they had beene able; and would not beleeue that those that yeelded, were like to those that were slaine: and when one afterwards, of the *Athenian* Confederates, asked one of the prisoners, by way of insulting, if they which were slaine, were valiant men; hee answered, that a Spindle (meaning an Arrow) deserued to bee valued at a high rate, if it could know who was a good man. Signifying, that the slaine were such as the Stones and Arrowes chanced to light
B on.

After the arriuall of the men, the *Athenians* ordered, that they should be kept in bonds, till there should bee made some agreement; and if before that, the *Peloponnesians* should inuade their Territory, then to bring them forth & kill them. They tooke order also in the same Assembly, for the settling of the Garrison at *Pylus*. And the *Messenians* of *Naupactus*, hauing sent thither such men of their own as were fittest for the purpose, as to their natiue Countrey, (for *Pylus* is in that Countrey which belonged once to the
C *Meßenians*) infested *Laconia* with Robberies, and did them much other mischiefe, as being of the same Language.

The *Lacedæmonians*, not hauing in times past beene acquainted with robberies, and such Warre as that, and because their *Helotes* ranne ouer to the Enemie, fearing also some greater innouation in the Countrey, tooke the matter much to heart; and though they would not be knowne of it to the *Athenians*, yet they sent Ambassadours, and endeuoured to get the restitution both of the Fort of *Pylus*, and of their men. But the *Athenians* aspired to greater mat-
D ters; and the Ambassadours, though they came often about it, yet were alwayes sent away without effect. These were the proceedings at *Pylus*.

Presently after this, the same Summer, the *Athenians* with 80. Gallies, 2000. men of Armes of their own City, and 200. Horse, in boats built for transportation of Horses, made War vpon the Territory of *Corinth*. There went also with them, *Milesians*, *Andrians*, and *Carystians* of their Confederates. The Generall of the whole Army was *Nicias the sonne of Niceratus*, with 2. other in Commission with
E him. Betimes in a morning, they put in at a place betweene *Chersonesus* and *Rheitus*, on that shore, aboue

The *Lacedemonian* prisoners kept in bonds at *Athens*, to be made vse of in making the peace, or else vpon the first inuasion of *Attica* to be slaine.

Nicias warreth in the Territory of *Corinth* with good fortune.

which ſtandeth the Hill *Solygius*, whereon the *Dorians* in old time ſate downe, to make Warre on the *Corinthians* in the Citie of *Corinth*, that were then *Æolians*, and vpon which there ſtandeth now a Village, called alſo *Solygia*. From the ſhore where the Gallies came in, this Village is diſtant twenty furlongs, and the Citie of *Corinth*, ſixtie, and the *Iſthmus* twenty. The *Corinthians* hauing long before from *Argos* had intelligence, that an Armie of the *Athenians* was comming againſt them, came all of them with their forces to the *Iſthmus*, (ſaue onely ſuch as dwelt without the *Iſthmus*, and fiue hundred Garriſon Souldiers, abſent in *Ambracia* and *Leucadia*) all the reſt of military age came forth, to attend the *Athenians*, where they ſhould put in. But when the *Athenians* had put to ſhore in the night vnſeene, and that aduertiſement thereof was giuen them by ſignes put vp into the ayre, they left the one halfe of their Forces in *Cenchrea*, leſt the *Athenians* ſhould goe againſt *Cromnyon*, and with the other halfe made haſte to meete them. *Battus*, one of their Commanders, (for there were two of them preſent at the Battell) with one Squadron, went toward the Village of *Solygia*, being an open one, to defend it; and *Lycophron* with the reſt charged the Enemie. And firſt they gaue the onſet on the right wing of the *Athenians*, which was but newly landed before *Cherſoneſus*, and afterwards they charged likewiſe the reſt of the Armie. The Battell was hot, and at hand-ſtroakes: And the right wing of the *Athenians* and *Caryſtians* (for of theſe conſiſted their vtmoſt Files) ſuſtained the charge of the *Corinthians*, and with much adoe draue them backe. But as they retyred, they came vp, (for the place was all riſing ground) to a dry Wall, and from thence, being on the vpper ground, threw downe ſtones at them; and after hauing ſung the * *Pœan*, came againe cloſe to them; whom when the *Athenians* abode, the Battell was againe at hand-ſtroakes. But a certaine Band of *Corinthians* that came in, to the ayde of their owne left wing, put the right wing of the *Athenians* to flight, and chaſed them to the Sea-ſide. But then from their Gallies they turned head againe, both the *Athenians*, and the *Caryſtians*. The other part of their Armie continued fighting on both ſides, eſpecially the right wing of the *Corinthians*, where *Lycophron* fought againſt the left wing of the *Athenians*: for they expected that

The *Corinthians* hearing of their comming, aſſemble their forces to hinder their landing.

The *Athenians* and *Corinthians* fight.

* *A Hymne accuſtomed to be ſung, one before Battell, another after victory.*

A that the *Athenians* would attempt to goe to *Solygia*; ſo they held each other to it a long time, neither ſide giuing ground. But in the end (for that the *Athenians* had Horſemen, which did them great ſeruice, ſeeing the other had none) the *Corinthians* were put to flight, and retired to the Hill, where they laid downe their Armes, and deſcended no more, but there reſted. In this Retreat, the greateſt part of their right wing was ſlaine, and amongſt others, *Lycophron*, one of the Generals. But the reſt of the Army being in this manner, neither much vrged, nor retiring in
B much haſte, when they could do no other, made their Retreat vp the Hill, & there ſate downe. The *Athenians* ſeeing them come no more downe to Battel, rifled the dead bodies of the Enemy, and tooke vp their owne, and preſently erected a Trophie on the place. That halfe of the *Corinthians* that lay at *Cenchreas*, to watch the *Athenians*, that they went not againſt *Crommyon*, ſaw not this Battell, for the Hill *Oneius*; but when they ſaw the duſt, and ſo knew what was in hand, they went preſently to their ayde: ſo did alſo the * old men of *Corinth* from the Citie, when they
C vnderſtood how the matter had ſucceeded. The *Athenians*, when all theſe were comming vpon them together, imagining them to haue been the ſuccours of the neighbouring Cities of *Peloponneſus*, retired ſpeedily to their Gallies; carrying with them the booty, and the bodies of their dead, all ſaue two, which not finding, they left. Being aboard, they croſſed ouer to the Ilands on the other ſide, and from thence * ſent a Herald, and fetched away thoſe two dead bodies which they left behinde. There were ſlaine in this battell, *Corinthians*, two hundred and twelue, and *Athenians*,
D ſomewhat vnder fifty.

The *Athenians* putting off from the Ilands, ſayled the ſame day to *Crommyon*, in the Territory of *Corinth*, diſtant from the City a hundred and twenty Furlongs: where anchoring, they waſted the Fields, and ſtayed all that night. The next day, they ſailed along the ſhore, firſt to to the Territory of *Epidaurus*, whereinto they made ſome little incurſion from their Gallies; and then went to *Methone*, betweene *Epidaurus* and *Trœzen*, and there tooke in the *Iſthmus* of *Cherſonneſus* with a Wall, and placed a Gar-
E riſon in it, which afterwards exerciſed robberies in the Territories of *Trœzen*, *Halias*, and *Epidaurus*; and when they

The *Corinthians* are put to flight.

* *It was ſaid before, that all the* Corinthians *of military age were come forth.*

* *To fetch off the dead by a Herald, was a confeſſion of being the weaker; but yet* Nicias *chooſeth rather to renounce the reputation of victory, then omit an act of pietie. Beſides, the people tooke meruailouſly ill the neglect of the dead bodies, as may appeare by their ſentence on the Captaines after the Battell at Arginuſe.*

The *Athenians* waſte other parts of the ſame Coaſt.

they had fortified this place, they returned home with their Fleet. A

The execution of the *Corcyraan* baniſhed men, and end of that ſedition.

About the ſame time that theſe things were in doing, *Eurymedon* and *Sophocles*, after their departure from *Pylus* with the *Athenian* Fleet, towards *Sicily*, arriuing at *Corcyra*, ioyned with thoſe of the Citie, and made Warre vpon thoſe *Corcyreans*, which lay encamped vpon the Hill *Iſtone*, and which, after the ſedition, had come ouer, and both made themſelues maſters of the Field, and much annoyed the Citie: and hauing aſſaulted their fortification, tooke it. But the men all in one troupe, eſcaped to a certaine high ground, and thence made their compoſition, which was this; *That they ſhould deliuer vp the Strangers that ayded them; and that they themſelues, hauing rendred their Armes, ſhould ſtand to the iudgement of the* People of Athens. Heereupon the Generals granted them truce, and tranſported them to the Iland of *Ptychia*, to bee there in cuſtodie till the *Athenians* ſhould ſend for them; with this condition, *That if any one of them ſhould be taken running away, then the truce to bee broken for them all.* B

Truce granted to the baniſhed men, with condition that the ſame ſhould bee voyd, if any of them offered to make an eſcape.

The fraud of the *Corcyreans* to entrappe the baniſhed men.

But the Patrons of the Commons of *Corcyra*, fearing leſt the *Athenians* would not kill them when they came thither, deuiſe againſt them this plot. To ſome few of thoſe in the Iland, they ſecretly ſend their friends, and inſtruct them to ſay, as if, forſooth, it were for good will, that it was their beſt courſe, with all ſpeed, to get away, (and withall, to offer to prouide them of a Boat) for that the *Athenian* Commanders intended verily to deliuer them to the *Corcyraan* people. C

The truce broken, and the outlawes put into the hands of the Commons.

When they were perſwaded to doe ſo, and that a Boat was treacherouſly prepared, as they rowed away, they were taken, and the Truce being now broken, were all giuen vp into the hands of the *Corcyreans*. It did much further this Plot, that to make the pretext ſeeme more ſerious, and the agents in it leſſe fearefull, the *Athenian* Generals gaue out, that they were nothing pleaſed that the men ſhould be carried home by others, whileſt they themſelues were to goe into *Sicily*, and the honour of it be aſcribed to thoſe that ſhould conuoy them. The *Corcyraans* hauing receiued them into their hands, impriſoned them in a certaine Edifice, from whence afterwards they tooke them out by twenty at a time, and made them paſſe through D

The *Corcyreans* take the Outlawes out by ſcores, and make them paſſe the Pikes. E

A through a Lane of men of Armes, bound together, and receiuing ſtroakes and thruſts from thoſe on eyther ſide, according as any one eſpyed his Enemie. And to haſten the pace of thoſe that went ſlowlieſt on, others were ſet to follow them with Whips.

They had taken out of the Roome in this manner, and ſlaine, to the number of threeſcore, before they that remained knew it, who thought they were but remoued, and carried to ſome other place. But when they knew the truth, ſome or other hauing told them, they then cry-

The outlawes refuſe to goe out to execution.

B ed out to the *Athenians*, and ſaid, that if they would themſelues kill them, they ſhould doe it; and refuſed any more to go out of the Roome, nor would ſuffer, they ſaid, as long as they were able, any man to come in. But neither had the *Corcyræans* any purpoſe to force entrance by the doore, but getting vp to the top of the Houſe, vncouered the roofe, and threw Tyles, and ſhot Arrowes at them. They in priſon defended themſelues as well as they could, but many alſo ſlew themſelues with the Arrowes ſhot by the Enemie, by thruſting them into their throats, and ſtran-

They kill themſelues.

C gled themſelues with the cords of certaine beds that were in the Roome, and with ropes made of their owne garments rent in pieces. And hauing continued moſt part of the night, (for night ouertooke them in the action) partly ſtrangling themſelues, by all ſuch meanes as they found, and partly ſhot at from aboue, they all periſhed. When day came, the *Corcyræans* laid them one * acroſſe another in Carts, and carried them out of the City. And of their Wiues, as many as were taken in the Fortification, they made bond-women. In this manner were the *Corcyræans*

The miſerable end of the baniſhed men, which was alſo the end of the ſedition.

* ἐφαμάξαν, *ſignifieth properly, after the manner that Matts or Hurdles are platted.*

D that kept the * Hill, brought to deſtruction by the Commons. And thus ended this farre-ſpred ſedition, for ſo much as concerned this preſent Warre: for of other ſeditions there remained nothing worth the relation. And the *Athenians* being arriued in *Sicily*, whither they were at firſt bound, proſecuted the Warre there, together with the reſt of their Confederates of thoſe parts.

* Iſtone.

The *Athenians* take *Anactorium* from the *Corinthians*, and put it into the hands of the *Acarnanians*.

In the end of this Summer, the *Athenians* that lay at *Naupactus*, went forth with an Armie, and tooke the City of * *Anactorium*, belonging to the *Corinthians*, and lying at

E the mouth of the *Ambracian* Gulfe, by Treaſon. And when they had put forth the *Corinthians*, the *Acarnanians* held

* *This City belonged to the* Corcyræans *and* Corinthians *in common, but a little before this Warre, the* Corinthians *carry away captiues the men that were in it, and poſſeſſe it alone: and thoſe* Corcyræans *wrought the Sedition before related.*

held it with a Colonie ſent thither from all parts of their owne Nation. And ſo this Summer ended. A

The end of the ſeuenth Summer.

Artaphernes, an Ambaſſadour from the *King of Perſia* to the *Lacedæmonians*, intercepted, and brought to *Athens*, and his Letters read.

The next Winter, *Ariſtides* the ſonne of *Archippus*, one of the Commanders of a Fleet which the *Athenians* had ſent out to gather Tribute from their Confederates, apprehended *Artaphernes* a *Perſian*, in the Towne of *Eion*, vpon the Riuer *Strymon*, going from the King to *Lacedæmon*. When he was brought to *Athens*, the *Athenians* tranſlated his Letters out of the *Aſſyrian* Language into *Greeke*, and read them: wherein, amongſt many other things that were written to the *Lacedæmonians*, the principall was this, B *That hee knew not what they meant; for many Ambaſſadours came, but they ſpake not the ſame things. If therefore they had any thing to ſay certaine, they ſhould ſend ſomebody to him, with this* Perſian. But *Artaphernes* they ſend afterwards away in a Gallie, with Ambaſſadours of their owne, to *Epheſus*. And there encountering the newes, that King *Artaxerxes*, the the ſonne of *Xerxes*, was lately dead, (for about that time he dyed) they returned home.

The King of *Perſia's* Letters to the *Lacedæmonians* tranſlated into *Greeke*, and read at *Athens*.

The ſame Winter alſo, the *Chians* demoliſhed their new Wall, by command of the *Athenians*, vpon ſuſpition C that they intended ſome innouation, notwithſtanding they had giuen the *Athenians* their faith, and the beſt ſecurity they could, to the intent they ſhould let them bee as they were. Thus ended this Winter, and the ſeuenth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

The *Chians* are ſuſpected, and forced to pull downe their new-built Walles.

THE EIGHTH YEERE.

The next Summer, in the very beginning, at a change of the Moone, the Sunne was eclipſed in part; and in the beginning of the ſame Moneth, happened an Earthquake.

At this time, the *Mitylenian*, and other *Lesbian* Outlawes, D moſt of them reſiding in the Continent, with mercenary Forces out of *Peloponneſus*, and ſome which they leauied where they were, ſeaze on *Rhoetium*, and for two thouſand *Phocean* Staters, render it againe, without doing them other harme. After this they came with their Forces to *Antander*, and tooke that Citie alſo by Treaſon. They had likewiſe a Deſigne, to ſet free the reſt of the Cities called **Actæa*, which were in the occupation formerly of the *Mitylenians*, but ſubiect to the *Athenians*: but aboue all the reſt, *Antander*, which when they had once gotten, (for E there they might eaſily build Gallies, becauſe there was ſtore

The *Lesbian* Outlawes make warre vpon the *Athenians* dominions, in the Continent neere *Lesbos*.

*Litterales. *Cities ſcituate on the Sea-ſhore.*

A ſtore of Timber; and mount *Ida* was aboue their heads) they might iſſue from thence with other their preparation, and infeſt *Leſbos* which was neere, and bring into their power the *Æolique* Townes in the Continent. And this were thoſe men preparing.

The *Athenians* led by *Nicias*, ſubdue *Cythera*, an Iland ouer againſt *Laconia*, and inhabited by *Lacedæmonians*

The *Athenians* the ſame Summer, with ſixty Gallies, 2000 men of Armes, and a few horſemen, taking with them alſo the *Mileſians*, and ſome other of their Confederates made Warre vpon *Cythera*, vnder the Conduct of *Nicias the ſonne of Niceratus*, *Nicoſtratus the ſonne of Diotrephes*, B and *Autocles the ſonne of Tolmæus*. This * *Cythera* is an Iland vpon the Coaſt of *Laconia*, ouer againſt *Malea*. The Inhabitants be *Lacedæmonians*, of the ſame that dwell about them.

* *Now Cerigo.*

And euery yeere there goeth ouer vnto them from *Sparta* a Magiſtrate called * *Cytherodices*. They likewiſe ſent ouer men of Armes from time to time, to lie in Garriſon there, and tooke much care of the place. For it was the place where their * ſhips vſed to put in from *Ægypt*, and *Libia*, and by which *Laconia* was the leſſe infeſted by C theeues from the Sea, being that way onely ſubiect to that miſchiefe. For the Iland lyeth wholly out, into the *Sicilian* and *Creticke* Seas: The *Athenians* arriuing with their Army, with ten of their Gallies, and 2000 men of Armes of the *Mileſians*, tooke a towne lying to the Sea, called *Scandea*, and with the reſt of their forces, hauing landed in the parts of the Iland towards *Malea*, marched into the Citie it ſelfe of the *Cythereans*, lying likewiſe to the Sea. The *Cythereans* they found ſtanding all in Armes prepared for them, and after the battell began, the *Cythereans* for D a little while made reſiſtance; but ſoone after turned their backs, and fled, into the higher part of the Citie; and afterwards compounded with *Nicias* and his fellow-Commanders, *That the* * Athenians *ſhould determine of them whatſoeuer they thought good, but death*. *Nicias* had had ſome conference with certaine of the *Cythereans* before; which was alſo a cauſe that thoſe things which concerned the accord both now and afterwards, were both the ſooner, and with the more fauour diſpatched. For the *Athenians* did but remoue the *Cythereans*, and that alſo becauſe they were *Lacedæmoni-* E *ans*, and becauſe the Iland lay in that maner vpon the coaſt of *Laconia*. After this compoſition, hauing as they went by

* *The Iudge of Cythera.*

* Ναῦς δὲ, *ſhips of the round forme of building, Merchant ſhips.*

The *Cythereans* yeeld to *Nicias*, referring themſelues to the people of *Athens* for any thing but death.

* *The* Athenian *people.*

The *Athenians* remoue them from their ſeats.

receiued *Scandea*, a Towne lying vpon the Hauen, and put a guard vpon the *Cythereans*, they ſayled to *Aſine* & moſt of the Townes vpon the Sea-ſide. And going ſometimes a-land, and ſtaying where they ſaw cauſe, waſted the Countrey for about ſeuen dayes together. The *Lacedæmonians* though they ſaw the *Athenians* had *Cythera*, and expected withall that they would come to Land, in the ſame manner, in their owne Territory, yet came not foorth with their vnited forces to reſiſt them; but diſtributed a number of men of Armes into ſundry parts of their Territory, to guard it whereſoeuer there was need, and were otherwiſe alſo exceeding watchfull, fearing leſt ſome innouation ſhould happen in the State; as hauing receiued a very great and vnexpected loſſe in the * *Iland*, and the *Athenians* hauing gotten *Pylus* and *Cythera*, and as being on all ſides encompaſſed with a buſie and vnauoydable Warre; In ſo much that contrary to their cuſtome they ordayned 400 * Horſemen, and ſome Archers. And if euer they were fearefull in matter of Warre, they were ſo now, becauſe it was contrary to their owne way, to contend in a Nauall Warre, and againſt *Athenians*, who thought they loſt whatſoeuer they not attempted. Withall, their ſo many miſ-fortunes, in ſo ſhort a time, falling out ſo contrary to their owne expectation, exceedingly affrighted them. And fearing leſt ſome ſuch calamity ſhould againe happen, as they had receiued in the * Iland, they durſt the leſſe to hazzard battell; and thought that whatſoeuer they ſhould goe about, would miſcarry, becauſe their mindes not vſed formerly to loſſes, could now warrant them nothing. As the *Athenians* therefore waſted the Maritime parts of the Country, and disbarked neere any Garriſon, thoſe of the Garriſon for the moſt part ſtirred not, both as knowing themſelues ſingly to be too ſmall a number, and as being in that maner deiected. Yet one Garriſon fought about *Corityta*, and *Aphrodiſia*, and frighted in, the ſtraggling rabble of light-armed Souldiers, but when the men of Armes had receiued them, it retyred againe, with the loſſe of a few whom they alſo rifled of their Armes. And the *Athenians*, after they had erected a *Trophie*, put off againe, and went to *Cythera*. From thence they ſayled about to *Epidaurus*, called * *Limera*, and hauing waſted ſome part of that Territory, came to *Thyrea*,

The *Lacedæmonians* begin to be deiected with their great loſſes.

* Sphacteria, *where their men were taken, and carried to* Athens.

* *The* Lacedæmonians *relyed onely on their armed footmen, or men of Armes, in whoſe valour and skill in fight, they gloried much, as a peculiar vertue, and as for horſemen, and light-armed Souldiers, they made leſſe reckoning, and onely vſed ſuch of them as were brought in by their Confederates.*

* *Sphacteria.*

The *Athenians* waſte the Coaſt of *Laconia*.

* *So called from* λιμην, *a Hauen, becauſe it is full of Hauens.* *Malnaſia.*

A *Thyrea*, which is of the Territory called *Cynuria*, but is neuertheleſſe the middle border betweene *Argia* and *Laconia*. The *Lacedæmonians* poſſeſsing this Citie, gaue the ſame for an habitation to the *Æginetæ*, after they were driuen out of *Ægina*, both for the benefit they had receiued from them, about the time of the Earthquake, and of the inſurrection of the *Helotes*, and alſo for that being ſubiect to the *Athenians*, they had neuertheleſſe gone euer the ſame way with the *Lacedæmonians*. When the *Athenians* were comming towards them, the *Æginetæ* left the Wall which B they hapned to be then building toward the Sea-ſide, and retired vp into the Citie aboue, where they dwelt, and which was not aboue tenne Furlongs from the Sea. There was alſo with them, one of thoſe Garriſons which the *Lacedæmonians* had diſtributed into the ſeuerall parts of the Countrey, and theſe, though they helped them to build the Fort below, yet would not now enter with them into the Towne, (though the *Æginetæ* intreated them) apprehending danger in being coopt vp within the Walles; and therefore retiring into the higheſt ground, lay ſtill C there, as finding themſelues too weake to giue them Battell. In the meane time the *Athenians* came in, and matching vp, preſently, with their whole Armie, won *Thyrea*, and burnt it, and deſtroyed whatſoeuer was in it. The *Æginetæ*, as many as were not ſlaine in the affray, they carried priſoners to *Athens*; amongſt whom *Tantalus* alſo, the ſonne of *Patrocles*, Captaine of ſuch *Lacedæmonians* as were amongſt them, was wounded, and taken aliue. They carried likewiſe with them ſome few men of *Cythera*, whom for ſafeties ſake they thought good to remoue into ſome D other place. *Theſe therefore*, the *Athenians* decreed, *ſhould be placed in the* Ilands. And that the reſt of the* Cythereans, *at the Tribute of foure Talents, ſhould inhabite their owne Territorie. That the* Æginetæ, *as many as they had taken*, (out of former inueterate hatred) *ſhould bee put to death.* And *that* Tantalus *ſhould be put in bonds amongſt thoſe* Lacedæmonians that were taken in the * Iland.

In *Sicily* the ſame Summer, was concluded a ceſſation of Armes, firſt, betweene the *Camarinæans* and the *Geloans*. But afterwards the reſt of the *Sicilians*, aſſembling by E their Ambaſſadours out of euery City at *Gela*, held a Conference amongſt themſelues, for making of a Peace: wherein,

The *Athenians* burne *Thyrea*, ſlay and make priſoners of all the Inhabitants being *Æginetæ*.

Tantalus a *Lacedæmonian* Captaine carried priſoner to *Athens*.

The Decree of the *Athenian* people concerning the *Cythereans*, the *Æginetæ* taken in *Thyrea*, and *Tantalus* a *Lacedæmonian* that was amongſt them.

* *Cyclades*.

The *Æginetæ* put to death.

* *Sphacteria*.

The *Sicilians* make a generall peace, by the aduice of *Hermocrates*, and ſo diſmiſſe the *Athenians*, that waited to take aduantage of their diſcord.

wherein, after many opinions deliuered by men disagreeing, and requiring satisfaction, euery one as hee thought himselfe preiudiced, *Hermocrates* the sonne of *Hermon*, a *Syracusian*, who also preuailed with them the most, spake vnto the Assembly, to this effect.

THE ORATION OF *HERMOCRATES* for Peace.

MEN of Sicily, *I am neither of the least Citie, nor of the most afflicted with Warre, that am now to speake, and to deliuer the opinion which I take to conduce most to the common benefit of all* Sicily. *Touching Warre, how calamitous a thing it is, to what end should a man, particularizing the euils thereof, make a long speech before men that already know it? For neither doth the not knowing of them necessitate any man to enter into Warre, nor the feare of them, diuert any man from it, when he thinkes it will turne to his aduantage. But rather it so falles out, that the one thinkes the gaine greater then the danger; and the other prefers danger before present losse. But least they should both the one and the other doe it vnseasonably, exhortations vnto peace are profitable, and will be very much worth to vs, if we will follow them, at this present. For it was out of a desire that euery Citie had to assure their owne, both that we fell our selues into the Warre, and also that wee endeuour now, by reasoning the matter, to returne to mutuall amity. Which if it succeed not so well, that we may depart satisfied euery man with reason, wee will be at Warres againe. Neuertheless you must know, that this Assembly, if we be wise, ought not to bee onely for the commodity of the Cities in particular, but how to preserue* Sicily *in generall, now sought to bee subdued (at least in my opinion) by the* Athenians. *And you ought to thinke, that the* Athenians *are more vrgent perswaders of the Peace then any words of mine; who hauing, of all the* Grecians, *the greatest power, lye here with a few Gallies, to obserue our errours, and by a lawfull title of alliance, handsomely to accommodate their naturall hostility, to their best aduantage. For if wee enter into a Warre, and call in these men, who are apt enough to bring their Armie in, vncalled, and if we weaken our selues at our owne charges, and withall cut out for them the dominion here, it is likely, when they shall see vs spent, they will sometime hereafter come vpon vs, with a greater Fleet, and attempt to bring all these States into their subiection. Now, if we were wise, we ought rather to call in Confederates,*

A derates, and vndergoe dangers, for the winning of somewhat that is none of ours, then for the empayring of what we already haue, and to beleeue, that nothing so much destroyes a Citie as Sedition; and that Sicily, though wee the inhabitants thereof, bee infidiated by the Athenians, as one body, is neuertheleſſe Citie against Citie in Sedition within it ſelfe. In contemplation whereof, wee ought, man with man, and Citie with Citie, to returne againe into amity, and with one conſent, to endeuour the ſafety of all Sicily; and not to haue this conceit, that though the * Dorians be the Athenians enemies, yet the * Chalcideans are ſafe, as being of the race of the Ionians.
B For they inuade not theſe diuided races, vpon hatred of a ſide, but vpon a couetous deſire of thoſe neceſſities which we enioy in common. And this they haue proued themſelues, in their comming hither to ayde the Chalcideans. For though they neuer receiued any aide by vertue of their League, from the Chalcideans, yet haue they on their part beene more forward to helpe them, then by the League they were bound vnto. Indeed the Athenians, that couet and meditate theſe things, are to be pardoned. I blame not thoſe that are willing to reigne, but thoſe that are moſt willing to be ſubiect. For it is the nature of man, euery where to command ſuch as giue way, and to be ſhye of ſuch
C as aſſaile. Wee are too blame, that know this, and doe not prouide accordingly, and make it our firſt care of all, to take good order against the common feare. Of which wee ſhould ſoone bee deliuered, if wee would agree amongſt our ſelues. For the Athenians come not againſt vs out of their owne Countrey, but from theirs here, that haue called them in. And ſo, not warre by Warre, but all our quarrels ſhall be ended by peace, without trouble. And thoſe that haue beene called in, as they came with faire pretence to inſure vs, ſo ſhall they with faire reaſon bee diſmiſſed by vs without their errand. And thus much for the profit that will be found by aduiſing wiſely concerning the A-
D thenians. But when Peace is confeſſed by all men to be the beſt of things, why ſhould wee not make it alſo in reſpect of our ſelues? Or doe you thinke perhaps, if any of you poſſeſſe a good thing, or bee preſſed with an euill, that Peace is not better then Warre, to remoue the later, or preſerue the former, to both? or that it hath not honours, and eminence more free from danger? or whatſoeuer elſe one might diſcourſe at large concerning Warre? Which things conſidered, you ought not to make light of my aduice, but rather make vſe of it, euery one to prouide for his owne ſafety. Now if ſome man bee ſtrongly conceited to goe through with ſome deſigne of his, be it by right or by vio-
E lence, let him take heed that hee faile not, ſo much the more to his griefe, as it is contrary to his hope; knowing that many men ere now, hunting

* *The* Dorians *and* Ionians *are two Nations, out of which almoſt all the people of* Greece *were deſcended. The* Chalcideans *and* Athenians *were* Ionians, *and the* Lacedæmonians, *and moſt of* Peloponneſus, *were* Dorians. *Hence it is, that the* Chalcideans *might be thought ſafe, though the* Athenians *inuaded* Sicily, *but the* Dorians *not.*

hunting after reuenge on such as had done them iniury, and others A
trusting by some strength they haue had, to take away anothers right,
haue the first sort, in stead of being reuenged, been destroyed, and the
other, in stead of winning from others, left behind them what they had
of their owne. For reuenge succeeds not according to Iustice, as that
because an iniury hath beene done, it should therefore prosper, nor is
strength therefore sure, because hopefull. It is the instabili-
ty of Fortune, that is most predominant in things to come, which though
it be the most deceiueable of all things yet appeares to be the most pro-
fitable. For whilest euery one feare it alike, we proceed against each
other with the greater prouidence. Now therefore terrified doubly, B
both with the implicite feare of the incertainty of euents, and with the
terrour of the Athenians present, and taking these for hindrances
sufficient, to haue made vs come short of what we had seuerally con-
ceiued to effect, let vs send away our enemies that houer ouer vs, and
make an eternall peace amongst our selues, or if not that, then a Truce,
at least, for as long as may be, and put off our priuate quarrels to some
other time. In summe, let vs know this, that following my counsell, we
shall euery of vs haue our Cities free, whereby being Masters of our
selues, we shall be able to remunerate according to their merit, such as
doe vs good or harme. Whereas reiecting it and following the coun- C
sell of others, our contention shall no more be how to be reuenged, or at
the best, if it be, we must be forced to become friends to our greatest
enemies, and enemies to such as we ought not. For my part, as I sayd
in the beginning, I bring to this the greatest Citie, and which is rather
an assaylant then assayled; and yet foreseeing these things, I hold it fit
to come to an agreement, and not so to hurt our enemies, as to hurt our
selues more. Nor yet through foolish * spight will I looke to be follow- *φιλονεικία.
ed as absolute in my will, and master of Fortune, which I cannot com-
mand; but will also giue way where it is reason. And so I looke the rest
should doe as well as I; and that of your selues, and not forced to it by D
the enemy. For it is no dishonour to be ouercome kinsmen of kinsmen,
one Dorian of another Dorian; and one Chalcidean of another
of his owne race, or in sum, any one by another of vs, being neighbours,
and cohabiters of the same Region, encompassed by the Sea, and all cal-
led by one name Sicilians. Who, as I conceiue, will both warre when
it happens, and againe by common conferences make peace by our owne
selues. But when Forrainers inuade vs, we shall, if wise, vnite all of
vs to encounter them; in as much as being weakned singly, wee are in
danger vniuersally. As for Confederates, let vs neuer hereafter, call
in any, nor Arbitrators. For so shall Sicily attaine these two bene- E
fits, to be ridde of the Athenians, and of Domestique Warre for the
present,

A *present, and to be inhabited by our selues with liberty, and lesse insidiated by others for the time to come.*

Hermocrates hauing thus spoken, the *Sicilians* followed his aduice, and agreed amongst themselues, *That the Warre should cease, euery one retaining what they then presently enioyed. And that the* Camarinæans *should haue* Morgantina, *paying for the same vnto the* Syracusians, *a certaine summe of money then assessed.*

The substance of the conditions of the Peace in *Sicily*. *Camarana.*

They that were Confederates with the *Athenians*, cal-
B ling such of the *Athenians* vnto them, as were in authority, told them that they also were willing to compound, and be comprehended in the same Peace; And the *Athenians* approuing it, they did so; and hereupon the *Athenians* departed out of *Sicily*. The people of *Athens*, when their Generals came home banished two, namely *Pythadorus*, and *Sophocles*; and laid a Fine vpon the third, which was *Eurymedon*, as men that might haue subdued the estates of *Sicily*, but had been * bribed to returne. So great was their fortune at that time, that they thought nothing could
C crosse them, but that they might haue atchieued both easie, and hard enterprises with great & slender forces alike. The cause whereof, was the vnreasonable prosperity of most of their designes, submministring strength vnto their hope.

The *Athenians* depart *Sicily*, and their Commanders punished as suspected to haue left *Sicily* for a bribe.

* *Nothing was more frequent in the* Athenian *Assemblies at this time, then when things went amisse, to accuse one another of bribery: for it was a sure way to win fauour with the people, who thought that nothing was able to resist their power.*

The same Summer the *Megareans* in the Citie of *Megara*, pinched both by the Warre of the *Athenians*, who inuaded their Territory, with their whole forces, euery yeere twice, and by their owne Outlawes from *Pega*, who in a sedition driuen out by the *Commons*, grieuously afflicted them with robberies, began to talke one to another, how it
D was fit to call them home againe, and not to let their Citie by both these meanes to be ruined. The friends of those without, perceiuing the rumour, they also, more openly now, then before, required to haue it brought to Counsell. But the Patrons of the *Commons*, fearing that they with the *Commons*, by reason of the miseries they were in, should not be able to carry it against the other side, made an offer to *Hippocrates the sonne of Ariphron*, and *Demosthenes the sonne of Alcisthenes*, Commanders of the *Athenian* Army, to deliuer them the City, as esteeming that
E course lesse dangerous for themselues, then the reduction of those whom they had before driuen out. And they agreed,

The *Athenians* attempt to take *Megara* by treason.

The heads of the Commons doe hinder the returne of the Outlawes plot, the betraying of the City to the *Athenians*.

The plot laid by the Traitors for the putting of the *Athenians* into the Towne.

agreed, that first, the *Athenians* should possesse themselues of the *Long-walls*, (these were about eight furlongs in length, and reached from the Citie to *Nisæa*, their Hauen) thereby to cut of the aide of the *Peloponnesians*, in *Nisæa*, in which (the better to assiure *Megara* to the side) there lay no other Souldiers in Garrison, but they. And then afterwards, that these men, would attempt to deliuer them the City aboue, which would the more easily succeed, if that were effected first. The *Athenians* therefore, after all was done, and said on both sides, and euery thing ready, sayled away by night to * *Minoa*, an Iland of the *Megareans*, with 600 men of Armes led by *Hippocrates*, and satte downe in a certaine pit, out of which Bricks had beene made for the walles, and which was not farre off. But they that were with the other Commander *Demosthenes*, light-armed *Platæans*, and others called *Peripoli*, lay in ambush at the *Temple of Mars*, not so farre off as the former. And none of the Citie perceiued any thing of this, but onely such as had peculiar care to know the passages of this same night. When it was almost day, the *Megarean* Traitors did thus. They had beene accustomed long, as men that went out for * booty, with leaue of the Magistrates, of whom they had obtained by good Offices, the opening of the * Gates, to carry out a little Boate, * such as wherein the watermen vsed an Oare in either hand, and to conueigh it by night, downe the Ditch to the Sea-side in a Cart; and in a Cart to bring it backe againe, and set it within the Gates, to the end that the *Athenians* which lay in *Minoa*, might not know where to watch for them, no Boat being to be seene in the Hauen. At this time was that Cart at the Gates, which was opened according to custome, as for the * Boate. And the *Athenians*, seeing it (for so it was agreed on) arose from their Ambush, and ran with all speed, to get in before the Gates should bee shut againe, and to be there whilest the Cart was yet in the Gates and kept them open. And first those *Platæans*, and *Peripoli*, that were with *Demosthenes*, ranne in, in that same place where the Trophie is now extant; and fighting presently within the Gates (for those *Peloponnesians* that were * neerest heard the stirre) the *Platæans* ouercame those that resisted, and made good the Gates for the *Athenian* men of Armes, that were comming after.

* *This Iland lying before the Hauen* Nisæa, *made the Port, and the* Athenians *kept in it, an ordinary Garrison, euer since they tooke it first, and could see all the Hauen, and what vessels lay in it, but could not enter.*

The plot of the Traitors, to giue the *Athenians* the Long-wals.

* *To get booty from the* Athenians.

* *Not the Gates of* Megara, *but the Gates in the Long-wals neere vnto* Nisæa, *as appeares by the Narration.*

* ἀμφήρης.

* *To take it in, for it was almost morning.*

The *Athenians* win the Longwals.

* *Those that watched in that part of* Nisæa, *which was neerest to this Gate of the Long-wals.*

After

A After this, the *Athenian* Souldiers, as they entred, went vp euery one to the wall, and a few of the *Peloponnesians* that were of the Garrison, made head at first, and fought, and were some of them slaine, but the most of them took their heeles; fearing in the night, both the enemy that charged them, and also the traitors of the *Megareans* that fought against them, apprehending that all the *Megareans* in generall had betrayed them. It chanced also that the *Athenian* Herald, of his owne discretion, made Proclamation, that if any *Megarean* would take part with the *Athenians*, he should
B come and lay downe his Armes. When the *Peloponnesians* heard this, they stayed no longer, but seriously beleeuing that they ioyntly warred vpon them, fled into *Nisæa*. As soone as it was day, the walls being now taken, and the *Megareans* being in a tumult within the Citie, they that had treated with the *Athenians*, and with them, the rest, as many as were conscious, said it was fit to haue the gates opened, and to goe out and giue the enemy battell. Now it was agreed on betweene them, that when the *gates were open, the *Athenians* should rush in. And that themselues would be
C easily knowne from the rest, to the end they might haue no harm done them, for that they would besmeare themselues with some ointment. And the opening of the gates would be for their greater safety. For the 4000 men of Armes of *Athens*, and 600 horsemen which according to the appointment were to come to thē, hauing marched all night, were already arriued. When they had besmeared themselues and were now about the gates one of those who were priuy discouered the cōspiracy to the rest that were not. These ioyning their strength, came all together to the gates, denying
D that it was fit to goe out to fight, (For that neither in former times whē they were stronger then now, durst they do so) or to put the Citie into so manifest a danger. And said, that if they would not be satisfied, the battell should be there right. Yet they discouered not that they knew of the practice, but only, as hauing giuen good aduice, meant to maintaine it. And they stayed at the gates, insomuch as the traitors could not perform what they intended. The *Athenian* Cōmanders, knowing some crosse accident had hapned, and that they could not take the Citie by assault, fell to
E enclosing of *Nisæa* with a wall, which if they could take before ayde came, they thought *Megara* would the sooner yeeld. Iron was quickly brought vnto them from *Athens*,

The Traitors giue aduice to open the Gates and giue battell.

* *Of the City it selfe of* Megara.

The Treason discouered.

The *Athenians* failing of *Megara*, take *Nisæa*, and demolisheth the Long-walls.

and Masons; and what soeuer els was necessary. And beginning at the *wall they had won, when they had built crosse ouer to the other side, from thence both wayes they drew it on to the Sea on either side *Nisæa*, and hauing distributed the worke amongst the Army, as well the Wall as the Ditch, they serued themselues of the stones and brickes of the suburbes, & hauing felled trees, and timber, they supplyed what was defective, with a strong Pallisado; the houses also themselues of the suburbs, when they had put on battlements, serued them for a fortification. All that day they wrought, the next day about Euening they had within very little finished. But then, they that were in *Nisæa*, seeing themselues to want victuall, (for they had none but what came day by day from the Citie aboue) & without hope that the *Peloponnesians* could quickly come to relieue them, conceiuing also that the *Megareans* were their enemies, compounded with the *Athenians* on these termes, *To be dismissed euery one at a certaine ransome in mony; to deliuer vp their armes; and the* Lacedæmonians, *both the Captaine, and whosoeuer of them else was within, to be at discretion of the* Athenians. Hauing thus agreed, they went out. And the *Athenians*, when they had *broken off the *Longwals* from the City of *Megara*, and taken in *Nisæa*, prepared for what was further to be done. *Brasidas the sonne of Tellis*, a *Lacedæmonian*, happened at this time to be about *Sicyon* and *Corinth*, preparing of an army to go into *Thrace*. And when he heard of the taking of the *Long wals*, fearing what might become of the *Peloponnesians* in *Nisæa*, and lest *Megara* should be won, sent vnto the *Bœotians*, willing them to meet him speedily with their forces at *Tripodiscus* (a village of *Megaris*, so called, at the foot of the hill *Geranea*) and marched presently himselfe with 2700 men of armes of *Corinth*, 400 of *Phlius*, 600 of *Sicyon*, and those of his owne, all that he had yet leuied; thinking to haue found *Nisæa* yet vntaken. When he heard the contrary (for he set first towards *Tripodiscus* in the night) with 300 men chosen out of the whole army, before newes should arriue of his coming, he came vnseene of the *Athenians* that lay by the Sea side, to the City of *Megara*, pretending in word, & intending also in good earnest, if he could haue done it, to attempt vpō *Nisæa*, but desiring to get into *Megara* to confirme it, and required to be let in, for that he was, he said, in hope to recouer *Nisæa*. But the *Megarean* Factions being afraid, * one, lest he should bring in

* *Viz.* that part of the long wall which they seazed.

* *Not pulled them downe quite, but onely so farre, as not to be a defence to any part of the City it selfe, nor to ioyne to the walls of the Citie.*

Brasidas saueth *Megara* from being rendred to the *Athenians*.

Brasidas desireth to put himselfe into the City.

* *The Patrons of the Commons.*

A in the Outlawes, and cast out them; the* other, lest the Commons, out of this very feare, should assault them, whereby the City (being at battell within it selfe, and the *Athenians* lying in wait so neere) would be lost, receiued him not, but resolued on both sides to sit still, and attend the successe. For both the one faction and the other expected, that the *Athenians*, and these that came to succour the City, would ioyne battell, and then they might with more safety, such as were the fauoured side, turne vnto them that had the victory. And *Brasidas*, not preuailing, went backe
B to the rest of the* Army. Betimes in the morning, arriued the *Bœotians*, hauing also intended to come to the aide of *Megara*, before *Brasidas* sent, as esteeming the danger to concerne themselues, and were then with their whole forces come forward as farre as *Platea*. But when they had receiued also this message, they were a great deale the more encouraged; and sent 2200 men of Armes, and 200 horse, to *Brasidas*, but went backe with the greater part of their Army. The whole Army being now together of no lesse then 6000 men of Armes. And the *Athenian* men of Armes
C lying indeed in good order, about *Nisæa*, and the Sea side, but the light-armed straggling in the Plaines, the *Bœotian* horsemen came vnexpected vpon the light-armed Souldiers, and droue them towards the Sea. For in all this time till now, there had come no aide at all to the *Megareans* from any place. But when the *Athenian* horse went likewise out to encounter them, they fought, and there was a battell between the horsemen of either side, that held long, wherein both sides claimed the victory. For the *Athenians* slew the Generall of the *Bœotian* horse, and some few others, and
D rifled them, hauing themselues bin first chased by them to *Nisæa*. And hauing these dead bodies in their power, they restored them vpon truce, and erected a Trophie. Neuerthelesse, in respect of the whole action, neither side went off with assurance, but parting asunder, the *Bœotians* went to the Army, and the *Athenians* to *Nisæa*.

After this, *Brasidas* with his Army, came downe neerer to the Sea, and to the City of *Megara*; and hauing seazed on a place of aduantage, set his Army in battell array, and stood still. For they thought the *Athenians*
E would bee assaylants, and knew the *Megareans* stood obseruing whether side should haue the Victory;

* *The Nobility.*

* *Brasidas goeth backe to Tripodiscus.*

* *At* Tripodiscus.

The Bœotians come with their forces, and ioyne with Brasidas.

The Bœotian, and Athenian horse skirmish.

The whole Army on either side, face one another, but neither side willing to begin.

and that it must needs fall out well for them both wayes; A
first, because they should not be the assaylant, and voluntarily begin the battell and danger, since hauing shewed themselues ready to fight, the victory must also * iustly be attributed to them * without their labour. And next it must fall out well in respect of the *Megareans*. For if they should not haue come in sight, the matter had not beene any longer in the power of fortune, but they had without all doubt been presently depriued of the City, as men conquered. Whereas now, if haply, the *Athenians* declined battell likewise, they should obtaine what they came for B
without stroake stricken. Which also indeed came to passe. * For the *Megarians*, when the *Athenians* went out and ordered their Army without the Long-wals, but yet (because the enemy charged not) stood also still, (their Commanders likewise, considering that if they should begin the battell, against a number greater then their owne, after the greatest part of their enterprize was already atchieued, the danger would be vnequall; For if they should ouercome, they could win but *Megara*, and if they were vanquished, must lose the best part of their men of Armes; C
Whereas the enemy, who out of the whole power, and number that was present in the field, did aduenture but euery one a part, would in all likelihood, put it to the hazzard.) And so for a while affronted each other, and neither doing any thing, withdrew againe, the *Athenians* first into *Nisæa*, and afterwards the *Peloponnesians* to the place from whence they had set forth; then, I say, the *Megareans*, such as were the friends of the Outlawes, taking heart, because they saw the *Athenians* were vnwilling to fight, set open the Gates to *Brasidas* as Victor, and to the rest of the Captaines of the seuerall Cities; And when they were in, D
(those that had practised with the *Athenians*, being all the while in a great feare) they went to Councell. Afterwards, *Brasidas*, hauing dismissed his Confederates, to their seuerall Cities, went himselfe to *Corinth*, in pursute of his former purpose to leuy an Army for *Thrace*. Now the *Megareans* that were in the Citie, (when the *Athenians* also were gone home) all that had chiefe hand in the practice with the *Athenians*, knowing themselues discouered, presently slipt away; but the rest, after they had conferred E
with the friends of the Outlawes, recalled them from

Pegæ,

* Brasidas if he saued the Towne from the Athenians had his end. Therfore by shewing him selfe ready if the Athenians would not fight, he gayned this, that he should bee let into the towne, which was all he can e for, and therefore might iustly be counted Victor.
* ἀναιτίως, without desf.

* The period is somewhat long, and seemes to be one of them that gaue occasion to Dionysius Halicarnasius, to censure the Authors elocution.

The *Megareans* receiue *Brasidas* and his Armie.

The *Megarean* Outlawes recalled, and sworne to forget former quarrell.

A Pyge, vpon great oathes administred vnto them, no more to remember former quarrels, but to giue the Citie their best aduice.

These, when they came into Office, tooke a view of the Armes, and disposing bands of Souldiers in diuers quarters of the Citie, picked out of their enemies, and of those that seemed most to haue co-operated in the traiſon with the *Athenians*, about a hundred persons; and hauing constrained the people to giue their sentence vpon them * openly, when they were condemned, slew them; and esta-
B blished in the Citie, the estate almost of an *Oligarchy*. And this change of gouernment, made by a few vpon sedition, did neuertheless continue for a long time after.

The Outlawes being in authority, put to death 100 of the aduerse faction.

* Because they should not dare but to condemne them, which they would not haue done, if their sentence had past by secret suffrage.

The same Summer, when *Antandrus* was to be furnished by the *Mitylenians*, as they intended, *Demodicus*, and *Aristides*, Captaines of certaines Gallies, set forth by the *Athenians* to fetch in Tribute, being then about *Hellespont* (for *Lamachus* that was the third in that Commission, was gone with ten Gallies into *Pontus*) hauing notice of the prepa-
C ration made in that place, and thinking it would be dangerous to haue it happen there, as it had done in *Anaia*, ouer against *Samos*, in which the *Samian* Outlawes, hauing setled themselues, ayded the *Peloponnesians* in matters of the Sea, by sending them Steersmen, and both bred trouble within the Citie, and entertained such as fled out of it, leuyed an Army amongst the Confederates, and marched to it, and hauing ouercome in fight, those that came out of *Antandrus* against them, recouered the place againe. And not long after, *Lamachus* that was gone into *Pontus*, as he lay at Anchor in the Riuer *Calex*, in the territory of *Hera-*
D *clea*, much raine hauing fallen aboue in the Countrey, and the streame of a Land Flood comming suddenly downe, lost all his Gallies, and came himselfe and his Army through the Territory of the *Bithynians*, (who are *Thracians* dwelling in *Asia*, on the other side) to *Chalcedon*, a Colony of the *Megareans*, in the mouth of *Pontus Euxinus*, by Land,

The Mitylenian Outlawes lose the City of *Antandrus* which they had intended to fortifie and make the seat of their Warre.

Lamachus loseth his ten Gallies by a sudden Land-flood, in *Pontus*.

The same Summer likewise, *Demosthenes*, Generall of the *Athenians*, with fortie Gallies, presently after his de-
E parture out of *Megaris*, sayled to *Naupactus*. For certaine men in the Cities thereabouts, desiring to change the forme of the *Bœotian* gouernment, and to turne it into a *Democratie*,

Demosthenes goeth to *Naupactus*, vpon designe against the *Bœotians*.

Democratie, according to the gouernment of *Athens*, practised with him and *Hippocrates*, to betray vnto him the estates of *Bœotia*: Induced thereunto, principally by *Pisodorus* a *Theban* Outlaw. And they ordered their designe thus. Some had vndertaken to deliuer vp *Siphas*. *Siphæ* is a Citie of the Territory of *Thespiæ*, standing vpon the Sea-side, in the *Crissæan* Gulfe, and *Chæronea* (which was a Towne that payed duties to *Orchomenus*, called heretofore *Orchomenus* in *Minyeia*, but now *Orchomenus* in *Bœotia*) some others, of *Orchomenus*, were to surrender vnto their hands. And the *Orchomenian* Outlawes had a principall hand in this, and were hyring Soldiers to that end out of *Peloponnesus*. This *Chæronea* is the vtmost Towne of *Bœotia* towards *Phanoeis* in the Countrey of *Phocis*, and some *Phocians* also dwelt in it. *On the other side*, the *Athenians* were to seaze on *Delium*, a place consecrated to *Apollo*, in the Territory of *Tanagra*, on the part toward *Eubœa*. All this ought to haue been done together vpon a day appointed, to the end, that the *Bœotians* might not oppose them with their forces vnited, but might be troubled euery one to defend his owne. And if the attempt succeeded, and that they once fortified *Delium*, they easily hoped, though no change followed in the state of the *Bœotians* for the present, yet being possessed of those places, and by that meanes, continually fetching in prey, out of the Countrey, because there was for euery one a place at hand to retire vnto, that it could not stand long at a stay, but that the *Athenians* ioyning with such of them, as rebelled, and the *Bœotians* not hauing their forces vnited, they might in time order the State to their owne liking. Thus was the Plot layed.

The Plot laid betweene certaine *Bœotians*, and the *Athenians*, how to bring *Bœotia* into the power of the *Athenians*.

And *Hippocrates* himselfe, with the forces of the Citie, was ready when time should serue to * march; but sent *Demosthenes* before, with forty Gallies to *Naupactus*; to the end that he should leuy an Army of *Acarnanians*, and other their Confederates in these quarters, and sayle to *Siphæ*, to receiue it by Treason. And a day was set downe betwixt them, on which these things should haue been done together.

* *Towards* Delium.

Demosthenes, when he arriued and found the *Oeniades* by compulsion of the rest of *Acarnania*, entred into the *Athenian* Confederation, and had himselfe raised all the Confederates thereabouts, made Warre, first vpon *Salynthius*, and the

A the *Agræans*, and hauing taken in other places thereabouts, stood ready when the time should require, to goe to *Siphæ*.

About the same time of this Summer, *Brasidas* marching towards the Cities vpon *Thrace*, with 1700 men of Armes, when he came to *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*, sent a Messenger before him to his friends at *Pharsalus*, requiring them to be guides vnto him, and to his Army. And when there were come vnto him, *Dorus*, and *Dorus*, and *Hippolochidas*, and *Torylaus*, and *Strophacus*, (who was the publique Hoste of the B *Chalcideans*) all which met him *Melitia*, a towne of *Achaia*, he marched on. There were other of the *Thessalians* also that conuoyed him; and from *Larissa*, he was conuoyed by *Niconidas* a friend of *Perdiccas*. For it had beene hard to passe *Thessaly* without a guide, howsoeuer, but especially with an Army. And to passe through a neighbour Territory without leaue, is a thing that all *Grecians* alike are iealous of. Besides, that the people of *Thessaly* had euer borne good affection to the *Athenians*. Insomuch, as if by custome, the gouernment of that Countrey had not beene C * Lordly, rather then a * Common-wealth he could neuer haue gone on. For also now as he marched forward, there met him at the Riuer *Enipeus*, others of a contrary mind to the former, that forbad him, and told him that he did vniustly to goe on without the common consent of all. But those that conuoyed him answered, that they would not bring him through against their wils; but that comming to them on a sudden, they conducted him as friends. And *Brasidas* himselfe said, he came thither a friend, both to the countrey, and to them; and that he bore Armes, not against D them, but against the *Athenians* their enemies. And that he neuer knew of any enmity, between the *Thessalians*, & *Lacedæmonians*, wherby they might not vse one anothers ground; and that euen now he would not goe on without their consent; for neither could hee; but onely entreated them not to stop him. When they heard this, they went their wayes. And he, by the aduice of his guides, before any greater number should vnite to hinder him, marched on with all possible speed staying no where by the way; and the same day he set forth from *Melitia*, he reached *Pharsalus*, and encam- E ped by the Riuer *Apidanus*. From thence he went to *Phacium*. From thence, into *Peræbia*. The *Peræbians*, though subiect

Brasidas passeth through *Thessalie*, with 1500 men of Armes, to aide the *Chalcideans* that deliberated a reuolt.

* *Δυναστεία absoluta gouernment vnder one part.*
* *ἰσονομία. equality of priuiledge in the whole.*

The soft answer of *Brasidas*, notwithstanding hee was resolued to passe.

Brasidas goeth apace through *Thessaly*.

ſubiect to the *Theſſalonians*, ſet him at *Dion*, in the Dominion of *Perdiccas*, a little City of the *Macedonians*, ſcituate at the foot of *Olympus*, on the ſide toward *Theſſalie*. In this manner, *Braſidas* ran through *Theſſalie*, before any there could put in readineſſe to ſtop him; and came into the Territorie of the *Chalcideans*, and to *Perdiccas*. For *Perdiccas*, and the *Chalcideans*, all that had reuolted from the *Athenians*, when they ſaw the affaires of the *Athenians* proſper, had drawne this Armie out of *Peloponneſus* for feare: the *Chalcideans*, becauſe they thought the *Athenians* would make Warre on them firſt, as hauing been alſo incited thereto, by thoſe Cities amongſt them that had not reuolted; and *Perdiccas*, not that he was their open enemy, but becauſe he feared the *Athenians* for ancient quarrels; but principally becauſe he deſired to ſubdue *Arrhibæus*, King of the *Lynceſteans*. And the ill ſucceſſe which the *Lacedæmonians* in theſe times had, was a cauſe that they obtained an Armie from them, the more eaſily.

The cauſe why *Perdiccas* and the *Chalcideans* called in the *Lacedæmonians* into thoſe parts.

The cauſe why the *Lacedæmonians* ſo willingly ſent an army to them.

For the *Athenians* vexing *Peloponneſus*, and their particular * Territory *Laconia* moſt of all, they thought the beſt way to diuert them, was to ſend an Armie to the Confederates of the *Athenians*, ſo to vexe them againe. And the rather, becauſe *Perdiccas*, and the *Chalcideans* were content to maintain the Armie, hauing called it thither to helpe the *Chalcideans* in their reuolt. And becauſe alſo they deſired a pretence to ſend away part of their * *Helotes*, for feare they ſhould take the opportunity of the preſent ſtate of their affaires, the enemies lying now in *Pylus*, to innouate. For they did alſo this further. Fearing the youth, and multitude of their *Helotes*, (For the *Lacedæmonians* had euer many Ordinances, concerning how to look to thẽſelues againſt the *Helotes*,) they cauſed Proclamation to be made, that as many of thẽ, as claimed the eſtimation, to haue done the *Lacedæmonians* beſt ſeruice in their Warres ſhould be made free; feeling them in this manner, and conceiuing that as they ſhould euery one out of pride deeme himſelfe worthy to be firſt made free, ſo they would ſooneſt alſo rebell againſt thẽ. And when they had thus preferred about 2000, which alſo with Crownes on their heads, went in proceſsion about the Temples, as to receiue their liberty, they, not long after made them away, and no man knew how they periſhed. And now at this

* By incurſions and forraging the Contry, from Pylus, and the Iland Cythera.

* their ſeruants.

An impious Policy of the *Lacedæmonians*, in the deſtroying their *Helotes*.

A this time with all their hearts they ſent away 700 men of Armes more of the ſame men, along with *Braſidas*. The reſt of the Army were Mercinaries hired by *Braſidas*, out of *Peloponneſus*. But *Braſidas* himſelfe the *Lacedæmonians* ſent out, chiefly, becauſe it was his owne deſire. Notwithſtanding the *Chalcideans* alſo longed to haue him, as one eſteemed alſo in *Sparta*, euery way an actiue man. And when he was out, he did the *Lacedæmonians* very great ſeruice. For by ſhewing himſelfe at that preſent iuſt, and moderate towards the Cities, hee cauſed the
B moſt of them to reuolt, and ſome of them he alſo tooke by Treaſon. Whereby it came to paſſe, that if the *Lacedæmonians* pleaſed to come to compoſition (as alſo they did) they might haue Townes to render and receiue reciprocally.

The praiſe of *Braſidas*.

And alſo long after, after the *Sicilian* Warre, the vertue, and wiſedome which *Braſidas* ſhewed now, to ſome knowne by experience, by others, beleeued vpon from report, was the principall cauſe that made the *Athenian* Confederates affect the *Lacedæmonians*; For being the
C *first that went out, and eſteemed in all points for a worthy man, he left behind him an aſſured hope, that the reſt alſo were like him.

* *The firſt that went abroad for Gouernour into other States, ſince this Warre. For fifty yeeres before this Warre,* Pauſanias *hauing the gouernment of the* Grecian *Confederates, at* Bizantium, *behaued himſelfe inſolently, and then* Cimon *an* Athenian *by the vertues now praiſed in* Braſidas, *got the Confederates to leaue the* Lacedæmonians, *and affect the* Athenians.

Being now come into *Thrace*, the *Athenians* vpon notice, thereof, declared *Perdiccas* an enemy, as imputing to him this expedition, and reinforced the Garriſons in the parts thereabouts.

Braſidas ioyned with *Perdiccas*, marcheth towards *Lincus*.

Perdiccas with *Braſidas* and his Army, together with his owne Forces, marched preſently againſt *Arrhibæus the ſonne of Bromerus*, King of the *Lynceſtheans*, a people of
D *Macedonia*, confining on *Perdiccas* his dominion, both for a quarrell they had againſt him, and alſo as deſiring to ſubdue him.

Braſidas refuſing to make Warre on *Arrhibæus*.

When he came with his Army, and *Braſidas* with him, to the place where they were to haue fallen in, *Braſidas* told him that hee deſired, before hee made Warre, to draw *Arrhibæus* by parly, if he could, to a League with the *Lacedæmonians*. For *Arrhibæus* had alſo made ſome proffer by a Herald, to commit the matter to *Braſidas* arbitrement. And the *Chalcidean* Ambaſſadours
E being preſent, gaue him likewiſe aduice, not to thruſt himſelfe into danger in fauour of *Perdiccas*, to the end

For the offer of *Arrhibæus*.

And through the aduice of the *Chalcideans*.

they might haue him more prompt in their owne affaires. Besides, the Miniſters of *Perdiccas*, when they were at *Lacedæmon*, had ſpoken there, as if they had meant to bring vs many of the places about him as they could, into the *Lacedæmonian* League. So that *Braſidas* fauoured *Arrhibæus*, for the publique good of their owne State. But *Perdiccas* ſaid that he brought not *Braſidas* thither, to be a Iudge of his Controuerſies, but to deſtroy thoſe enemies which he ſhould ſhew him? And that it will be an iniury, ſeeing he payes the halfe of his Army, for *Braſidas* to parly with *Arrhibæus*. Neuertheleſſe, *Braſidas* whether *Perdiccas* would, or not, and though it made a quarrell, had conference with *Arrhibæus*, by whom alſo hee was induced to withdraw his Army. But from that time forward, *Perdiccas* in ſtead of halfe, paid but a third part of his Army, as conceiuing himſelfe to haue been iniured.

Giueth therein diſtaſte to *Perdiccas*.

The ſame Summer, a little before the Vintage, *Braſidas* hauing ioyned to his owne, the forces of the *Chalcideans*, marched to *Acanthus*, a Colony of the *Andrians*. And there aroſe ſedition about receiuing him, betweene ſuch as had ioyned with the *Chalcideans* in calling him thither, and the common people. Neuertheleſſe, for feare of their fruits which were not yet gotten in, The multitude was won by *Braſidas* to let him enter alone, and then (after he had laid his mind) to aduiſe what to doe amongſt themſelues. And preſenting himſelfe before the multitude, (for he was not vneloquent, though a *Lacedæmonian*,) he ſpake to this effect.

Braſidas commeth before *Acanthus*.

And is receiued without his army.

THE ORATION OF BRASIDAS.

MEN *of* Acanthus, *The reaſon why the* Lacedæmonians *haue ſent me, and this Army abroad, is to make good what we gaue out in the beginning for the cauſe of our Warre againſt the* Athenians, *which was, that we meant to make a Warre for the Libertie of* Greece. *But if we be come late, as deceiued by the Warre there, in the opinion we had, that we our ſelues ſhould ſoone haue pulled the* Athenians *downe, without any danger of yours, no man hath reaſon therefore to blame vs. For we are come aſſoone as occaſion ſerued, and with your helpe will do our beſt to bring them vnder. But I wonder why you ſhut me forth of your*

A your gates and why I was not welcome. For we Lacedæmonians haue vndergone this great danger, of passing many dayes iournie through the Territory of Strangers, and shewed all possible zeale, because we imagined that we went to such Confederates, as before wee came had vs present in their hearts, and were desirous of our comming. And therefore it were hard, that you should now bee otherwise minded and withstand your owne, and the rest of the Grecians liberty; not onely in that your selues resist vs, but also because others whom I goe to, will be the lesse willing to come in; making difficulty, because you to whom I came first, hauing a flourishing City, and being
B esteemed wise, haue refused vs. For which I shall haue no sufficient excuse to pleade, but must be thought either to pretend to set vp liberty vniustly, or to come weake, and without power to maintaine you against the Athenians. And yet against this same Army I now haue, when I went to encounter the Athenians at Nisæa, though more in number, they durst not hazzard battell. Nor is it likely, that the Athenians will send forth so great a number against you, as they had in their Fleet there at Nisæa. I come not hither to hurt, but to set free the Grecians, and I haue the Lacedæmonian Magistrates bound vnto me by great Oathes, that whatsoeuer Confederates shall be added to their side, at least by mee, shall
C still enioy their owne Lawes. And that wee shall not hold you as Confederates to vs, brought in either by force, or fraud, but on the contrary, be Confederates to you, that are kept in seruitude by the Athenians. And therefore I clayme not onely that you be not iealous of mee, especially hauing giuen you so good assurance, or thinke me vnable to defend you, but also that you declare your selues boldly with mee. And if any man be vnwilling so to doe, through feare of some particular man, apprehending that I would put the Citie into the hands of a few, let him cast away that feare, for
D I came not to side, nor doe I thinke I should bring you an assured liberty, if neglecting the ancient vse here, I should enthrall, either the Multitude, to the Few, or the Few to the Multitude. For to be gouerned so, were worse then the domination of a Forrainer. And there would result from it to vs Lacedæmonians, not thankes for our labours, but in stead of honour and glory, an imputation of those * crimes, for which we make Warre amongst the Athenians, and which would be more odious in vs then in them, that neuer pretended the * vertue. For it is more dishonourable, at least, to men in dignity, to amplifie their estate by specious fraud, then by open violence. For the
E later assayleth with a certaine right of power giuen vs by Fortune, but the other, with the treachery of a wicked conscience.

* Ambition and desire to subdue other States.

* The desire to assert other States.

But beſides the oath which they haue ſworne already, the greateſt further aſſurance you can haue, is this, That our actions weighed with our words, you muſt needs beleeue, that it is to our profit to doe, as I haue told you. But if after theſe promiſes of mine, you ſhall ſay, you cannot, and yet for as much as your affection is with vs, will claime impunity for reiecting vs; Or ſhall ſay that this liberty I offer you ſeemes to bee accompanied with danger, and that it were well done to offer it to ſuch as can receiue it, but not to force it vpon any. Then will I call to witneſſe the Gods, and Heroes *of this place, that my counſell which you refuſe, was for your good, and will indeuour by waſting of your Territory to compell you to it. Nor ſhall I thinke I doe you therein any wrong; But haue reaſon for it from two neceſſities, one, of the* Lacedæmonians, *leſt whileſt they haue your affections, and not your ſociety, they ſhould receiue hurt from your contribution of money to the* Athenians; *another, of the* Grecians, *leſt they ſhould be hindered of their liberty by your example; for otherwiſe indeed we could not iuſtly doe it; nor ought we* Lacedæmonians *to ſet any at liberty againſt their wills, if it were not for ſome common good. We couet not dominion ouer you, but ſeeing we haſte to make others lay downe the ſame, we ſhould doe iniury to the greater part, if bringing liberty to the other States in generall, we ſhould tolerate you to croſſe vs. Deliberate well of theſe things, ſtriue to be the beginners of Liberty in* Greece, *to get your ſelues eternall glory, to preſerue euery man his priuate eſtate from dammage, and to inueſt the whole Citie with a moſt honourable* * Title. Thus ſpake *Braſidas*.

* *Semi-gods, fained by the Poets to haue been gotten between a god and a mortall.*

* *The Title of a free City.*

The reuolt of *Acanthus.*

The reuolt of *Stagyrus.*

The end of the eighth Summer.

The *Acanthians*, after much ſaid on either ſide, partly for that which *Braſidas* had effectually ſpoken, and partly for feare of their fruits abroad, the moſt of them decreed to reuolt from the *Athenians*, hauing giuen their votes in ſecret. And when they had made him take the ſame oath, which the *Lacedæmonian* Magiſtrates tooke, when they ſent him out; namely, that what Confederates ſoeuer he ſhould ioyne to the *Lacedæmonians*, ſhould enioy their owne Lawes, they receiued his Army into the City. And not long after, reuolted *Stagyrus*, another Colony of the *Andrians*. And theſe were the Acts of this Summer.

In the very beginning of the next Winter, when the *Bœotian* Cities ſhould haue been deliuered to *Hippocrates* and *Demoſt-*

A *Demosthenes*, Generals of the *Athenians*, and that *Demosthenes* should haue gone to *Siphæ*, and *Hippocrates* to *Delium*, hauing mistaken the dayes, on which they should haue both set forward, *Demosthenes* went to *Siphæ* * first, and hauing with him the *Acarnans*, and many Confederates of those parts in his Fleet, yet lost his labour. For the Treason was detected by one *Nicomachus* a *Phocean*, of the Towne of *Pharæis*, who told it vnto the *Lacedæmonians*, and they againe vnto the *Bœotians*. Whereby the *Bœotians* concurring vniuersally to relieue those places, (for *Hippocrates* B was not yet gone to trouble them in their owne seuerall Territories) preoccupied both *Siphæ* and *Chæronea*. And the Conspirators knowing the errour, attempted in those Cities no further.

Demosthenes approacheth *Siphæ* by Sea, to take it by treason, but failed.

* *Before* Hippocrates *went to* Delium, *whereas it ought to haue beene at the same time.*

The Treason detected.

But *Hippocrates* hauing raised the whole power of the Citie of *Athens*, both Citizens and others that dwelt amongst them, and all strangers, that were then there, arriued * afterwards at *Delium*, when the *Bœotians* were now returned from *Siphæ*, and there stayed, and tooke in *Delium* a Temple of *Apollo* with a wall; in this manner. Round C about the Temple, and the whole consecrated ground, they drew a Ditch, and out of the Ditch, in stead of a wall, they cast vp the earth, and hauing driuen downe piles on either side, they cast thereinto the matter of the Vineyard about the Temple, which to that purpose they cut downe, together with the Stones and Bricks of the ruined buildings. And by all meanes heightened the fortification, and in such places as would giue leaue, erected Turrets of wood vpon the same. There was no Edifice of the Temple standing, for the Cloyster that had been was fallen downe. They began the worke, the third day after D they set forth from *Athens*, and wrought all the same day, and all the fourth and the fift day, till dinner. And then being most part of it finished, the campe came backe from *Delium*, about ten Furlongs homewards. And the light-armed Souldiers went most of them presently away, but the men of Armes, laid downe their Armes there, and rested. *Hippocrates* staid yet behind, and tooke order about the Garrison, and about the finishing of the remainder of fortification. The *Bœotians* tooke the same time to assemble E at *Tanagra*; and when all the Forces were come in, that from euery Citie were expected, and when they vnderstood

Hipocrates marcheth to Delium.

* *After* Demosthenes had been at *Siphæ* which was too late.
He fortifieth *Delium.*

The army of the *Athenians*, hauing taken *Delium*, begin to retire.

The *Bœotians* follow them

stood that the *Athenians* drew homewards, though the rest of the * *Bœotian* Commanders, which were eleuen, approued not giuing battell, because they were not now in Bœotia (for the *Athenians*, when they laid downe their Armes, were in the Confines of *Oropia*) yet *Pagondas* the sonne of *Aiolaidas*, being the *Bœotian* Commander † for *Thebes*, whose turne it was to haue the leading of the Army, was, together with *Arianthides* the sonne of *Lysimachidas*, of opinion to fight, and held it the best course to try the fortune of a battell; wherefore calling them vnto him (euery Company by it selfe, that they might not be all at once from their Armes) he exhorted the *Bœotians* to march against the *Athenians*, and to hazzard battell, speaking in this manner.

* Βοιωταρχοι, eleuen in number.

† It seemes that the seuerall States of Bœotia being free of themselues, and holding altogether, were vnited vnder gouernours sent from them seuerally, at least in the Warres, and then they had the leading of the common forces by turnes.

THE ORATION OF PAGONDAS to his Souldiers.

MEN of Bœotia, it ought neuer to haue so much as entred into the thought of any of vs the Commanders, that because we finde not the Athenians *now in* Bœotia, it should therefore be vnfit to giue them battell. For they, out of a bordering Countrey haue entred Bœotia, and fortified in it, with intent to waste it, and are indeed enemies in whatsoeuer ground wee find them, or whencesoeuer they come, doing the acts of hostility. But now if any man thinke it also vnsafe, let him henceforth be of another opinion. For prouidence in them that are inuaded, endureth not such deliberation concerning their owne, as may be vsed by them, who retaining their owne, out of desire to enlarge, voluntarily inuade the estate of another. And it is the custome of this Countrey of yours, when a forraine enemy comes against you, to fight with him, both on your owne, and on your neighbours ground alike; but much more you ought to doe it, against the Athenians, when they be borderers. * For liberty with all men, is nothing else but to be a match for the Cities that are their neighbours. With these then that attempt the subiugation, not onely of their neighbours, but of estates farre from them, why should we not try the vtmost of our fortune? We haue for example, the estate that the Euboeans ouer against vs, and also the greatest part of the rest of Greece do liue in vnder them. And you must know, that though others fight with their neighbours, about the bounds of their Territories, wee if we be vanquished shall haue but one bound amongst vs all; so that

* So that so soone as a State hath a neighbour strong enough to subdue it, it is no more to be thought a free State.

A *that wee ſhall no more quarrell about limits. For if they enter, they will take all our ſeuerall ſtates into their owne poſſeſsion by force. So much more dangerous is the neighbourhood of the* Athenians, *then of other people. And ſuch as vpon confidence in their ſtrength inuade their neighbours, (as the* Athenians *now doe) vſe to bee bolde in warring on thoſe that ſit ſtill, defending themſelues onely in their owne Territories; whereas they be leſſe vrgent to thoſe that are ready to meete them without their owne limits, or alſo to beginne the Warre when opportunity ſerueth. We haue experience hereof in theſe ſame men; for after wee had ouercome them at* Coronea, *at what time*
B *through our owne ſedition, they held our Countrey in ſubiection, wee eſtabliſhed a great ſecurity in* Bœotia, *which laſted till this preſent. Remembring which, wee ought now, the elder ſort to imitate our former acts there, and the yonger ſort, who are the children of thoſe valiant Fathers, to endeuour not to diſgrace the vertue of their Houſes; but rather with confidence that the God, whoſe Temple fortified they vnlawfully dwell in, will bee with vs, the Sacrifices wee offered him appearing faire, to march againſt them, and let them ſee; that though they may gaine what they couet, when they inuade ſuch as will not fight, yet men that haue the generoſity to hold their owne in liberty by*
C *battell, and not inuade the ſtate of another vniuſtly, will neuer let them goe away vnfoughten.*

Pagondas with this exhortation perſwaded the *Bœotians* to march againſt the *Athenians*, and making them * riſe, led them ſpeedily on, for it was drawing towards night, and when he was neere to their Army, in a place, from whence by the interpoſition of a Hill they ſaw not each other, making a ſtand, he put his Armie into order, and prepared to giue Battell. When it was told *Hippocrates*, who was
D then at *Delium*, that the *Bœotians* were marching after them, he ſends preſently to the Armie, commanding them to bee put in array, and not long after hee came himſelfe, hauing left ſome 300. Horſe about *Delium*, both for a guard to the place, if it ſhould be aſſaulted, and withall to watch an opportunity to come vpon the *Bœotians* when they were in fight. But for theſe, the *Bœotians* appointed ſome Forces purpoſely to attend them. And when all was as it ſhould be, they ſhewed themſelues from the toppe of the Hill. Where they ſate downe with their Armes, in
E the ſame order they were to fight in; being about ſeuen thouſand men of Armes, of light-armed Souldiers, aboue

tenne

* *It was the faſhion in thoſe times, for the Souldiers to ſit downe with their Armes by them, when they ſtaide any where in the Field.*

The order of the *Army* of the *Bœotians.*

tenne thouſand, a thouſand Horſemen, and fiue hundred Targettiers. Their right Wing conſiſting of the *Thebans*, and their partakers; In the middle battell were the *Haliartians*, *Coronæans*, *Copæans*, and the reſt that dwell about the * Lake; In the left were the *Theſpians*, *Tanagræans*, and *Orchomenians*. The Horſemen, and light-armed Souldiers were placed on either wing. The *Thebans* were ordered by twenty fiue in File, but the reſt, euery one as it fell out. This was the preparation and order of the *Bœotians*.

* The Lake Copais.

The order of the army of the *Athenians*.

The *Athenian* men of Armes, in number, no fewer then the enemy, were ordered by eight in File throughout. Their Horſe they placed on either Wing; but for light-armed Souldiers, armed as was fit, there were none, nor was there any in the City. Thoſe that went out, followed the Campe, for the moſt part without Armes, as being a generall expedition both of Citizens, and Strangers; and after they once began to make homeward, there ſtayed few behind. When they were now in their order, and ready to ioyne battell, *Hippocrates* the Generall came into the Army of the *Athenians*, and encouraged them, ſpeaking to this effect.

THE ORATION OF HIPPOCRATES to his Souldiers.

MEN of Athens, *my exhortation ſhall be ſhort, but with valiant men, it hath as much force as a longer, and is for a remembrance, rather then a command. Let no man thinke, becauſe it is in the Territory of another, that we therefore precipitate our ſelues into a great danger that did not concerne vs. For in the Territory of theſe men, you fight for your owne. If wee get the victory, the* Peloponneſians *will neuer inuade our Territories againe, for want of the* Bœotian *Horſemen. So that in one battell, you ſhall both gaine this Territory, and free your owne. Therefore march on againſt the enemy, euery one as becommeth the dignity, both of his naturall Citie, (which he glorieth to be chiefe of all* Greece) *and of his Anceſtors, who hauing ouercome theſe men at* Oenophyta, *vnder the Conduct of* Myronides, *were in times paſt Maſters of all* Bœotia.

Whiles *Hippocrates* was making this exhortation, and had

A had gone with it ouer halfe the Army, but could proceed no further, the *Bœotians*, (for *Pagondas* likewiſe made but a ſhort exhortation, and had there ſung the *Paean*) came downe vpon them from the hill. And the *Athenians* likewiſe went forward to meet them, ſo faſt, that they met together running. The vtmoſt parts of both the Armies neuer came to ioyne, hindred both, by one, and the ſame cauſe, for certaine currents of water kept them aſunder. But the reſt made ſharpe battell, ſtanding cloſe, and ſtriuing to put by each others Bucklers. The left wing of the *Bœotians*, to
B the very middle of the Army was ouerthrowne by the *Athenians*, who in this part had to deale, amongſt others principally with the *Theſpians*. For whileſt they that were placed within the ſame wing, gaue backe, and were circled in by the *Athenians* in a narrow compaſſe, thoſe *Theſpians* that were ſlaine, were hewed downe in the very fight. Some alſo of the *Athenians* themſelues, troubled with incloſing thē, through ignorance ſlew one another. So that the *Bœotians* were ouerthrowne in this part, and fled to the other part, where they were yet in fight. But the right wing wherein
C the *Thebans* ſtood, had the better of the *Athenians*, and by little and little, forced them to giue ground, and followed vpon them from the very firſt. It hapned alſo that *Pagondas*, whilſt the left wing of his Army was in diſtreſſe, ſent two Companies of Horſe ſecretly about the hill; whereby that wing of the *Athenians* which was victorious, apprehending vpon their ſudden appearing that they had bin a freſh Army, was put into affright, and the whole Army of the *Athenians*, now doubly terrified, by this accident, and by the *Thebans* that continually won ground, & brake their ranks,
D betooke themſelues to flight. Some fled toward *Delium*, and the ſea; and ſome towards *Oropus*; others toward the mountaine *Parnethus*, and others other wayes, as to each appeared hope of ſafety. The *Bœotians*, eſpecially their horſe, & thoſe *Locrians* that came in, after the enemy was already defeated, followed, killing thē. But night ſurpriſing them, the multitude of thē that fled, was the eaſier ſaued. The next day, thoſe that were gotten to *Oropus* and *Delium*, went thence by Sea to *Athens*, hauing left a Garriſon in *Delium*, which place, notwithſtanding this defeat, they yet retayned.
E The *Bœotians*, when they had erected their Trophy, taken away their owne dead, rifled thoſe of the enemy, and left a

The *Bœotians* interrupt the Oration.

The *Athenians* flie.

guard vpon the place, returned backe to *Tanagra*, and there entred into consultation, for an assault to be made vpon *Delium*. In the meane time, a Herald sent from the *Athenians*, to require the bodies, met with a Herald by the way, sent by the *Bœotians*, which turned him backe, by telling him he could get nothing done, till himselfe was returned from the *Athenians*. This Herald, when he came before the *Athenians*, deliuered vnto them what the *Bœotians* had giuen him in charge; namely, *That they had done iniustly, to transgresse the vniuersall law of the* Grecians; *being a constitution receiued by them all, that the Inuader of anothers countrey, shall abstaine from all holy places in the same. That the* Athenians *had fortified* Delium, *and dwelt in it, and done whatsoeuer else men vse to doe in places profane, and had drawne that water to the common vse, which was vnlawfull for themselues to haue touched, saue onely to wash their hands for the sacrifice. That therfore the* Bœotians, *both in the behalfe of the* god, *and of themselues, inuoking* Apollo, *and all the interessed* *spirits, *did warne them to be gone, and to remoue their stuffe out of the Temple.* After the Herald had said this, the *Athenians* sent a Herald of their owne to the *Bœotians. Denying that either they had done any wrong to the holy place already, or would willingly doe any hurt to it hereafter. For neither did they at first enter into it, to such intent; but to requite the greater iniuries which had beene done vnto them. As for the law which the* Grecians *haue, it is no other, but that they which haue the dominion of any territory, great or small, haue euer the Temples also, & besides the accustomed rites, may superinduce what other they can. For also the* Bœotians, *and most men else, all that hauing driuen out another nation, possesse their territory, did at first inuade the Temples of others, and make them their owne. That therefore, if they could win from them more of their Land, they would keepe it; and for the part they were now in, they were in it with a good will, and would not out of it, as being their owne. That for the water, they medled with it vpon necessity, which was not to be ascribed to insolence, but to this, that fighting against the* Bœotians *that had inuaded their territory first, they were forced to vse it. For whatsoeuer is forced by War, or danger, hath in reason, a kind of pardon, euen with the* god *himselfe. For the Altars, in cases of inuoluntary offences, are a refuge; and they are said to violate Lawes, that are euill without constraint, not they that are a little bold vpon occasion of distresse.*

That the Bœotians *themselues, who require restitution of the holy places, for a redemption of the dead, are more irreligious by farre, then they, who, rather then let their Temples goe, are content to goe without*

Dispute about giuing leaue to the *Athenians* to take vp their dead.

The message of the *Bœotians* to the *Athenians*.

* δαίμονες.

The message of the *Athenians* to the *Bœotians*, by a friend of their owne.

A *without, that which were fit for them to receiue.* And they bad him ſay plainly, *That they would not depart out of the* Bœotian *Territory, for that they were not now in it, but in a Territory which they had made their owne by the* * *Sword; And neuertheleſſe, required Truce according to the Ordinances of the Countrey, for the fetching away of the dead.* To this the *Bœotians* anſwered, *That if the dead were in* Bœotia, *they ſhould quit the ground, and take with them, whatſoeuer was theirs. But if the dead were in their owne Territory, the* Athenians *themſelues knew beſt what to doe.* For they thought, that though *Oropia*, wherein the
B dead lay, (for the battell was fought in the border betweene *Attica* and *Bœotia*) by ſubiection belonged to the *Athenians*, yet they could not fetch them off by force; and for Truce, that the *Athenians* might come ſafely on *Athenian* ground, they would giue none; but conceiued it was a handſome anſwer, to ſay, *That if they would quit the ground, they ſhould obtaine whatſoeuer they required.* Which when the *Athenian* Herald heard, he went his way without effect. The *Bœotians* preſently ſent for Darters and Slingers from the Townes on the *Melian* Gulfe, and with theſe, and with
C two thouſand men of Armes, of *Corinth*, and with the *Peloponneſian* Garriſon that was put out of *Niſæa*, and with the *Megareans*, all which arriued after the battell, they marched forthwith to *Delium*, and aſſaulted the wall; and when they had attempted the ſame many other wayes, at length they brought to it an Engine, wherewith they alſo tooke it, made in this manner. Hauing ſlit in two a great Maſt, they made hollow both the ſides, and curiouſly ſet them together againe, in forme of a Pipe. At the end of it in chaines, they hung a Caldron, and into the Caldron from
D the end of the Maſt, they conueyed a ſnowt of Iron, hauing with Iron alſo armed a great part of the reſt of the wood. They carried it to the wall, being farre off, in Carts, to that part where it was moſt made vp, with the matter of the Vineyard, and with wood. And when it was to, they applied a paire of great bellowes to the end next themſelues, and blew. The blaſt paſsing narrowly through into the Caldron, in which were coales of fire, brimſtone, and pitch, raiſed an exceeding great flame, and ſet the wall on fire; ſo that no man being able to ſtand any longer on it, but abandoning the ſame, and betaking themſelues to flight, the
E wall was by that meanes taken.

* *Dori*, by the Speare.

The reply of the *Bœotians*.

The forme of an Engine, wherewith they ſet the wall on fire.

Delium recouered by the *Bœotians*.

Of the Defendants, ſome were ſlaine, and 200 taken priſoners. The reſt of the number recouered their Gallies, and got home. *Delium* thus taken on the ſeuenteenth day after the battell, and the Herald, which not long after, was ſent againe about the fetching away of the dead, not knowing it, the *Bœotians* let him haue them, and anſwered no more as they had formerly done. In the battell there dyed *Bœotians* few leſſe then fiue hundred. *Athenians*, few leſſe then a thouſand, with *Hippocrates* the Generall; but of light-armed Souldiers, and ſuch as carried the prouiſions of the Army, a great number.

The *Bœotians* deliuer to the *Athenians* their dead.

Not long after this battell, *Demoſthenes*, that had been with his Army at *Sipha*, ſeeing the Treaſon ſucceeded not, hauing aboord his Gallies, his Army of *Acarnanians*, and *Agræans*, and foure hundred men of Armes of *Athens*, landed in *Sicyonia*. But before all his Gallies came to Shoare, the *Sicyonians*, who went out to defend their Territory, put to flight ſuch as were already landed, and chaſed them backe to their Gallies; hauing alſo ſlaine ſome, and taken ſome aliue. And whē they had erected a Trophy, they gaue Truce to the *Athenians* for the fetching away of their dead.

Demoſthenes landing in *Sicyonia*, is beaten backe by the Inhabitants.

About the time that theſe things paſt at *Delium*, dyed *Sitalces*, King of the *Odryſians*, ouercome in battell, in an expedition againſt the *Triballians*; And *Seuthes the ſon of Spardocus*, his brothers ſonne, ſucceeded him, in the kingdome both of the *Odryſians*, and of the reſt of *Thrace*, as much as was before ſubiect to *Sitalces*.

Sitalces King of *Thrace*, dyeth, and *Seuthes* his brothers ſonne ſucceedeth him.

The ſame Winter, *Braſidas*, with the Confederates in *Thrace*, made Warre vpon *Amphipolis*, a Colony of the *Athenians*, ſcituated on the Riuer *Strymon*. The place whereon the City now ſtandeth, *Ariſtagoras* of *Miletus*, had formerly attempted to inhabite, when he fled from King *Darius*, but was beaten away by the *Edonians*. Two and thirty yeeres after this, the *Athenians* aſſayed the ſame, and ſent thither ten thouſand of their owne Citie, and of others as many as would goe. And theſe were deſtroyed all by the *Thracians* at *Drabeſcus*.

Braſidas goeth to *Amphipolis*.

The originall of *Amphipolis*.

In the 29 yeere after, conducted by *Agnon the ſonne of Niſias*, the *Athenians* came againe, and hauing driuen out the *Edonians*, became Founders of this place, formerly called the *Nine-wayes*. This Army lay then at *Eion*, a Towne of Traffique by the Sea-ſide, ſubiect to the *Athenians*, at the mouth

Agnon Founder of *Amphipolis*.

A mouth of the Riuer *Strymon*; fiue and twenty Furlongs from the Citie; *Agnon* named this City *Amphipolis*, becauſe it was ſurrounded by the Riuer *Strymon*, that runnes on either ſide it. When he had taken it in, with a long wall from Riuer to Riuer, he put Inhabitants into the place, being conſpicuous round about, both to the Sea, and Land.

Againſt this Citie marched *Braſidas* with his Armie, diſlodging from *Arnæ* in *Chalcidea*. Being about twilight come as farre as *Aulon* and *Bromiſcus*, where the Lake *Bolbe* B entreth into the Sea, hee cauſed his Armie to ſuppe, and then marched forward by night. The weather was foule, and a little it ſnowed, which alſo made him to march the rather, as deſiring that none of *Amphipolis*, but onely the Traytors, ſhould bee aware of his comming. For there were both *Argilians* that dwelt in the ſame Citie, (now *Argilus* is a Colonie of the *Andrians*) and others, that contriued this, induced thereunto, ſome by *Perdiccas*, and ſome by the *Chalcideans*. But aboue all, the *Argilians* beeing of a City neere vnto it, and euer ſuſpected by the *Athenians*, and C ſecret enemies to the place, as ſoone as opportunity was offered, and *Braſidas* arriued, (who had alſo long before dealt vnderhand with as many of them as dwelt in *Amphipolis*, to betray it) both receiued him into their owne Citie, and reuolting from the *Athenians*, brought the Armie forward the ſame night, as farre as to the bridge of the Riuer. The Towne ſtood not cloſe to the Riuer, nor was there a Fort at the Bridge then, as there is now, but they kept it onely with a ſmall guard of Souldiers. Hauing eaſily forced this guard, both in reſpect of the Treaſon, and of D the weather, and of his owne vnexpected approach, hee paſſed the Bridge, and was preſently maſter of whatſoeuer the *Amphipolitans* had, that dwelt without. Hauing thus ſuddenly paſſed the Bridge, and many of thoſe without beeing ſlaine, and ſome fled into the Citie, the *Amphipolitans*, were in very great confuſion at it, and the rather, becauſe they were iealous one of another. And it is ſaid, that if *Braſidas* had not ſent out his Armie to take bootie, but had marched preſently to the Citie, hee had in all likelihood taken it then. But ſo it was, that he pitch- E ed there, and fell vpon thoſe without, and ſeeing nothing ſucceeded by thoſe within, lay ſtill vpon the place. But the

The *Argilians* conſpire to betray *Amphipolis*.

Argilus reuolteth.

Braſidas winneth the Bridge, and is maſter of all betweene it and the Citie.

the contrary Faction to the Traytors, being ſuperiour in number, whereby the Gates were not opened preſently, both they and *Eucles* the Generall, who was then there for the *Athenians*, to keep the towne, ſent vnto the other Generall, *Thucydides the ſonne of Olorus*, the Writer of this Hiſtorie, who had charge in *Thrace*, and was now about *Thaſus* (which is an Iland, and a Colonie of the *Parians*, diſtant from *Amphipolis*, about halfe a dayes ſayle) requiring him to come and releeue them.

The *Amphipolitans* ſend for aide to *Thucydides*, the Author of this Hiſtorie.

When he heard the newes, he went thitherwards in all haſte, with ſeuen Gallies which chanced to be with him at that time. His purpoſe principally was, to preuent the yeelding vp of *Amphipolis*, but if he ſhould faile of that, then to poſſeſſe himſelfe of *Eion*, before *Braſidas* his comming.

Braſidas in the meane time, fearing the aid of the Gallies, to come from *Thaſus*, and hauing alſo beene informed that *Thucydides* poſſeſſed mines of gold in the parts of *Thrace* thereabouts, and was thereby of ability amongſt the principall men of the Continent, haſted by all meanes to get *Amphipolis*, before he ſhould arriue; leſt otherwiſe at his comming, the *Commons* of *Amphipolis*, expecting that he would leuy Confederates, both from the Sea ſide, and in *Thrace*, and releeue them, ſhould thereupon refuſe to yeeld. And to that end, offered them a moderate compoſition, cauſing to be proclaimed, *That whoſoeuer* Amphipolitan, *or* Athenian *would, might continue to dwell there, and enioy his owne, with equall and like forme of gouernment. And that he that would not, ſhould haue fiue dayes reſpit to be gone, and carry away his goods.*

Braſidas, fearing to be preuented by *Thucydides*, haſteth by eaſie conditions, to procure the Towne to yeeld.

When the Commons heard this, their mindes were turned; and the rather, becauſe the *Athenians* amongſt them were but few, and the moſt, were a promiſcuous multitude; And the kinſmen of thoſe that were taken without, flocked together within, and in reſpect of their feare, they all thought the Proclamation reaſonable. The *Athenians* thought it ſo, becauſe they were willing to goe out, as apprehending their owne danger to be greater, then that of the reſt, and withall, not expecting aid in haſte; and the reſt of the multitude, as being thereby both deliuered of the danger, and withall to retaine their Citie, with *the equall forme of gouernment*. Inſomuch, that they which conſpired

A conspired with *Brasidas*, now openly iustified the offer to be reasonable, and seeing the minds of the Commons were now turned, and that they gaue care no more to the words of the *Athenian* Generall, they compounded, and vpon the conditions proclaimed, receiued him. Thus did these men deliuer vp the City.

Amphipolis yeelded.

Thucydides with his Gallies, arriued in the euening of the same day at *Eion*. *Brasidas* had already gotten *Amphipolis*, and wanted but a night of taking *Eion* also, for if these Gallies had not come speedily to relieue it, by next mor-
B ning it had beene had.

Thucydides commeth too late to releeue *Amphipolis*, and putteth himselfe into *Eion*.

After this, *Thucydides* assured *Eion*, so as it should bee safe, both for the present, though *Brasidas* should assault it, and for the future; and tooke into it, such as according to the Proclamation made, came downe from *Amphipolis*. *Brasidas*, with many Boats came suddenly downe the Riuer to *Eion*, and attempted to seaze on the point of the ground lying out from the wall into the Sea, and thereby to command the mouth of the Riuer; he assayed also the same, at the same time by Land, and was in both beaten off; but
C *Amphipolis* not furnished with all things necessary.

And defendeth it against *Brasidas*.

Then reuolted to him *Myrcinus*, a City of the *Edonians*, (*Pittacus*, the King of the *Edonians*, being slaine by the sons of *Goaxis*, and by *Brauro* his owne wife.) And not long after, *Gapselus* also, and *Oesyme*, Colonies of the *Thasians*. *Perdiccas* also, after the taking of these places; came to him, and helped him in assuring of the same. After *Amphipolis* was taken, the *Athenians* were brought into great feare; especially, for that it was a City that yeelded them much profit, both in Timber which is sent them for the building
D of Gallies, and in reuenue of money; and because also, though the *Lacedæmonians* had a passage open to come against their Confederates (the *Thessalians* conuoying them) as farre as to *Strymon*, yet if they had not gotten that Bridge, the Riuer being vpwards, nothing but a vast Fenne, and towards *Eion*, well guarded with their Gallies, they could haue gone no further, which now they thought they might easily doe; and therefore feared lest their Confederates should reuolt. For *Brasidas* both shewed himselfe otherwise very moderate, and also gaue
E out in speech, that he was sent forth to recouer the liberty of *Greece*. And the Cities, which were subiect to the

Great inclination of the people of those parts to come in to *Brasidas*.

The *Athenians* begin to feare.

Athenians,

Athenians, hearing of the taking of *Amphipolis*, and what assurance he brought with him, and of his gentleneſſe beſides, were extremely deſirous of innouation; and ſent Meſſengers priuily to bid him draw neere, euery one ſtriuing who ſhould firſt reuolt. For they thought they might doe it boldly, falſely eſtimating the power of the *Athenians* to be leſſe then afterwards it appeared, and making a iudgment of it according to blind wilfulneſſe, rather then ſafe forecaſt. It being the faſhion of men, what they wiſh to be true to admit, euen vpon an vngrounded hope, and what they wiſh not, with a * Magiſtrall kind of arguing to reiect. Withall, becauſe the *Athenians* had lately receiued a blow from the *Bœotians*, and becauſe *Braſidas* had ſaid, not as was the truth, but as ſerued beſt to allure them, that when he was at *Niſæa*, the *Athenians* durſt not fight with thoſe forces of his alone, they grew confident thereon, and beleeued not that any man would come againſt them. But the greateſt cauſe of all was, that for the delight they tooke at this time to innouate, and for that they were to make triall of the *Lacedæmonians*, not till now angry, they were content by any meanes to put it to the hazzard. Which being perceiued, the *Athenians* ſent Garriſon Souldiers into thoſe Cities, as many as the ſhortneſſe of the time, and the ſeaſon of Winter would permit. And *Braſidas* ſent vnto *Lacedæmon*, to demand greater forces; and in the meane time prepared to build Gallies on the Riuer of *Strymon*. But the *Lacedæmonians*, partly through enuy of the principall men, and partly, becauſe they more affected the redemption of their men taken in the * Iland, and the ending of the Warre, refuſed to furniſh him.

The ſame Winter, the *Megareans* hauing recouered their Long-walls, holden by the *Athenians*, raſed them to the very ground.

Braſidas, after the taking of *Amphipolis*, hauing with him the Confederates, marched with his Army into the Territory called *Acte*. This *Acte* is that prominent Territorie, which is diſioyned from the Continent, by a Ditch made by the * King. And *Athos* a high mountaine in the ſame, determineth at the *Ægean* Sea. Of the Cities it hath, one is *Sane*, a Colony of the *Andrians*, by the ſide of the ſaid Ditch, on the part which looketh to the Sea, towards *Euboea*;

* λογισμῷ πιστεύσει.

The *Athenians* ſend Garriſons to the places thereabouts.

Braſidas enuied at home.

* Sphacteria.

The *Megareans* demoliſh their Long-walls, which were before but diſioyned from the City, by the *Athenians*.

Braſidas inuadeth the Territory of *Acte*, where *Athos* ſtandeth.

* *Xerxes* when he inuaded Greece.

A *Eubœa*; The reſt are *Thyſſus*, *Cleonæ*, *Acrothoi*, *Olophyxus*, and *Dion*, and are inhabited by promiſcuous *Barbarians* of *two languages; ſome few there are alſo of the *Chalcidean* Nation; but the moſt are *Pelaſgique*, of thoſe *Tyrrhene* Nations that once inhabited *Athens*, and *Lemnos*; and of the *Biſaltique* and *Chreſtonique* Nations, and *Edonians*; and dwell in ſmall Cities, the moſt of which yeelded to *Braſidas*. But *Sane*, and *Dion* held out; for which cauſe he ſtayed with his Army and waſted their Territories. But ſeeing they would not hearken vnto him, he led his Army preſently

B againſt *Torone* of *Chalcidea*, held by the *Athenians*. He was called in by the *Few*, who were ready withall to deliuer him the Citie, and arriuing there a little before breake of day, he ſate downe with his Army at the *Temple* of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, diſtant about three Furlongs from the Citie. So that to the reſt of the City, and to the *Atherian* Garriſon in it, his comming was vnperceiued. But the Traitors knowing hee was to come, (ſome few of them, being alſo priuily gone to him) attended his approach, and when they perceiued he was come, they tooke in vnto them ſeuen

C men, armed onely with Daggers, (for of twenty appointed at firſt to that ſeruice, ſeuen only had the courage to go in, and were led by *Lyſiſtratus* of *Olynthus*) which getting ouer the wal towards the main Sea vnſeen, went vp (for the Towne ſtandeth on a hils ſide) to the watch that kept the vpper end of the Towne, and hauing ſlaine the watchmen, brake open the Poſterne Gate towards *Canaſtræa*. *Braſidas* this while, with the reſt of his Army, lay ſtill, and then comming a little forward, ſent 100 Targettiers before, who when the Gates ſhould be opened, and ſigne agreed on be

D ſet vp, ſhould run in firſt. Theſe men expecting long, and wondering at the matter, by little and little were at length come vp cloſe to the City. Thoſe *Toronæans* within, which helped the men that entred to performe the enterprize, when the Poſterne Gate was broken open, and the Gate leading to the Market place opened likewiſe, by cutting aſunder the Barre, went firſt and fetcht ſome of them about to the Poſterne, to the end that they might ſuddenly affright ſuch of the Towne as knew not the matter, both behind, and on either ſide; and then they put vp the ſigne ap-

E pointed, which was fire, and receiued the reſt of the Targettiers by the Gate that leadeth to the Market place.

*The Greeke, and their owne Barbarian.

Torone reuolteth to *Braſidas*.

The manner how the Towne was betrayed.

Braſidas, when he ſaw the ſigne, made his Army riſe, and with a huge cry of all at once, to the great terrour of thoſe within, entred into the City running. Some went directly in by the Gate, and ſome by certaine ſquared Timber-trees, which lay at the wall (which hauing been lately downe, was now againe in building) for the drawing vp of Stone. *Braſidas* therefore, with the greateſt number, betooke himſelfe to the higheſt places of the City, to make ſure the winning of it, by poſſeſsing the places of aduantage.

The Towne taken.

But the reſt of the Rabble ran diſperſed here and there, without difference. When the Towne was taken, the moſt of the *Toronæans* were much troubled, becauſe they were not acquainted with the matter, but the Conſpirators, and ſuch as were pleaſed with it, ioyned themſelues preſently with thoſe that entred. The *Athenians* (of which there were about fifty men of Armes aſleepe in the Market place) when they knew what had happened, fled all, except ſome few that were ſlaine vpon the place, ſome by Land, ſome by water in two Gallies that kept watch there, and ſaued themſelues in *Lecythus*; which was a Fort which they themſelues held, cut off from the reſt of the City to the Sea-ward, in a narrow *Iſthmus*. And thither alſo fled all ſuch *Toronæans* as were affected to them. Being now day, and the City ſtrongly poſſeſſed, *Braſidas* cauſed a Proclamation to be made, that thoſe *Toronæans* which were fled with the *Athenians*, might come backe, as many as would, to their owne, and Inhabite there in ſecurity. To the *Athenians* he ſent a Herald, bidding them depart out of *Lecythus*, vnder Truce, with all that they had, as a place that belonged to the *Chalcideans*. The *Athenians* denyed to quit the place, but the Truce they deſired for one day, for the taking vp of their dead. And *Braſidas* granted it for two. In which two dayes, hee fortified the buildings neere, and ſo alſo did the *Athenians* theirs. Hee alſo called an Aſſembly of the *Toronæans*, and ſpake vnto them, as hee had done before to the *Acanthians*, adding, *That there was no iuſt cauſe, why either they that had practiſed to put the Citie into his hands, ſhould be the worſe thought of, or accounted Traitors for it, ſeeing that they did it, with no intent to bring the Citie into ſeruitude, nor were hired thereunto with money, but for the benefit, and libertie of the*

The *Athenians* eſcape into a Caſtle of the ſame called *Lecythus*.

Braſidas his ſpeech to the *Toronæans*.

A *the Citie; or that they which were not made acquainted with it, ſhould thinke, that themſelues were not to reape as much good by it as the others. For he came not to deſtroy either City, or man But had therefore made that Proclamation touching thoſe that fled with the* Athenians, *becauſe he thought them neuer the worſe for that friendſhip, and made account when they had made tryall of the* Lacedæmonians, *they would ſhew as much good will alſo vnto them, or rather more, in as much as they would behaue themſelues with more equity; and that their preſent feare, was onely vpon want of tryall. Withall, he wiſhed them to prepare themſelues to be true Confederates*
B *for the future, and from hence forward, to looke to haue their faults imputed. For, for what was paſt he thought they had not done any wrong, but ſuffered it rather from other men that were too ſtrong for them and therefore were to be pardoned, if they had in ought beene againſt him.*

When he had thus ſaid, and put them againe into heart, the Truce being expired, he made diuers aſſaults vpon *Lecythus*. The *Athenians* fought againſt them from the Wall, though a bad one, and from the houſes, ſuch as had Battlements, and for the firſt day, kept them off. But the
C next day, when the enemies were to bring to the Wall a great Engine, out of which they intended to caſt fire vpon their Woodden Fences, and that the Army was now comming vp to the place where they thought they might beſt apply the Engine, and which was eaſieſt to be aſſaulted, The *Athenians*, hauing vpon the top of the building, erected a Turret of Wood, and carried vp many Buckets of Water, and many men being alſo gone vp into it, the building ouercharged with weight, fell ſuddenly to the ground, and that with ſo huge a noyſe, that though thoſe which
D were neere and ſaw it, were grieued more then afraid, yet ſuch as ſtood further off, eſpecially the fartheſt of all, ſuppoſing the place to be in that part already taken, fled as faſt as they could towards the Sea, and went aboord their Gallies.

Braſidas taketh *Lecythus*.

Braſidas, when he perceiued the Battlements to be abandoned, and ſaw what had happened, came on with his Army, and preſently got the Fort, and ſlew all that he found within it. But the reſt of the *Athenians*, which before abandoned the place, with their Boats and Gallies,
E put themſelues into *Pallene*.

There was in *Lecythus* a Temple of MYNERVA.

And when *Braſidas* was about to giue the aſſault, hee had made Proclamation, that whoſoeuer firſt ſcaled the wall, ſhould haue *30 *Minæ* of ſiluer, for a reward. *Braſidas* now conceiuing that the place was won, by meanes not humane, gaue thoſe 30 *minæ*, to the Goddeſſe, to the vſe of the Temple. And then pulling downe *Lecythu*, he built it anew, and conſecrated vnto her the whole place. The reſt of this Winter, he ſpent in aſſuring the places he had already gotten, and in contriuing the conqueſt of more. Which Winter ending, ended the eighth yeere of this Warre.

*93 *pound*, 15 *ſhillings* ſterling.

THE NINTH YEERE.

Truce for a yeare.

The motiues to Truce on either ſide.

The *Lacedæmonians*, and *Athenians*, in the Spring of the Summer following, made a ceſſation of Armes, preſently, for a yeere, hauing reputed with themſelues; the *Athenians*, that *Braſidas* ſhould by this meanes cauſe no more of their Cities to reuolt, but that by this leaſure they might prepare to ſecure them; and that if this ſuſpenſion liked them, they might afterwards make ſome agreement for a longer time; The *Lacedæmonians*, that the *Athenians* fearing what they feared, would vpon the taſte of this intermiſsion of their miſeries, and weary-life, be the willinger to compound, and with the reſtitution of their men, to conclude a Peace for a longer time. For they would faine haue recouered their men, whileſt *Braſidas* his good fortune continued, and whileſt, if they could not recouer them, they might yet (*Braſidas* proſpering, and ſetting them equall with the *Athenians*) try it out vpon euen termes, and get the victory. Whereupon a ſuſpenſion of Armes was concluded, comprehending both themſelues, and their Confederates, in theſe words:

The Articles of the Truce.

Concerning the Temple and Oracle of Apollo Pythius, it *ſeemeth good vnto vs, that whoſoeuer will, may without fraud, and without feare, aske counſell thereat, according to the Lawes of his Countrey. The ſame alſo ſeemeth good to the* Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates, here preſent, and they promiſe moreouer, to ſend Ambaſſadors to the* Bœotians *and* Phoceans, *and doe their beſt to perſwade them to the ſame.*

That concerning the treaſure belonging to the god, *we ſhall take care to find out thoſe that haue offended therein, both wee and you, proceeding with right and equity, according to the Lawes of our ſeuerall States. And that whoſoeuer elſe will, may doe the ſame, euery one according to the Law of his owne Countrey.*

If

A *If the* Athenians *will accord that each ſide ſhall keepe within their owne bounds, retaining what they now poſſeſſe, the* Lacedæmonians, *and the reſt of the Confederates, touching the ſame, thinke good thus,*

That the Lacedæmonians *in* Coryphaſium, *ſtay within the mountaines of* Buphras, *and* Tomeus, *and the* Athenians *in* Cythera, *without ioyning together in any League, either we with them, or they with vs.*

That thoſe in Niſæa *and* Minoa, *paſſe not the high way, which from the Gate of* Megara, *neere the Temple of* Niſus, *leadeth to the*
B *Temple of* Neptune, *and ſo ſtraight forward to the Bridge that lies ouer into* Minoa. *That the* Megareans *paſſe not the ſame High-way, nor into the Iland which the* Athenians *haue taken; Neither hauing commerce with other.*

That the Megareans *keepe what they now poſſeſſe in* Trœzen, *and what they had before by agreement with the* Athenians, *and haue free Nauigation, both vpon the Coaſtes of their owne Territories, and their Confederates.*

That the Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates ſhall paſſe the Seas not in a * long Ship, but in any other boat, rowed with Oares,*
C *of burden not exceeding 500 Talents. That the Heralds and Ambaſſadors that ſhall paſſe betweene both ſides for the ending of the Warre, or for trials of Iudgement, may goe, and come, without impeachment, with as many followers as they ſhall thinke good, both by Sea, and Land.*

That during this time of Truce, neither we nor you receiue one anothers fugitiues, free, nor bond.

That you to vs, and we to you ſhall afford Law according to the vſe of our ſeuerall States, to the end our Controuerſies may be decided Iudicially, without Warre.

D *This is thought good by the* Lacedæmonians, *and their Confederates. But if you ſhall conceiue any other Articles more faire, or of more equity then theſe, then ſhall you goe and declare the ſame at* Lacedæmon. *For neither ſhall the* Lacedæmonians, *nor their Confederates refuſe any thing that you ſhall make appeare to be iuſt. But let thoſe that goe, goe with full Authority, euen as you doe now require it of vs That this Truce ſhall be for a yeere.*

The people decreed it. Acamantis *was * Preſident of the Aſſembly.* Phænippus *the * Scribe.* Niciades * *Ouerſeer, and* Laches *pronounced theſe words:* With good fortune to the
F *people of Athens,* a ſuſpenſion of Armes is concluded, according as the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates haue agreed;

* *Long ſhips were of vſe for the Warre, and therefore here excluded, yet they had leaue to vſe veſſels that went with the Oare, ſo they were of another forme.*

* ἐπρυτάνευε.
* ἐγραμμάτευε.
* ἐπιστάτει, ἐπιστάτης, *was the name of an Officer that kept the Cittadell, which Office was but for a day, and he that had it, was one of* θεῆται.

agreed; *And they conſented before the people, that the ſuſpenſion* A
ſhould continue for a yeere; beginning that ſame day, being the four-
* February. *teenth of the moneth* * Elaphebolion. *In which time the Am-*
baſſadors and Heralds, going from one ſide to the other, ſhould treat
about a finall end of the Warres. And that the Commanders of the
Army, and the Preſidents of the City calling an Aſſembly, the Athe-
nians ſhould hold a Councell touching the manner of Embaſſage, for
ending of the Warre firſt. And the Ambaſſadors there preſent ſhould
now immediately ſweare this Truce for a yeere. The ſame Ar-
ticles, the *Lacedæmonians* propounded, and the Confede-
rates agreed vnto, with the *Athenians*, and their Confede- B
* ἐσπονδοντο, they ſacrificed at the making of all accords betweene Cities. rates in *Lacedæmon*, on the twelfth day of the *Geraſtion*.
The men that agreed vpon theſe Articles, and *ſacrificed,
were theſe, *viz*. Of the *Lacedæmonians*, *Taurus the ſonne of*
Echetimidas, *Athenæus the ſonne of Pericleidas*, and *Philocharidas*,
the ſonne of Eryxidædas. Of the *Corinthians*, *Æneas the ſonne of*
Ocytes, and *Euphamidas the ſonne of Ariſtonymus*. Of the *Sicyoni-*
ans; *Damotimas the ſonne of Naucrates*, and *Oneſimus the ſonne of*
Megacles. Of the *Megareans*, *Nicaſus the ſonne of Cenalus*, and
Menecrates the ſonne of Amphidorus. Of the *Epidaurians*, *Amphi-*
as the ſonne of Eupæidas; Of the *Athenians*, the Generals them- C
ſelues, *Nicoſtratus the ſonne of Diotrephes*, *Nicias the ſonne of Ni-*
ceratus, and *Autocles the ſonne of Tolmæus*. This was the
Truce, and during the ſame, they were continually in Trea-
ty, about a longer Peace.

The reuolt of *Sciane*. About the ſame time, whileſt they were going to and
fro, *Scione* a Citty in *Pallene* reuolted from the *Athenians*
to *Braſidas*. The *Scionæans* ſay that they be *Pellenians* deſ-
cended of thoſe of *Peloponneſus*, and that their Anceſtors
paſsing the Seas from *Troy*, were driuen in by a Tempeſt,
which toſſed the *Achæans* vp and downe, and planted them- D
ſelues in the place they now dwell in. *Braſidas* vpon
their reuolt, went ouer into *Scione* by night, and though he
had a Gallie, with him that went before, yet he himſelfe
Braſidas goeth ouer in a Boat, but with a Gally before him, and his reaſon. followed a loofe, in a Light-horſeman. His reaſon was this,
that if his Light-horſeman ſhould be aſſaulted by ſome
greater Veſſell, the Gally would defend it; But if hee
met with a Gally equall to his owne, hee made ac-
count that ſuch a one would not aſſault his Boat, but ra-
ther the Gally, whereby he might in the meane time goe
through in ſafety. When he was ouer, and had called E
the *Scionæans* to aſſembly, he ſpake vnto them as hee had
done

A done before to them of *Acanthus*, and *Toronæ*, adding, *That they of all the reſt were moſt worthy to be commended, in as much as* Pallene, *being cut off in the* Iſthmus *by the* Athenians *that poſſeſſe* Potidæa, *and being no other then* Ilanders, *did yet of their owne accord come forth to meet their liberty, and ſtayed not through cowardlineſſe, till they muſt of neceſſity haue been compelled to their owne manifeſt good. Which was an argument, that they would valiantly vndergoe any other great matter, to haue their State ordered to their mindes. And that he would verily hold them for moſt faithfull friends to the* Lacedæmonians, *and alſo otherwiſe*
B *doe them honour.* The *Scionæans* were erected with theſe words of his; and now euery one alike encouraged, as well they that liked not what was done, as thoſe that liked it, entertained a purpoſe, ſtoutly to vndergoe the Warre; and receiued *Braſidas* both otherwiſe honourably, and crowned him with a Crowne of gold, in the name of the Citie, as the deliuerer of *Greece*. And priuate perſons honoured him with Garlands, and came to him, as they vſe to doe, to a Champion that hath wonne a prize. But he leauing there a ſmall Garriſon for the preſent, came backe,
C and not long after, carried ouer a greater Army, with deſigne, by the helpe of thoſe of *Scione*, to make an attempt vpon *Menda* and *Potidæa*. For he thought the *Athenians* would ſend ſuccours to the place, as to an Iland, and deſired to preuent them. Withall he had in hand a practiſe with ſome within to haue thoſe Cities betrayed. So he attended, ready to vndertake that enterprize.

But in the meane time, came vnto him in a Gally, *Ariſtonymus* for the *Athenians*, and *Athenæus* for the *Lacedæmonians*, that carried about the newes of the Truce. Whereupon
D D he ſent away his Army againe to *Torone*. And theſe men related vnto *Braſidas*, the Articles of the agreement. The Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians*, in *Thrace* approued of what was done, and *Ariſtonymus* had in all other things ſatisfaction; But for the *Scionæans*, whoſe reuolt by computation of the dayes, he had found to be after the making of the Truce, he denyed that they were comprehended therein. *Braſidas* ſaid much in contradiction of this, and that the Citie reuolted before the Truce, and refuſed to render it. But when *Ariſtonymus* had ſent to *Athens*, to in-
E E forme them of the matter, the *Athenians* were ready preſently to haue ſent an Army againſt *Scione*. The *Lacedæmonians*

Braſidas his ſpeech to the *Scionæans*.

The honour done to *Braſidas* by the *Scionians*.

Braſidas receiueth newes of the ſuſpenſion of Armes.

Difference betweene the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*, about the reſtitution of *Scione*, which reuolted after the Truce made, but before the *Lacedæmonians* knew of it.

rians in the meane time, ſent Ambaſſadours to the *Athenians*, to tell them, that they could not ſend an Army againſt it without breach of the Truce, and vpon *Braſidas* his word, challenged the City to belong vnto them, offering themſelues to the deciſion of Law. But the *Athenians* would by no meanes put the matter to iudgement. But meant, with all the ſpeed they could make, to ſend an Army againſt it. Being angry at the heart, that it ſhould come to this paſſe, that euen Ilanders durſt reuolt, & truſt to the vnprofitable helpe of the ſtrength of the *Lacedæmonians* by Land. Beſides, touching the time of the reuolt, the *Athenians* had more truth on their ſide then themſelues alleadged. For the reuolt of the *Scioneans* was after the Truce two dayes. Whereupon, by the aduice of *Cleon*, they made a Decree, to take them by force, and to put them all to the Sword. And forbearing Warre in all places elſe, they prepared themſelues onely for that.

The *Athenians* prepare to Warre on *Scione*.

Decree of the *Athenians* againſt *Scione*.

In the meane time reuolted alſo *Menda* in *Pallene*, a Colony of the *Eretrians*. Theſe alſo *Braſidas* receiued into protection, holding it for no wrong, becauſe they came in openly in time of Truce. And ſomewhat there was alſo, which he charged the *Athenians* with, about breach of the Truce. For which cauſe the *Mendæans* had alſo beene the bolder, as* ſure of the intention of *Braſidas*, which they might gueſſe at by *Scione*, in as much as he could not be gotten to deliuer it. Withall, the *Few* were they, which had practiſed the reuolt, who being once about it, would by no meanes giue it ouer, but fearing leſt they ſhould bee diſcouered, forced the multitude, contrary to their owne inclination to the ſame. The *Athenians* being hereof preſently aduertiſed, and much more angry now then before, made preparation to Warre vpon both, and *Braſidas* expecting that they would ſend a Fleet againſt them, receiued the women and children of the *Scionæans*, and *Mendæans* into *Olynthus* in *Chalcidea*, and ſent ouer thither 500 *Peloponneſian* men of Armes, and 300 *Chalcidean* Targettiers, and for Commander of them all, *Polydamidas*. And thoſe that were left in *Scione*, and *Menda*, ioyned in the adminiſtration of their affaires, as expecting to haue the *Athenian* Fleet immediately with them.

The reuolt of *Menda*.

* Sure he would not reiect them.

Perdiccas and *Braſidas* ioyntly inuade *Arrhibæus*.

In the meane time *Braſidas*, and *Perdiccas*, with ioynt forces march into *Lyncus* againſt *Arrhibæus*, the ſecond time.

Perdiccas

A *Perdiccas* led with him the power of the *Macedonians* his ſubiects, and ſuch *Grecian* men of Armes as dwelt among them. *Braſidas*, beſides the *Peloponneſians* that were left him, led with him the *Chalcideans*, *Acanthians*, and the reſt, according to the Forces they could ſeuerally make. The whole number of the *Grecian* men of Armes were about 3000. The horſemen, both *Macedonians*, and *Chalcideans*, ſomewhat leſſe then 1000, but the other Rabble of *Barbarians* was great. Being entred the Territory of *Arrhibæus*, and finding the *Lynceſteans* encamped in the field,
B they alſo ſate downe oppoſite to their Campe. And the Foot of each ſide, being lodged vpon a hil, and a Plain lying betwixt them both, the horſemen ran downe into the ſame, and a skirmiſh followed, firſt betweene the Horſe onely of them both; but afterwards, the men of Armes of the *Lynceſteans* comming downe to aide their Horſe from the hill, and offring battell firſt, *Braſidas* and *Perdiccas* drew downe their Army likewiſe, and charging, put the *Lynceſtians* to flight, many of which being ſlaine, the reſt retired to the hill top, and lay ſtill. After this, they erected a Tro-
C phy, and ſtayed two or three dayes expecting the *Illyrians*, who were comming to *Perdiccas* vpon hire, and *Perdiccas* meant afterwards to haue gone on againſt the Villages of *Arrhibæus* one after another, and to haue ſitten ſtill there no longer. But *Braſidas* hauing his thoughts on *Menda*, leſt if the *Athenians* came thither before his returne, it ſhould receiue ſome blow; ſeeing withall that the *Illyrians* came not, had no liking to doe ſo, but rather to retire. Whileſt they thus varied, word was brought that the *Illyrians* had betrayed *Perdiccas*, & ioyned themſelues with *Arrhibæus*. So
D that now it was thought good to retyre, by them both, for feare of theſe, who were a warlike people, but yet for the time when to march, there was nothing cõcluded by reaſon of their variance. The next night, the *Macedonians*, and multitude of *Barbarians* (as it is vſuall with great Armies to be terrified vpon cauſes vnknowne) being ſuddenly affrighted and ſuppoſing them to be many more in number then they were, and euen now vpon them, betooke themſelues to preſent flight, & went home. And *Perdiccas*, who at firſt knew not of it, they conſtrained when he knew, before he had
E ſpoken with *Braſidas*, (their Campes being farre aſunder) to be gone alſo. *Braſidas* betimes in the morning, when hee

The *Lynceſteans* flie.

Perdiccas expecteth mercenary aide out of *Illyria*.

The *Illyrians* come and turne to *Arrhibæus*.

The *Macedonians* vpon a ſudden feare run away, and deſert *Braſidas*.

Braſidas his retreat.

vnderſtood that the *Macedonians* were gone away without him, and that the *Illyrians*, and *Arrhibæans* were comming vpon him, putting his men of Armes into a ſquare forme, and receiuing the multitude of his light-armed into the middeſt, intended to retire likewiſe. The youngeſt men of his Souldiers, he appointed to run out vpon the enemy, when they charged the Army any where with ſhot; and he himſelfe with three hundred choſen men, marching in the Rere, intended, as he retyred, to ſuſtaine the formoſt of the enemy fighting, if they came cloſe vp. But before the enemie approached, hee encouraged his Souldiers, as the ſhortneſſe of time gaue him leaue, with words to this effect.

THE ORATION OF BRASIDAS to his Souldiers.

MEN *of* Peloponneſus, *If I did not miſtruſt, in reſpect you are thus abandoned by the* Macedonians, *and that the* Barbarians *which come vpon you, are many, that you were afraid, I ſhould not at this time inſtruct you, and encourage you as I doe. But now againſt this deſertion of your companions, and the multitude of your enemies, I will endeuour with a ſhort inſtruction and hortatiue, to giue you encouragement to the full. For, to be good Souldiers, is vnto you naturall, not by the preſence of any Confederates, but by your owne valour; and not to feare others for the number, ſeeing you are not come from a Citie where the* Many *beare rule ouer the* Few, *but the* Few *ouer* Many, *and haue gotten this for power by no other meanes then by ouercomming in fight. And as theſe* Barbarians, *whom through ignorance you feare, you may take notice both by the former battels fought by vs againſt them before, in fauour of the* Macedonians, *and alſo by what I my ſelfe coniecture, and haue heard by others, that they haue no great danger in them. For when any enemy whatſoeuer maketh ſhew of ſtrength, being indeed weake, the truth once knowne, doth rather ſerue to embolden the other ſide, whereas againſt ſuch as haue valour indeed, a man will bee the boldeſt, when hee knoweth the leaſt. Theſe men here, to ſuch as haue not tryed them, doe indeed make terrible offers; for the ſight of their number, is feareſull; the greatneſſe of their cry intolerable; and the vaine*

A *vaine ſhaking of their weapons on high, is not without ſignification of menacing. But they are not anſwerable to this, when with ſuch as ſtand them, they come to blowes. For fighting without order, they will quit their place without ſhame, if they be once preſſed, and ſeeing it is with them, honourable alike to fight, or run away, their valours are neuer called in queſtion. And a battell wherein euery one may doe as he liſt, affords them a more handſome excuſe to ſaue themſelues. But they truſt rather in their ſtanding out of danger, and terrifying vs a farre off, then in comming to hands with vs, for elſe they would rather haue taken that courſe then this. And you ſee manifeſt-*
B *ly, that all that was before terrible in them, is in effect little, and ſerues onely to vrge you to be going, with their ſhew and noyſe. Which if you ſuſtaine at their firſt comming on, and againe withdraw your ſelues ſtill, as you ſhall haue leaſure, in your order and places, you ſhall not onely come the ſooner to a place of ſafety, but ſhall learne alſo againſt hereafter, that ſuch a Rabble as this, to men prepared to endure their firſt charge, doe but make a flouriſh of valour, with threats from a farre, before the battell; but to ſuch as giue them ground, they are eagre enough to ſeeme couragious, where they may doe it ſafely.*

C When *Braſidas* had made his exhortation, he led away his Army. And the *Barbarians* ſeeing it, preſſed after them with great cryes and tumult, as ſuppoſing he fled. But ſeeing that thoſe who were appointed to runne out vpon them, did ſo, and met them, which way ſoeuer they came on; and that *Braſidas* himſelfe with his choſen band ſuſtained them where they charged cloſe, and endured the firſt brunt, beyond their expectation, and ſeeing alſo that afterwards continually when they charged, the other receiued them and fought, and when they ceaſed, the other
D retired, then at length the greateſt part of the *Barbarians* forbore the *Grecians*, that with *Braſidas* were in the open field, and leauing a part to follow them with ſhot, the reſt ranne with all ſpeed after the *Macedonians* which were fled, of whom, as many as they ouertooke, they ſlew; and withall, præpoſſeſſed the paſſage, which is a narrow one betweene two hills, giuing entrance into the Countrey of *Arrhibæus*, knowing that there was no other paſſage, by which *Braſidas* could get away. And when he was come to the very ſtrait, they were going about him,
E to haue cut him off. He, when he ſaw this, commanded the 300 that were with him, to runne euery man as faſt

Braſidas draweth away his army, and the *Barbarians* follow him.

The *Illyrians* purſue the *Macedonians*, leauing part of their army to follow *Braſidas*.

Braſidas ſeazeth the top of the hill by which he was to paſſe.

as he could to one of the tops, which of them they could easilieſt get vp to, and try if they could driue downe thoſe *Barbarians* that were now going vp to the ſame, before any greater number was aboue to hemme them in. Theſe accordingly fought with, and ouercame thoſe *Barbarians* vpon the hill, and thereby the reſt of the Army marched the more eaſily to the top. For this beating of them from the vantage of the hill, made the *Barbarians* alſo afraid, ſo that they followed them no further, conceiuing withall, that they were now at the Confines, & already eſcaped through. *Braſidas*, hauing now gotté the hils, & marching with more ſafety, came firſt the ſame day to *Arniſſa*, of the dominion of *Perdiccas*. And the Soldiers of théſelues being angry with the *Macedonians*, for leauing them behind, what ſoeuer teems of Oxen, or fardles fallen from any man (as was likely to happen in a retreat, made in feare, and in the night) they lighted on by the way, the Oxen they cut in pieces, & took the fardles to théſelues. And from this time did *Perdiccas* firſt eſteem *Braſidas* as his enemy, and afterwards hated the *Peloponneſians*, not with ordinary hatred for the *Athenians* ſake; but being vtterly fallen out with him, about his own particular intereſt, ſought meanes as ſoone as he could, to compound with theſe, & to be diſleagued from the other.

The ſpight of *Braſidas* Souldiers againſt the *Macedonians* for abandoning them.

Perdiccas and *Braſidas* fall out.

Braſidas at his returne out of *Macedonia* to *Torone*, found that the *Athenians* had already taken *Menda*, and therefore ſtaying there (for he thought it impoſsible to paſſe ouer into *Pallene*, and to recouer *Menda*) he kept good watch vpon *Torone*. For about the time that theſe things paſſed amongſt the *Lynceſteans*, the *Athenians* after all was in readineſſe, ſet ſayle for *Menda* and *Scione*, with 50 Gallies, whereof 10 were of *Chiu*, and 1000 men of Armes of their owne City, 600 Archers, 1000 *Thracian* Mercenaries, and other Targettiers of their owne Confederates thereabouts, vnder the conduct of *Nicias the ſonne of Niceratu*, and *Nicoſtratus the ſon of Diotrephes*. Theſe lanching from *Potidæa* with their Gallies, and putting in at the *Temple of Neptune*, marched preſently againſt the *Mendæans*. The *Mendæans* with their own forces, 300 of *Scione* that came to aide them, and the aydes of the *Peloponneſians*, in all 700 men of Armes, and *Polydamidas* their Commander, were encamped vpon a ſtrong hill without the City. *Nicias* with 120 light-armed Souldiers of *Methone*, and 60 choſen men of Armes of *Athens*, and all his

The *Mendæans* encampe without the Citie.

A his Archers attempting to get vp by a path that was in the hills ſide, was wounded in the attempt, and could not make his way by force. And *Nicoſtratus* with all the reſt of the Army, going another way farther about, as he climbed the hill being hard of acceſſe, was quite diſordered, and the whole Army wanted little of being vtterly diſcomfited. So for this day, ſeeing the *Mendæans* and their Confederates ſtood to it, the *Athenians* retired, and pitched their Campe. And at night the *Mendæans* retired into the City. The next day the *Athenians* ſayling about vnto that part of the City B which is towards *Scione*, ſeazed on the ſuburbes, and all that day waſted their fields, no man comming forth to oppoſe them; for there was alſo ſedition in the Citie, and the 300 *Scionæans* the night following went home againe. The next day, *Nicias* with the one halfe of the Army marched to the Confines, and waſted the Territory of the *Scionæans*, and *Nicoſtratus* at the ſame time with the other halfe, ſate down againſt the City, before the higher Gates towards *Potidæa*. *Polydamidas* (for it fell out that the *Mendæans*, & their aides had their Armes lying within the wall, in this part) ſet his C men in order for the battell, and encouraged the *Mendæans* to make a ſally. But when one of the faction of the Commons in ſedition, ſaid to the contrary, that they would not goe out, and that it was not neceſſary to fight, and was vpon this contradiction, by *Polydamidas* pulled and moleſted, the Commons in paſsion preſently tooke vp their Armes, and made towards the *Peloponneſians*, and ſuch other with them as were of the contrary faction, and falling vpon them, put the to flight, partly with the ſuddenneſſe of the charge, and partly through the feare they were in of the D *Athenians*, to whom the Gates were at the ſame time opened. For they imagined that this inſurrection was by ſome appointment made betweene them. So they fled into the Cittadell, as many as were not preſently ſlaine, which was alſo in their owne hands before. But the *Athenians* (for now was *Nicias* alſo come backe, and at the Towne ſide) ruſhed into the City, with the whole Army, and rifled it, not as opened to them by agreement, but as taken by force. And the Captaines had much adoe to keepe them that they alſo killed not the men. After this, they bade the *Mendæans* E vſe the ſame forme of gouernment they had done before, and to giue iudgement vpon thoſe they thought the principall

Nicias wounded.

Sedition in *Menda*.

The Gates opened to the *Athenians* vpon ſedition.

Menda pillaged by the *Athenians*.

cipall authors of the reuolt, amongſt themſelues. Thoſe A
that were in the Cittadell, they ſhut vp with a wall reaching on both ſides to the Sea, and left a guard to defend it;
The *Athenians* leade their army againſt *Scione*. and hauing thus gotten *Menda*, they led their Army againſt *Scione*.

The *Scionæans*, and the *Peloponneſians*, comming out againſt them, poſſeſſed themſelues of a ſtrong hil before the Citie, which if the enemy did not winne, he ſhould not be able to encloſe the City with a wall. The *Athenians* hauing ſtrongly charged them with ſhot, and beaten the defendants from it, encamped vpon the hill, and after they B
had ſet vp their Trophy, prepared to build their wall about the Citie. Not long after, whileſt the *Athenians* were at worke about this, thoſe aides that were beſieged in the Cittadell of *Menda*, forcing the watch by the Sea-ſide, came by night, and eſcaping moſt of them through the Campe before *Scione*, put themſelues into that City.

Perdiccas maketh Peace with the *Athenians*. As they were encloſing of *Scione*, *Perdiccas* ſent a Herald to the *Athenian* Commanders, and concluded a Peace with the *Athenians*, vpon hatred to *Braſidas*, about the retreat made out of *Lyncus*, hauing then immediately begun to C
treat of the ſame. For it happened alſo at this time, that *Iſchagoras* a *Lacedæmonian* was leading an Army of foot vnto *Braſidas*. And *Perdiccas*, partly becauſe *Nicias* aduiſed him, ſeeing the Peace was made, to giue ſome cleare token that he would be firme, and partly becauſe he himſelfe deſired not that the *Peloponneſians* ſhould come any more into his Territories, wrought with his hoſtes in *Theſſaly*, hauing in that kind, euer vſed the prime men, and ſo ſtopped the Army and Munition, as they would not ſo much as try the
Theßalians, whether they would let them paſſe or not. D
Neuertheleſſe *Iſchagoras*, and *Ameinias*, and *Ariſteus* themſelues went on to *Braſidas*, as ſent by the *Lacedæmonians* to
The *Lacedæmonians* make yong men gouernours of Cities. view the ſtate of affaires there. And alſo tooke with them from *Sparta*, contrary to the Law, ſuch men as were but in the beginning of their youth to make them gouernours of Cities, rather then to commit the Cities to the care of ſuch as were there before. And *Clearidas the ſonne of Cleonymus*, they made gouernour of *Amphipolis*, and *Epitelidas the ſonne of Hegeſander*, gouernour of *Torone*.

The wals of *Thespie* demoliſhed by the *Thebans*. The ſame Summer, the *Thebans* demoliſhed the walles E
of the *Theſpians*, laying Atticiſme to their charge. And

though

A though they had euer meant to doe it, yet now it was eaſier, becauſe the flower of their youth was ſlaine in the battell againſt the *Athenians*.

The Temple of *Iuno* in *Argos*, was alſo burnt downe the ſame Summer, by the negligence of *Chryſis* the Prieſt, who hauing ſet a burning Torch by the Garlands, fell aſleepe, inſomuch as all was on fire, and flamed out before ſhee knew. *Chryſis* the ſame night, for feare of the *Argiues*, fled preſently to *Phlius*, and they according to the Law formerly vſed, choſe another Prieſt in her roome, cal-
B led *Phaeinis*. Now when *Chryſis* fled, was the eighth yeere of this Warre ended, and halfe of the ninth.

The Temple of *Iuno* in *Argos* burnt by negligence of an old woman Prieſt.

Phaeinis, Prieſt of *Iuno*, in the place of *Chryſis*.

Scione in the very end of this Summer was quite encloſed, and the *Athenians* hauing left a guard there, went home with the reſt of their Army.

Siege laid to *Scione*.

The end of the ninth Summer.

The Winter following, nothing was done betweene the *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, becauſe of the Truce. But the *Mantineans*, and the *Tegeatæ*, with the Confederates of both, fought a battell at *Laodicea*, in the Territory of *Oreſtis*, wherein the victory was doubtfull, for either ſide put
C to flight one Wing of their enemies, both ſides ſet vp Trophies, and both ſides ſent of their ſpoyles vnto *Delphi*. Neuertheleſſe, after many ſlaine on either ſide, and equall battell, which ended by the comming of night, the *Tegeatæ* lodged all night in the place, and erected their Trophie then preſently, whereas the *Mantineans* turned to *Bucolion*, and ſet vp their Trophie afterwards.

Battell betweene the *Mantineans* and the *Tegeatæ*.

The ſame Winter ending, and the Spring now approaching, *Braſidas* made an attempt vpon *Potidæa*; For comming by night, he applyed his Ladders, and was thitherto
D vndiſcerned. He tooke the time to apply his Ladders, when the Bell paſſed by, and before he that carried it to the next, returned. Neuertheleſſe, being diſcouered, he ſcaled not the Wall, but preſently againe withdrew his Army with ſpeed, not ſtaying till it was day. So ended this Winter, and the ninth yeere of this Warre written by THVCYDIDES.

Braſidas attempteth *Potidæa*.

The end of the ninth yeere.

* * *

E

A

THE FIFTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF THVCYDIDES.

B

The principall Contents.

The former yeeres Truce ended, Cleon *warreth on the* Chalcidicke *Cities, and recouereth* Torone. Phæax *is sent by the* Athenians, *to moue a Warre amongſt the* Sicilians. Cleon *and* Braſidas, *who were on both ſides the principall maintainers*
C *of the Warre, are both ſlaine at* Amphipolis. *Preſently after their death, a* Peace *is concluded, and after that againe, a League betweene the* Lacedæmonians *and the* Athenians. *Diuers of the* Lacedæmonian *Confederates, hereat diſcontented, ſeeke the Confederacy of the* Argiues. *Theſe make League, firſt with the* Corinthians, Eleans, *and* Mantineans, *then with the* Lacedæmonians; *and then againe (by the artifice of* Alcibiades) *with the* Athenians. *After this the* Argiues *make Warre vpon the* Epidaurians; *and the* Lacedæmonians *vpon the* Argiues. *The* Athenian *Captaines and the* Melians *treate*
D *by way of Dialogue, touching the yeelding of* Melos, *which the* Athenians *afterwards beſiege and winne. Theſe are the Actes of almoſt ſixe yeeres more of the ſame Warre.*

THE Summer following, the Truce for a yeere, which was to laſt till the * *Pythian* Holidayes, expired. During this Truce, the *Athenians* remoued the *Delians* out of *Delos*; becauſe though they were conſecrated, yet for a certaine crime committed
E of old, they eſteemed them polluted perſons; becauſe alſo they thought there wanted this part to make perfect the

The Truce for a yeere expired.

* *Exerciſes dedicated to* Apollo, *and celebrated at* Delphi, *about the* 12 *of the moneth* Elaphobolium, *as may be gathered by the beginning of the Truce on that day.*

The *Delians* remoued out of *Delos*, vpon ſuperſtition.

purgation of the Iland; in the purging whereof, as I declared * before, they thought they did well to take vp the ſepulchres of the dead. Theſe *Delians* ſeated themſelues afterwards, euery one as he came, in *Adramyttium* in *Aſia*, a Towne giuen vnto them by *Pharnaces*.

* *Lib.3.pag.201.*

The *Delians* ſeat themſelues in *Adramyttium*.

Cleon goeth out with an army, into the parts vpon *Thrace*.

After the Truce was expired, *Cleon* preuailed with the *Athenians*, to be ſent out with a Fleet againſt the Cities, lying vpon *Thrace*; He had with him of *Athenians*, 1200 men of Armes, and 300 horſemen; Of Confederates more, and thirty Gallies. And firſt arriuing at *Scione*, which was yet beſieged, he tooke aboord ſome men of Armes, of thoſe that kept the ſiege, and ſayled into the Hauen of the *Colophonians*, not farre diſtant from the Citie of *Torone*. And there hauing heard by fugitiues, that *Braſidas* was not in *Torone*, nor thoſe within ſufficient to giue him battell, hee marched with his Army to the City, and ſent ten of his Gallies about into the * Hauen. And firſt he came to the New-wall, which *Braſidas* had raiſed about the Citie to take in the Suburbs, making a breach in the Old-wall, that the whole might be one Citie. And *Paſitelidas*, a *Lacedæmonian*, Captaine of the Towne, with the Garriſon there preſent, came to the defence, & fought with the *Athenians* that aſſaulted it. But being oppreſſed, (and the Gallies which were before ſent about, being by this time come into the Hauen) *Paſitelidas* was afraid, leſt thoſe Gallies ſhould take the Towne, vnfurniſhed of defendants, before he could get backe, and that the *Athenians* on the otherſide ſhould winne the wall, and he be intercepted betweene them both; and thereupon abandoned the wall, and ran backe into the Citie. But the *Athenians* that were in the Gallies, hauing taken the towne before he came, and the Land-army following in after him, without reſiſtance, and entring the City by the breach of the Old-wall, ſlew ſome of the *Peloponneſians*, and *Toronæans* on the place, and ſome others, amongſt whom was the Captaine *Paſitelidas*, they tooke aliue. *Braſidas* was now comming with aide towards *Torone*, but aduertiſed by the way, that it was already loſt, went backe againe, being about forty Furlongs ſhort of preuenting it. *Cleon* and the *Athenians* erected two Trophies, one at the Hauen, another at the Wall.

He aſſaulteth *Torone*.

* *Into the Hauen of* Torone.

Paſitelidas with the Garriſon of the Towne, endeuoureth to defend it.

Cleon taketh *Torone*.

Paſitelidas, a *Lacedæmonian* Captaine, taken aliue.

The Women and Children of the *Toronæans*, they made ſlaues, but the men of *Torone*, and the *Peloponneſians*, and

ſuch

A such *Chalcideans* as were amongst them, in all, about 700; they sent away prisoners to *Athens*. The *Peloponnesians* were afterward, at the making of the Peace, dismissed, the rest were redeemed, by the *Olynthians* by exchange of man for man.

Seuen hundred men sent prisoners to *Athens*.

About the same time the *Bœotians* tooke *Panactum*, a Fort of the *Athenians*, standing in their Confines, by treason.

Panactum taken by the *Bœotians*.

Cleon, after he had settled the Garrison in *Torone*, went thence by Sea about the mountaine *Athos*, to make Warre against *Amphipolis*.

Cleon goeth to *Amphipolis*.

B About the same time *Phæax the sonne of Erasistratus*, who with two others was sent Ambassador into *Italy*, and *Sicily*, departed from *Athens* with two Gallies. For the *Leontines*, after the *Athenians*, vpon the making of the Peace, were gone out of *Sicily*, receiued many strangers into the freedom of their City, and the *Commons* had a purpose also to haue made diuision of the Land. But the *great men* perceiuing it, called in the *Syracusians*, and draue the *Commons* out. And they wandred vp and down euery one as he chanced, & the *great men*, vpon conditions agreed on with the *Syracusians*, a-

Phæax sent Ambassador to the *Siciliens*.

The *Leontine* Commons driuen out of the City by the *Syracusians*.

C bandoning and deserting that city, went to dwell with the priuiledge of free Citizens in *Syracusa*. After this againe, some of them, vpon dislike, relinquished *Syracusa*, and seazed on *Phocææ*, a certaine place, part of the City of the *Leontines*, and vpon *Bricinniæ*, a Castle in the *Leontine* Territory; thither also came vnto them most of the *Commons*, that had before been driuen out, and setling themselues, made Warre from those places of strength. Vpon intelligence hereof, the *Athenians* sent *Phæax* thither, to perswade their Confederates there, and, if they could, all the *Sicilians* ioynt-

The *Leontine* Nobility become *Syracusians*, and goe to *Syracusa* to dwell.

The *Leontines* make War on the *Syracusians*.

D ly, to make Warre vpon the *Syracusians* that were now beginning to grow great, to try if they might thereby preserue the common people of the *Leontines*. *Phæax* arriuing, preuailed with the *Camarinæans*, and *Agrigentines*: but the businesse finding a stop at *Gelas*, hee went vnto no more, as conceiuing he should not be able to perswade the. So he returned through the cities of the *Siculi* vnto *Catana*, hauing been at *Bricinnia*, by the way, and there encouraged them to hold out; and from *Catana* he set saile, and departed. In his voyage to *Sicily*, both going and comming, hee

Phæax moueth the *Siciliens* to Warre vpon the *Syracusians*.

The *Gelans* stop the motion made by *Phæax*.

E dealt as hee went by, with sundry Cities also of *Italy*, to enter into friendship with the *Athenians*.

He also lighted on those *Locrians*, which hauing dwelt A
once in *Messina*, were afterwards driuen out againe; being
the same men, which after the Peace in *Sicily*, vpon a sedi-
tion in *Messina*, wherein one of the factious called in the
Locrians, had been then sent to inhabite there, and now were
sent away againe. For the *Locrians* held *Messina* for a
while. *Phæax* therfore chancing to meet with these, as they
were going to their owne City, did them no hurt, because
the *Locrians* had been in speech with him about an agree-
ment with the *Athenians*. For when the *Sicilians* made a
generall Peace, these onely of all the Confederates, refused B
to make any Peace at all with the *Athenians*. Nor indeed
would they haue done it now, but that they were con-
strained thereunto by the Warre they had with the *Itoni-
ans*, and *Melæans* their owne Colonies and borderers. And
Phæax, after this, returned to *Athens*.

Phæax maketh Peace with the *Locrians*.

Cleon, who was now gone from *Torone*, and come about
to *Amphipolis*, making *Eion* the seat of the Warre, assaulted
the Citie of * *Stagirus*, a Colony of the *Andrians*, but could
not take it; But *Gampselus*, a Colony of the *Thasians* hee
tooke by assault. And hauing sent Ambassadours to *Per-* C
diccas, to will him to come to him with his forces, accor-
ding to the League, and other Ambassadors into *Thrace*
vnto *Polles*, King of the *Odomantians*, to take vp as many
mercenary *Thracians*, as he could, he lay still in *Eion*, to ex-
pect their comming. *Brasidas* vpon notice hereof, sate
downe ouer against him at *Cerdylium*. This is a place
belonging to the *Argilians*, standing high, and beyond the
Riuer, not farre from *Amphipolis*, and from whence hee
might discerne all that was about him. So that *Cleon* could
not but be seene, if he should rise with his Army to goe D
against *Amphipolis*; which he expected he would doe, and
that in contempt of his small number, he would goe vp
with the Forces he had then present. Withall he furni-
shed himselfe with 1500 mercenary *Thracians*, and tooke
vnto him all his *Edonians*, both horsemen, and Targettiers.
He had also of *Myrcinians*, and *Chalcideans*, 1000 Target-
tiers, besides them in *Amphipolis*. But for men of Armes,
his whole number was at the most 2000; and of *Grecian*
horsemen 300. With 1500 of these, came *Brasidas*, and sate
down at *Cerdylium*, the rest stood ready ordered with *Cleari-* E
das their Captaine, within *Amphipolis*. *Cleon* for a while lay
still,

Cleon maketh Warre on *Amphipolis*.

* Stagirus *the Citie where* Aristotle *was borne.*

Gampselus taken by *Cleon*.

Brasidas setteth downe ouer against *Cleon*, at *Cerdylium*.

The Forces of *Brasidas*.

A ſtill, but was afterwards forced to doe as was expected by *Braſidas*. For the Souldiers being angry with their ſtay there, and recounting with themſelues, what a command his would be, and with what ignorance, and cowardize, againſt what skill and boldneſſe of the other, and how they came forth with him againſt their wils, he perceiued their muttering, and being vnwilling to offend them with ſo long a ſtay in one place, diſlodged, and led them forward. And he tooke the ſame courſe there, which hauing ſucceeded well before at *Pylus*, gaue him cauſe to
B thinke himſelfe to haue ſome iudgement. For he thought not that any body would come forth to giue him battell, and gaue out, he went vp principally to ſee the place: And ſtayed for greater forces; not to ſecure him in caſe he ſhould be compelled to fight, but that he might therewith enuiron the Citie on all ſides at once, and in that manner take it by force. So he went vp, and ſet his Army down on a ſtrong hill before *Amphipolis*, ſtanding himſelfe to view the Fens of the riuer *Strymon*, and the ſcituation of the Citie towards *Thrace*; and thought he could haue retired againe
C at his pleaſure without battell. For neither did any man appeare vpon the walls, nor come out of the Gates which were all faſt ſhut; inſomuch as he thought he had committed an errour, in comming without Engines, becauſe he thought he might by ſuch meanes haue wonne the Citie, as being without defendants. *Braſidas*, as ſoone as he ſaw the *Athenians* remoue, came downe alſo from *Cerdylium*, and put himſelfe into *Amphipolis*. He would not ſuffer them to make any ſally, nor to face the *Athenians* in order of battell, miſtruſting his owne Forces, which he
D thought inferiour, not in number (for they were in a manner equall) but in worth (for ſuch *Athenians* as were there, were pure, and the *Lemnians*, and *Imbrians* which were amongſt them, were of the very ableſt,) but prepared to ſet vpon them by a wile. For if he ſhould haue ſhewed to the enemy, both his number, and their Armour, ſuch as for the preſent they were forced to vſe, he thought that thereby he ſhould not ſo ſoone get the victory, as by keeping them out of ſight, and out of their contempt, till the very point. Wherefore chuſing to himſelfe 150 men of
E Armes, and committing the charge of the reſt to *Clearidas*, he reſolued to ſet ſuddenly vpon them before they ſhould retire;

Cleon goeth vp to *Amphipolis* againſt his owne minde.

Cleon, not expecting a ſally, vieweth the ſcituation of the Towne.

Braſidas putteth himſelfe into *Amphipolis*.

A ſtratagem of *Braſidas*.

retire; as not expecting to take them ſo alone another time, if their ſuccours chanced to arriue. And when he had called his Souldiers together, to encourage them, and to make knowne vnto them his deſigne, he ſaid as followeth.

THE ORATION OF BRASIDAS to his Souldiers.

MEN *of* Peloponneſus, *as for your Country, how by valour it hath euer retained her liberty; and that being* Dorians, *you are now to fight againſt* Ionians, *of whom you were euer wont to get the victory, let it ſuffice that I haue touched it thus briefly. But in what manner I intend to charge, that, I am now to enforme you of; leſt the venturing by few at once, and not altogether, ſhould ſeeme to proceed from weakneſſe, and ſo diſhearten you. I doe coniecture that it was in contempt of vs, and as not expecting to bee fought withall, that the enemy both came vp to this place, and that they haue now betaken themſelues careleſly, and out of order to view the Country. But he that beſt obſerving ſuch errours in his enemies, ſhall alſo, to his ſtrength, giue the onſet, not alwayes openly, and in ranged battell, but as is beſt for his preſent aduantage, ſhall for the moſt part attaine his purpoſe. And theſe wiles carry with them the greateſt glory of all, by which deceiuing moſt the enemy, a man doth moſt benefit his friends. Therefore whileſt they are ſecure without preparation, and intend, for ought I ſee, to ſteale away, rather then to ſtay, I ſay, in this their looſneſſe of reſolution, and before they put their minds in order, I for my part, with thoſe I haue choſen, will, if I can, before they get away, fall in vpon the midſt of their Army, running. And you* Clearidas, *afterwards, as ſoone as you ſhall ſee me to haue charged, and (as it is probable) to haue put them into affright, take thoſe that are with you, both* Amphipolitans, *and all the reſt of the Confederates, and ſetting open the Gates, runne out vpon them, and with all poſsible ſpeed, come vp to ſtroke of hand (for there is great hope this way to terrifie them, ſeeing they which come after, are euer of more terrour to the enemy, then thoſe that are already preſent, and in ſight.) And be valiant, as is likely you ſhould that are a* Spartan, *and you Confederates, follow manfully, and beleeue that the parts of a good Souldier, are wilingneſſe, ſenſe of ſhame, and obedience to his Leaders; and that this day you ſhall either gaine your ſelues liberty by your valour, and to be called Confederates of the* Lacedæmonians, *or elſe not onely to ſerue the* Athenians *your ſelues, and at the beſt*

A *beſt if you be not led Captiues, nor put to death, to be in greater ſeruitude then before, but alſo to be the hinderers of the liberty of the reſt of the* Grecians. *But be not you cowards, ſeeing how great a matter is at ſtake: and I for my part will make it appeare, that I am not more ready to perſwade another, then to put my ſelfe into action.*

When *Braſidas* had thus ſaid, he both prepared to goe out himſelfe, and alſo placed the reſt that were with *Clearidas* before the Gates, called the *Thracian Gates*, to iſſue forth afterwards as was appointed. Now *Braſidas* hauing B been in ſight, when he came downe from *Cerdylium*, and againe when he ſacrificed in the City, by the *Temple of Pallas*, which place might be ſeene from without, it was told *Cleon*, whilſt *Braſidas* was ordering of his men, (for he was at this time gone off a little to looke about him) that the whole Army of the enemies was plainly to be diſcerned within the Towne, and that the feet of many men, and horſes, ready to come forth, might be diſcerned from vnder the Gate. Hearing this, he came to the place, and when he ſaw it was true, being not minded to fight, vntill C his aides arriued, and yet making no other account, but that his retreat would be diſcouered, he commanded at once to giue the ſignall of retreat, and that, as they went, the left Wing ſhould march formoſt, which was the only meanes they had to withdraw towards *Eion*. But when he thought they were long about it, cauſing the right Wing to wheel about, and lay open their diſarmed parts to the enemy, hee led away the Army himſelfe. *Braſidas* at the ſame time, hauing ſpied his opportunity, and that the Army of the *Athenians* remoued, ſaid to thoſe about him, and the reſt, D *Theſe men ſtay not for vs; it is apparant by the wagging of their Speares, and of their heads. For where ſuch motion is, they vſe not ſtay for the charge of the enemy: Therefore open me ſome body the Gates appointed, and let vs boldly and ſpeedily ſally forth vpon them.* Then hee went out himſelfe at the Gate towards the Trench, and which was the firſt Gate of the *Long-wall*, which then was ſtanding, and at high ſpeed tooke the ſtraight way, in which, as one paſſeth by the ſtrongeſt part of the Towne, there ſtandeth now a Trophy. And charging vpon the midſt of the *Athenian* Army, E which was terrified both with their owne diſarray, and the valour of the man forced them to flie. And *Clearidas*, (as

Braſidas prepareth to aſſault the army of the *Athenians*.

Cleon is admoniſhed of a ſally towards:

And leadeth his army backe.

Braſidas taketh this opportunity for this ſally.

(as was appointed) hauing iſſued out, by the *Thracian* Gates, was withall comming vpon them. And it fell out that the *Athenians* by this vnexpected and ſudden attempt, were on both ſides in confuſion; and the left wing which was next to *Eion*, and which indeed was marching away before, was immediately broken off, from the reſt of the Army, and fled. When that was gone, *Braſidas* comming vp to the right wing, was there wounded. The *Athenians* ſaw not when he fell, and they that were neere, tooke him vp, and carried him off. The right wing ſtood longer to it; and though *Cleon* himſelfe preſently fled, (as at firſt he intended not to ſtay) and was intercepted by a *Myrcinian* Targettier, and ſlaine, yet his men of Armes caſting themſelues into a circle, on the top of a little hill, twice or thriee reſiſted the charge of *Clearidas*, and ſhrunke not at all, till begirt with the *Myrcinian* and *Chalcidean* horſe, and with the Targettiers, they were put to flight by their Darts. Thus the whole Army of the *Athenians*, getting away with much adoe ouer the hills, and by ſeuerall wayes: all that were not ſlaine vpon the place, or by the *Chalcidean* horſe, and Targettiers, recouered *Eion*. The other ſide taking vp *Braſidas* out of the battell, and hauing ſo long kept him aliue, brought him yet breathing into the City. And he knew that his ſide had gotten the victory; but expired ſhortly after. When *Clearidas* with the reſt of the Army, were returned from purſute of the enemy, they rifled thoſe that were ſlaine, and erected a Trophie.

Braſidas is wounded and falleth.

Cleon flieth, and is ſlaine.

Braſidas his army getteth the victory.

Braſidas liueth onely ſo long as to know he had the victory.

After this the Confederates following the Corpes of *Braſidas*, all of them in their Armes, buried him in the City at the publique charge, in the entrance of that which is now the Market place. And the *Amphipolitans* afterwards hauing taken in his Monument with a wall, * killed vnto him, as to a * Heroe, honoured him with Games and anniuerſary ſacrifice, and attributed their Colony vnto him, as to the Founder; pulling downe the Edifices of * *Agnon*, and defacing whatſoeuer Monument might maintaine the memory of his foundation. This they did both for that they eſteemed *Braſidas* for their preſeruer, and alſo becauſe at this time, through feare of the *Athenians*, they courted the *Lacedæmonians* for a League. As for *Agnon*, becauſe of their hoſtility with the *Athenians*, they thought it

The honour done to *Braſidas* after his death.

* *Killed ſacrifices vnto him.*

* *Or ſemiged.*

* *Who was their true Founder.*

A it neither expedient for them to giue him honours, nor that they would be acceptable vnto him if they did. The dead bodies they rendred to the *Athenians*; of whom there were ſlaine about 600, and but ſeuen of the other ſide, by reaſon, that it was no ſet battell, but fought vpon ſuch an occaſion and precedent affright. After the dead were taken vp, the *Athenians* went home by Sea, and *Clearidas*, and thoſe with him, ſtayed to ſettle the eſtate of *Amphipolis*.

About the ſame time of the Summer now ending, *Ramphias*, *Antocharidas*, and *Epicydidas*, *Lacedæmonians*, were lea- Supplies going to *Braſidas*, ſtay by the way at *Heraclea*.
B ding a ſupply towards the parts vpon *Thrace*, of 900 men of Armes, and when they were come to *Heraclea*, in *Trachinia* they ſtayed there, to amend ſuch things as they thought amiſſe; Whilſt they ſtayed, this battell was fought. And the Summer ended.

The next Winter they that were with *Ramphias*, went preſently forward, as farre as the hill *Pierium* in *Theſſaly*. But the *Theſſalians* forbidding them to goe on, and *Braſidas* to whom they were carrying this Army being dead, they returned homewards; conceiuing that the opportunity
C now ſerued not, both becauſe the *Athenians* were vpon this ouerthrow gone away, and for that they themſelues were vnable to performe any of thoſe deſignes, which the other had intended. But the principall cauſe of their returne was this, that they knew at their comming forth, that the *Lacedæmonians* had their mindes, more ſet vpon a Peace, then Warre. The end of the tenth Summer. The ſupplies going to *Braſidas*, hearing of his death, returne to *Lacedæmon*.

Preſently after the battell of *Amphipolis*, and returne of *Rhamphias* out of *Theſſaly*, it fell out, that neither ſide did any act of Warre, but were inclined rather to a Peace;
D the *Athenians* for the blow they had receiued at *Delium*, and this other, a little after, at *Amphipolis*; and becauſe they had no longer that confident hope in their ſtrength, on which they relyed, when formerly they refuſed the Peace, as hauing conceiued vpon their preſent ſucceſſe, that they ſhould haue had the vpper hand. The *Athenians*, and *Lacedæmonians* encline to Peace. The cauſes why the *Athenians* deſired Peace.

Alſo they ſtood in feare of their owne Confederates, leſt emboldned by theſe loſſes of theirs, they ſhould more and more reuolt, and repented that they made not the Peace, after their happy ſucceſſe at *Pylus*, when occaſion
E was offered to haue done it honourably. And the *Lacedæmonians* on the other ſide did deſire Peace, The cauſes why the *Lacedæmonians* deſired peace.

becauſe the Warre had not proceeded as they expected: for they had thought they ſhould in a few yeeres haue warred downe the power of *Athens*, by waſting their Territory; and becauſe they were falne into that calamity in the Iland, the like whereof had neuer happened vnto *Sparta* before: becauſe alſo their Countrey was continually rauaged by thoſe of *Pylus* and *Cythera*, and their *Helotes* continually fled to the Enemie; and becauſe they feared leſt thoſe which remained, truſting in them that were runne away, ſhould in this eſtate of theirs, raiſe ſome innouation, as at other times before they had done. Withall it hapned, that the 30. yeeres peace with the *Argiues* was now vpon the point of expiring, and the *Argiues** would not renue it, without reſtitution made them of *Cynuria*; ſo that to warre againſt the *Argiues* and the *Athenians* both at once, ſeemed impoſsible. They ſuſpected alſo, that ſome of the Cities of *Peloponneſus* would reuolt to the *Argiues*, as indeed it came afterwards to paſſe. Theſe things conſidered, it was by both parts thought good to conclude a Peace; but eſpecially by the *Lacedæmonians*, for the deſire they had to recouer their men taken in the Iland; for the *Spartans* that were amongſt them, were both of the prime men of the City, and their kinſmen. And therfore they began to treat, preſently after they were taken.

But the *Athenians*, by reaſon of their proſperity, would not lay downe the War at that time on equall termes. But after their defeat at *Delium*, the *Lacedæmonians* knowing they would be apter now to accept it, made that Truce for a yeere, during which they were to meet, and conſult about a longer time. But when alſo this other ouerthrow happened to the *Athenians* at *Amphipolis*, and that both *Cleon* and *Braſidas* were ſlaine (the which on either ſide were moſt oppoſite to the Peace; the one, for that hee had good ſucceſſe and honour in the Warre; the other, becauſe in quiet times his euill actions would more appeare, and his calumniations bee the leſſe beleeued) thoſe two that in the two States aſpired moſt to bee chiefe, *Pleiſtoanax* the ſonne of *Pauſanias*, and *Nicias* the ſonne of *Niceratus*, who in Military charges had beene the moſt fortunate of his time, did moſt of all other deſire to haue the Peace goe forward; *Nicias*, becauſe he was deſirous, hauing hitherto neuer beene ouerthrowne, to carry his

* Ampelidas *and* Lichas *were ſent to* Argos *to renue the Peace; but the* Argiues *holding the* Lacedæmonians *to be no dangerous Enemies without the* Athenians, *refuſed it.*

Cleon and *Braſidas* oppoſers of the Peace for ſeuerall ends.

Pleiſtoanax and *Nicias* perſwaders to Peace.

Nicias his ends in ſeeking Peace.

A his good fortune through, and to giue both himſelfe, and the Citie reſt from their troubles for the preſent; and for the future to leaue a name, that in all his time hee had neuer made the Common-wealth miſcarry: which hee thought might be done by ſtanding out of danger, and by putting himſelfe as little as hee might into the hands of Fortune: And to ſtand out of danger is the benefit of Peace. *Pleiſtoanax* had the ſame deſire, becauſe of the imputation laid vpon him, about his returne from exile, by his enemies, that ſuggeſted vnto the *Lacedæmonians* vpon B euery loſſe they receiued, that the ſame befell them, for hauing contrary to the Law repealed his baniſhment. For they charged him further, that hee and his Brother *Ariſtocles*, had ſuborned the Propheteſſe of *Delphi*, to anſwer the * Deputies of the *Lacedæmonians* when they came thither, moſt commonly with this, *That they ſhould bring backe the ſeed of the* * *Semigod, the ſonne of* Iupiter, *out of a ſtrange Countrey into his owne: and that if they did not, they ſhould plow their land with a ſiluer plough*: and ſo at length to haue made the *Lacedæmonians*, 19. yeeres after, with ſuch Dances and Sa- C crifices as they who were the firſt founders of *Lacedæmon* had ordained to be vſed, at the enthroning of their Kings, to fetch him home againe, who liued in the meane time in exile in the Mountaine *Lycæum*, in a Houſe whereof the one halfe was part of the Temple of *Iupiter*, for feare of the *Lacedæmonians*, as being ſuſpected to haue taken a bribe to withdraw his Armie out of *Attica*.

Being troubled with theſe imputations, and conſidering with himſelfe, there being no occaſion of calamity in time of Peace, and the *Lacedæmonians* thereby recouering their D men, that he alſo ſhould ceaſe to bee obnoxious to the calumniations of his enemies; whereas in Warre, ſuch as had charge, could not but bee quarrelled vpon their loſſes, hee was therefore forward to haue the Peace concluded.

And this Winter they fell to treaty, and withall the *Lacedæmonians* braued them with a preparation already making againſt the Spring, ſending to the Cities about for that purpoſe, as if they meant to fortifie in *Attica*, to the end that the *Athenians* might giue them the bet- E ter eare. When after many meetings, and many demands, on eyther ſide, it was at laſt agreed, that Peace ſhould

The reaſon why *Pleiſtoanax* deſired the peace.

* Θεωροι. *Ambaſſadours to the Oracles ſo called.*

* Hercules, *from whom* Pleiſtoanax *was deſcended.*

Pleiſtoanax baniſhed for withdrawing his Army out of *Attica*.

The *Lacedæmonians* deſiring the peace, make ſhew of Warre.

Peace concluded.

be concluded, each part rendring what they had taken in the Warre, ſaue that the *Athenians* ſhould hold *Niſæa*, (for when they likewiſe demanded *Platæa*, and the *Thebans* anſwered, that it was neither taken by force, nor by treaſon, but rendred voluntarily, the *Athenians* ſaid that they alſo had *Niſæa* in the ſame manner.) The *Lacedæmonians* calling together their Confederates, and all but the *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, *Eleans*, and *Megareans*, (for theſe diſliked it) giuing their votes for the ending of the Warre, they concluded the Peace, and confirmed it to the *Athenians* with ſacrifice, and ſwore it, and the *Athenians* againe vnto them, vpon theſe *Articles*. A B

The *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, *Eleans*, and *Megareans*, refuſe to be comprehended.

THE ARTICLES OF THE PEACE BETWEENE THE ATHENIANS, AND THE LACEDÆMONIANS.

The Athenians, *and* Lacedæmonians, *and their Confederates, haue made Peace, and ſworne it, Citie by Citie, as followeth:*

*Touching the publique Temples, it ſhall bee lawfull to whomſoeuer will, to ſacrifice in them, and to haue acceſſe vnto them, and to aske counſell of the Oracles in the ſame, and to ſend their * Deputies vnto them, according to the cuſtome of his Countrey, ſecurely both by Sea and Land.*

* *Ambaſſadors about matters of Religion.*

The whole place conſecrate, and Temple of Apollo, *in* Delphi, *and* Delphi *it ſelfe, ſhall be gouerned by their owne Law, taxed by their owne State, and iudged by their owne Iudges, both City and Territory, according to the inſtitution of the place.* C

The Peace ſhall endure betweene the Athenians, *with their Confederates, and the* Lacedæmonians *with their Confederates, for fiftie yeeres, both by Sea and Land, without fraud, and without harme-doing.*

It ſhall not be lawfull to beare Armes, with intention of hurt, neither for the Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates, againſt the* Athenians, *nor for the* Athenians *and their Confederates, againſt the* Lacedæmonians, *by any Art or Machination whatſoeuer.* D

If any Controuerſie ſhall ariſe betweene them, the ſame ſhall be decided by Law, and by Oath, in ſuch manner as they ſhall agree on.

The Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates, ſhall render* Amphipolis *to the* Athenians.

* *Which was the firſt time that the* Athenians *began to cõmand the reſt of* Greece *for when in the end of the* Medan Warre, *the* Lacedæmonians *left that Command, the* Athenians *vndertooke it, and taxed the ſeuerall Cities with tribute towards the Warre. The War ended, the tribute ended not.*

The Inhabitants of whatſoeuer City the Lacedæmonians *ſhall render vnto the* Athenians, *ſhall be at liberty, to goe forth whither they will, with bagge and baggage.*

*Thoſe Cities which paid the tribute, taxed in the * time of* Ariſtides, *continuing to pay it, ſhall be gouerned by their owne Lawes,* E

and

A *and now that the Peace is concluded, it shall be vnlawfull for the* Athenians, *or their Confederates, to beare Armes against them, or to doe them any hurt, as long as they shall pay the said tribute. The Cities are these,* Argilus, Stagirus, Acanthus, Scolus, Olynthus, Spartolus. *And they shall be Confederates of neither side, neither of the* Lacedæmonians, *nor of the* Athenians. *But if the* Athenians *can perswade these Cities vnto it, then it shall bee lawfull for the* Athenians *to haue them for Confederates, hauing gotten their consent.*

The Mecybernians, Sanæans, *and* Singæans, *shall inhabite*
B *their owne Cities, on the same conditions, with the* Olynthians *and* Acanthians.

The Lacedæmonians, *and their Confederates, shall render* Panactum *vnto the* Athenians. *And the* Athenians *shall render to the* Lacedæmonians,* Coryphasium, Cythera, Methone, Pteleum, *and* Atalante.

* *The promontory wherin* Pylus *stood, put here for* Pylus.

They shall likewise deliuer whatsoeuer Lacedæmonians *are in the prison of* Athens, *or in any prison of what place soeuer, in the* Athenian *dominion; and dismisse all the* Peloponnesians, *besieged in* Scione, *and all that* Brasidas *did there put in, and whatsoe-*
C *uer Confederates of the* Lacedæmonians *are in prison, either at* Athens, *or in the* Athenian *State. And the* Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates, shall deliuer whomsoeuer they haue in their hands of the* Athenians, *or their Confederates, in the same manner.*

Touching the Scioneans, Toronæans, *and* Sermylians, *and whatsoeuer other Citie belonging to the* Athenians, *the* Athenians *shall doe with them, what they thinke fit.*

The Athenians *shall take an Oath to the* Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates, Citie by Citie; and that Oath shall be the great-*
D *test that in each Citie is in vse; The thing that they shall sweare, shall be this.* I stand to these Articles, and to this Peace, truely and sincerely. *And the* Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates, shall take the same Oath to the* Athenians. *This oath they shall on both sides euery yeere renew, and shall erect Pillars, [inscribed with this Peace] at* Olympia,* Pythia, *and in the* Isthmus; *at* Athens, *within the Cittadell; and at* Lacedæmon, *in the** Amycleum.

* By Delphi *where the* Pythian *games were kept.*

* Amyclæum, *a Temple of* Apollo.

And if any thing be on either side forgotten, or shall be thought fit vpon good deliberation to be changed; it shall be lawfull for them to
E *doe it,* * *in such manner as the* Lacedæmonians, *and* Athenians *shall thinke fit, ioyntly.*

* *This Article displeased the Confederates of* Lacedæmon, *because the Articles might by this be changed without them.*

This

This Peace ſhall take beginning from the 24 of the moneth Artemiſium, Pleiſtolas *being Ephore, at* Sparta, *and the 15 of* * Elaphebolium, *after the account of* Athens, Alcæus, *being* Archon. A

* *February.*

They that tooke the Oath, and ſacrificed, were theſe; of the Lacedæmonians, Pleiſtolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daidus, Iſchagoras, Philocaridas, Zeuxidas, Anthippus, Tellis, Alcenidas, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus. *Of the* Athenians *theſe*, Lampon, Iſthmionicus, Nicias, Laches, Euthidemus, Procles, Pythadorus, Agnon, Myrtilus, Thraſycles, Theagenes, Ariſtocœtes, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leon, Lamachus, Demoſthenes B

* *It appeares here that the Moneth* Elaphobolion *amongſt the* Athenians *was the laſt Moneth of their Winter quarter.*

This Peace was made in the very * end of Winter, and the Spring then beginning, preſently after the Citie Bacchanals, and full tenne yeeres, and ſome few dayes ouer, after the firſt inuaſion of *Attica*, and the beginning of this Warre. But now for the certainety hereof, let a man conſider the times themſelues, and not truſt to the account of the names of ſuch as in the ſeuerall places bare chiefe offices, or for ſome honour to themſelues, had their names C aſcribed, for markes to the actions foregoing. For it is not exactly knowne who was in the beginning of his office, or who in the middeſt, or how he was, when any thing fell out. But if one reckon the ſame by Summers and Winters, according as they are written, hee ſhall finde by the two halfe yeeres, which make the whole, that this firſt Warre was of tenne Summers, and as many Winters continuance.

The true way of accounting the yeres of this Warre.

The *Lacedæmonians* (for it fell vnto them by lot to begin the reſtitution) both diſmiſſed preſently thoſe Priſoners D they had then in their hands, and alſo ſent Ambaſſadours, *Iſchagoras*, *Menas*, and *Philocharidas* into the parts vpon *Thrace*, with command to *Clearidas* to deliuer vp *Amphipolis* to the *Athenians*, & requiring the reſt of their Confederates there to accept of the Peace in ſuch manner as was for euery of them accorded. But they would not doe it, becauſe they thought it was not for their aduantage. And *Clearidas* alſo, to gratifie the *Chalcideans*, ſurrendred not the City, alledging that hee could not doe it whether they would or not. And comming away ſoone after with thoſe Ambaſ- E ſadours to *Lacedæmon*, both to purge himſelfe, if he ſhould bee

The Lacedæmonians *begin to performe the Articles, & preſently deliuer their priſoners.*

The Amphipolitans *refuſe to render themſelues vnder the* Athenians.

A bee accuſed by thoſe with *Iſchagoras*, for diſobeying the States command, and alſo to try if the Peace might by any meanes be ſhaken: when he found it firme, hee himſelfe beeing ſent backe by the *Lacedæmonians*, with command principally to ſurrender the place, and if he could not doe that, then to draw thence all the *Peloponneſians* that were in it, immediately tooke his iourney. But the Confederates chanced to bee preſent themſelues in *Lacedæmon*, and the *Lacedæmonians* required ſuch of them as formerly refuſed, that they would accept the Peace: but they, vpon the B ſame pretence on which they had reiected it before, ſaid, That vnleſſe it were more reaſonable, they would not accept it. And the *Lacedæmonians* ſeeing they refuſed, diſmiſſed them, and by themſelues entred with the *Athenians* into a League; becauſe they imagined that the *Argiues* would not renue their Peace (becauſe they had refuſed it before, when *Ampelidas* and *Lichas* went to *Argos*,) and held them for no dangerous Enemies without the *Athenians*: and alſo conceiued, that by this meanes the reſt of *Peloponneſus* would not ſtirre; for if they could, they would turne to C the *Athenians*. Wherefore the Ambaſſadours of *Athens* being then preſent, and conference had, they agreed, and the Oath and League was concluded on, in the termes following.

Clearidas endeuoureth to diſſolue the Peace.

The *Lacedæmonians* make league with the *Athenians*.

THE ARTICLES OF THE LEAGVE BETWEENE THE LACEDAEMONIANS AND THE ATHENIANS.

The Lacedæmonians *ſhall be Confederates with the* Athenians *for fiftie yeeres.*

If any enemie inuade the territory of the Lacedæmonians, *and doe the* Lacedæmonians *any harme, the* Athenians *ſhall ayde the* Lacedæmonians *againſt them in the ſtrongeſt manner they can* D *poſsibly. But if the Enemie, after he hath ſpoiled the Countrey, ſhall be gone away, then that Citie ſhall be held as enemie both to the* Lacedæmonians *and to the* Athenians, *and ſhall be warred vpon by them both; and both Cities ſhall againe lay downe the Warre ioyntly. And this to be done iuſtly, readily, and ſincerely.*

And if any enemie ſhall inuade the Territories of the Athenians, *and doe the* Athenians *any harme, then the* Lacedæmonians *ſhall ayde the* Athenians *againſt them, in the ſtrongeſt manner they can poſsibly. But if the enemie, after hee hath ſpoiled the Countrey, ſhall bee gone away, then ſhall that Citie be held for enemie both to the* E Lacedæmonians *and to the* Athenians, *and ſhall bee warred vpon by both, and both the Cities ſhall againe lay downe the Warre together.*

together. *And this to bee done iuſtly, readily, and ſincerely.* A

If their ſlaues ſhall rebell, the Athenians *ſhall aſſiſt the* Lacedæmonians *with all their ſtrength poſsible.*

Theſe things ſhall be ſworne vnto by the ſame men on eyther ſide that ſwore the peace, and ſhall be euery yeere renewed by the Lacedæmonians *at their comming to the* *Bacchanals *at* Athens; *and by the* Athenians *at their going to the* Hyacinthian Feaſt *at* Lacedæmon; *and either ſide ſhall erect a Piller* [*inſcribed with this League*] *one at* Lacedæmon, *neere vnto* Apollo *in the* Amycleum, *another at* Athens, *neere* Minerua *in the Citadell.*

*Bacchanalia Vrbica. *Which were celebrated yerely, not much before this time.*

If it ſhall ſeeme good to the Lacedæmonians *and* Athenians B *to adde or take away any thing touching the League, it ſhall be lawfull for them to doe it ioyntly.*

Of the Lacedæmonians *tooke the Oath, theſe,* Pleiſtoanax, Agis, Pleiſtolas, Damagetus, Chionis, Metagenes, Acanthus, Daidus, Iſchagoras, Philocharidas, Zeuxidas, Anthippus, Alcinadas, Tellis, Empedias, Menas, Laphilus. *Of the* Athenians, Lampon, Iſtmionicus, Laches, Nicias, Euthydemus, Procles, Pythodorus, Agnon, Myrtilus, Thraſycles, Theagenes, Ariſtocrates, Iolcius, Timocrates, Leon, Lamachus *and* Demoſthenes. C

The *Athenians* deliuer the priſoners taken at *Pylus.*

This League was made not long after the Peace. And the *Athenians* deliuered to the *Lacedæmonians* the men they had taken in the Iland; and by this time began the Summer of the eleuenth yeere. And hitherto hath beene written theſe tenne yeeres which this firſt Warre continued, without intermiſsion.

THE ELEVENTH YEERE.

After the Peace and League made betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians*, after the tenne yeeres Warre, *Pleiſtolas* being Ephore at *Lacedæmon*, and *Alcæus* Archon of *Athens*; though there were Peace to thoſe that had accepted it; yet the *Corinthians* and ſome Cities of *Peloponneſus*, endeuoured to ouerthrow what was done, and preſently aroſe another ſtirre, by the Confederates, againſt *Lacedæmon*. And the *Lacedæmonians* alſo after a while became ſuſpect vnto the *Athenians*, for not performing ſomewhat agreed on in the Articles. And for ſixe yeeres and tenne moneths, they abſtayned form entring into each others Territories with their Armes: but the Peace being but weake, they did each other abroad what harme they could; and in the end, were forced to diſſolue the Peace, made

D

The *Lacedæmonians* ſlacke in performance of the Articles of the Peace.

E

A made after those ten yeeres, and fell againe into open War. This also hath the same *Thucydides* of *Athens*, written from point to point, by Summers and Winters, as euery thing came to passe, vntill such time as the *Lacedæmonians*, and their Confederates, had made an end of the *Athenian* dominion, and had taken their *Long-wals* and *Peiræus*. To which time from the beginning of the War, it is in all 27 yeeres. As for the composition betweene, if any man shall thinke it not to be accounted with the War, he shal think amisse. For let him look into the actions that passed as they are distinctly set down, and he shall find, that, that deserueth not B to be taken for a Peace, in which they neither rendred all, nor accepted all, according to the Articles. Besides, in the *Mantinean* and *Epidaurian* wars, and in other actions, it was on both sides infringed. Moreouer, the Confederates on the borders of *Thrace* continued in hostility as before; and the *Bœotians* had but a truce from one ten dayes to another. So that with the first ten yeeres war, and with this doubtfull cessation, & the war that followed after it, a man shal find, counting by the times, that it came to iust so many yeeres, and some few dayes; & that those who built vpon the pre- C diction of the Oracles, haue this number onely to agree. And I remember yet, that, from the very beginning of this War, and so on till the end, it was vttered by many, that it should be of thrice 9 yeeres continuance. And for the time therof I liued in my strength, & applied my mind to gaine an accurate knowledge of the same. It hapned also that I was banished my country for 20 yeeres, after my charge at *Amphipolis*; whereby being present at the affaires of both, and especially of the *Lacedæmonians*, by reason of my exile I could at leasure the better learn the truth of all that passed. D The quarrels therefore, & perturbations of the Peace, after those ten yeres, & that which followed, according as from time to time the Warre was carried, I will now pursue.

After the concluding of the 50 yeeres Peace, and the League which followed, and when those Ambassadors which were sent for, out of the rest of *Peloponnesus*, to accept the said Peace, were departed from *Lacedæmon*, the *Corinthians* (the rest going all to their owne Cities) turning first to *Argos*, entred into Treaty with some of the *Argiue* Magistrates, to this purpose, That the *La-* E *cedæmonians* had made a Peace and League with the *Athenians*, their heretofore mortall enemies, tending not to the

From the beginning to this end of the Warre 27 yeeres.

The time of this Peace, not to be esteemed Peace.

The number of yeeres which the whole Warre lasted.

Thucydides, for his ill successe at *Amphipolis*, banished *Athens* for 20 yeeres.

The *Corinthians* contriue with the *Argiues* to make a League in *Peloponnesus* without the *Lacedæmonians*.

benefit but to the enslauing of *Peloponnesus*, it behoued them to consider of a course, for the safety of the same, and to make a Decree, That any City of the *Grecians* that would, and were a free City, and admitted the like, and equall trials of Iudgement with theirs, might make a League with the *Argiues*, for the one mutually to aide the other, and to assigne them a *Few* men, with absolute authority from the State, to treat with; and that it should not be motioned to the People, to the end, that if the multitude would not agree to it, it might be vnknowne that euer they had made such a motion, affirming that many would come into this Confederacy vpon hatred to the *Lacedæmonians*. And the *Corinthians*, when they had made this ouerture, went home. These men of *Argos*, haumg heard them, and reported their proposition, both to the Magistrates, & to the People, the *Argiues* ordered the same accordingly, and elected 12. men, with who it should be lawfull for any *Grecian* to make the League that would, except the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, with neither of which they were to enter into any League, without the consent of the *Argiue* People. And this the *Argiues* did the more willingly admit, as well for that they saw the *Lacedæmonians* would make Warre vpon them, (for the Truce betweene them was now vpon expiring,) as also because they hoped to haue the Principality of *Peloponnesus*. For about this time *Lacedæmon* had but a bad report, and was in contempt for the losses it had receiued. And the *Argiues* in all points were in good estate, as not hauing concurred in the *Attique* War, but rather been in peace with both, and thereby gotten in their reuenue. Thus the *Argiues* receiued into League all such *Grecians* as came vnto them.

Twelue men chosen at *Argos* to treate about a League.

The *Mantineans* enter League with the *Argiues*.

First of all therefore, came in, the *Mantineans*, and their Confederates, which they did for fear of the *Lacedæmonians*. For a part of *Arcadia*, during the warre of *Athens*, was come vnder the obedience of the *Mantineans*, ouer which, they thought the *Lacedæmonians*, now they were at rest, would not permit them any longer to cõmand. And therfore they willingly ioyned with the *Argiues*, as being they thought, a great City, euer enemy to the *Lacedæmonians*, & gouerned as their owne by *Democracy*. When the *Mantineans* had reuolted the rest of *Peloponnesus* began also to mutter amongst themselues, that it was fit for them to do the like; conceiuing that there was somewhat in it, more then they knew, that

The rest of *Peloponnesus* encline to the same League.

made

A made the *Mantineans* to turne, and were also angry with the *Lacedæmonians* amongst many other causes, for that it was written in the *Articles* of the *Attique* Peace, *That it should be lawfull to adde vnto, or take away from the same, whatsoeuer should seeme good to the two Cities of the* Lacedæmonians, *and the* Athenians. For this was the Article that the most troubled the *Peloponnesians*, and put them into a iealousie that the *Lacedæmonians* might haue a purpose ioyning with the *Athenians* to bring them into subiection. For in iustice the power of changing the Articles, ought to haue beene
B ascribed to all the Confederates in generall. Whereupon many fearing such an intention, applyed themselues to the *Argiues*, euery one seuerally striuing to come into their League.

The Article of adding and altering misliked.

The *Lacedæmonians* perceiuing this stirre to begin in *Peloponnesus*, and that the *Corinthians* were both the contriuers of it, and entred themselues also into the League with *Argos*, sent Ambassadors vnto *Corinth*, with intention to preuent the sequell of it, and accused them, both for the whole designe, and for their owne reuolt in particular,
C which they intended to make from them, to the League of the *Argiues*; saying that they should therein infringe their oath, and that they had already done vniustly, to refuse the Peace made with the *Athenians*; for as much as it is an Article of their * League, that what the maior part of the Confederates should conclude, vnlesse it were hindred by some *God* or *Heroe*, the same was to stand good. But the *Corinthians* (those Confederates which had refused the Peace as well as they, being now at *Corinth*; for they had sent for them before) in their answer to the *Lacedæmonians*, did not
D openly alledge the wrongs they had receiued; as that the *Athenians* had not restored *Solium*, nor *Anactorium*, nor any thing else they had in this Warre lost, but pretended not to betray those of *Thrace*, for that they had in particular taken an oath vnto them, both when (together with *Potidæa*) they first reuolted and also another afterwards. And therefore they said they did not breake the oath of their League, by reiecting the Peace with *Athens*. For hauing sworne vnto them by the *Gods*, they should in betraying them, offend the *Gods*. And whereas it is said, *Vnlesse some* God *or*
E Heroe *binder it*, This appeareth to be a Diuine hinderance. Thus they answered for their old oath.

The *Lacedæmonians* expostulate with the *Corinthians*, about this League with *Argos*.

* *The* Peloponnesian League against *Athens*.

The Apologie of the *Corinthians* for their refusing the Peace.

Their answer touching their League with *Argos*.

Then, for their League with the *Argiues*, they gaue this answer: That when they had aduiſed with their friends, they would doe afterwards what ſhould be iuſt. And ſo the Ambaſſadors of *Lacedæmon* went home. At the ſame time were preſent alſo in *Corinth*, the Ambaſſadors of *Argos*, to inuite the *Corinthians* to their League, and that without delay. But the *Corinthians* appointed them to come againe at their next ſitting.

The *Eleans* make a league firſt with *Corinth*, then with *Argos*.

Preſently after this, came vnto them an Ambaſſage alſo from the *Eleans*. And firſt, they made a League with the *Corinthians*; and going thence to *Argos*, made a League with the *Argiues*, according to the * declaration before mentioned. The *Eleans* had a quarrell with the *Lacedæmonians* concerning *Lepreum*. For the *Lepreates*, hauing heretofore warred on certaine of the *Arcadians*, and for their aid called the *Eleans* into their Confederacy, with condition to giue thē the moity of the Land to be won from them, when the Warre was ended, the *Eleans* gaue vnto the *Lepreates*, the whole Land to be enioyed by themſelues, with an impoſition thereon of a * Talent to be paid to *Iupiter Olympian*, which they continued to pay, till the beginning of the *Athenian* Warre. But afterwards, vpon pretence of that Warre, giuing ouer the payment, the *Eleans* would haue forced them to it againe. The *Lepreates* for helpe, hauing recourſe to the *Lacedæmonians*, and the cauſe being referred to their deciſion, the *Eleans* afterwards, vpon ſuſpition that the *Lacedæmonians* would not do them right, renounced the reference, and waſted the Territory of the *Lepreates*. The *Lacedæmonians* neuertheleſſe gaue ſentence, *That the* Lepreates *ſhould be at liberty to pay it, or not, and that the* Eleans *did the iniury*; and becauſe the *Eleans* had not ſtood to the reference, the *Lacedæmonians* put into *Lepreum*, a Garriſon of men of Armes. The *Eleans* taking this, as if the *Lacedæmonians* had receiued their reuolted City, and producing the Article of their League, *That what euery one poſſeſſed, when they entred into the* Attique *Warre, the ſame they ſhould poßeſſe when they gaue it ouer*, reuolted to the *Argiues*, as wrong'd, and entred league with them, as is before related.

* *The decree of the* Argiues *that any* Grecian *that would might make a league with them, treating with the* 12 *Commiſſioners by them choſen to that purpoſe.*

* 180 pound ten ſhillings ſterling.

Quarrell of the *Eleans* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*.

The *Corinthians*, and the Townes vpon *Thrace* enter into the league with *Argos*.

After theſe, came preſently into the *Argiue* League, the *Corinthians*, and the *Chalcideans* vpon *Thrace*. The *Bœotians* alſo, and *Megareans* threatned as much, but becauſe they thought the *Argiue* Democracy would not be ſo commodi-

ous

A ous for them, who were gouerned according to the gouernment of the *Lacedæmonians* by *Oligarchie*, they ſtirred no further in it.

About the ſame time of this Summer, the *Athenians* expugned *Scione*, ſlew all that were within it at mans eſtate, made ſlaues of the women and children, and gaue their Territory to the *Plateans*.

The *Athenians* recouer *Scione*.

They alſo replanted the *Delians*, in *Delos*, both in conſideration of the defeates they had receiued after their expulſion, and alſo becauſe the Oracle at *Delphi* had commanded it.

The *Delians* replanted in *Delos*.

B

The *Phoceans* and *Locrians* alſo began a Warre at that time againſt each other.

Phocis and *Locris* in Warre

And the *Corinthians* and *Argiues*, being now leagued, went to *Tegea*, to cauſe it to reuolt from the *Lacedæmonians*; conceiuing it to be an important piece of *Peloponneſus*, and making account, if they gained it to their ſide, they ſhould eaſily obtaine the whole. But when the *Tegeates* refuſed to become enemies to the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Corinthians*, who till then had beene very forward, grew leſſe violent,

The *Corinthians* ſeeke to turne the Cities of *Peloponneſus* and other Confederates from the *Lacedæmonians* to the *Argiues*.

C and were afraid, that no more of the reſt would come in. Neuertheleſſe they went to the *Bœotians*, and ſolicited them to enter into league with them, and the *Argiues*, and to doe as they did. And the *Corinthians* further deſired the *Bœotians* to goe along with them to *Athens*, and to procure for them the like ten dayes Truce, to that which was made betweene the *Athenians* and *Bœotians*, preſently after the making of the fifty yeeres Peace, on the ſame termes that the *Bœotians* had it; and if the *Athenians* refuſed, then to renounce theirs, and make no more Truces hereafter

The *Corinthians* ſeeke the ten dayes Truce with *Athens*, as the *Bœotians* had it.

D without the *Corinthians*. The *Corinthians* hauing made this requeſt, the *Bœotians* willed them touching the League with the *Argiues* to ſtay a while longer, and went with them to *Athens*, but obtained not the ten dayes Truce, the *Athenians* anſwering, that if the *Corinthians* were Confederates with the *Lacedæmonians*, they had a Peace already. Neuertheleſſe, the *Bœotians* would not relinquiſh their ten dayes Truce, though the *Corinthians* both required the ſame, and affirmed that it was ſo before agreed on. Yet the *Athenians* granted the *Corinthians* a ceſſation of Armes,

The *Bœotians* take time to anſwer, concerning a League with *Argos*.

The *Athenians* deny the ten dayes Truce to the *Corinthians*.

E but * without ſolemne ratification.

* *Ἀσπόνδους.*

The ſame Summer the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole power,

The *Lacedæmonians* demoliſh the Fort of *Cyſſela*.

power, vnder the Conduct of *Pleiſtoanax*, *the ſonne of Pauſanias*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, made Warre vpon the *Parrhaſians* of *Arcadia*, ſubiects of the *Mantineans*, partly as called in, by occaſion of ſedition, and partly becauſe they intended, if they could, to demoliſh a fortification which the *Mantineans* had built, and kept with a Garriſon in *Cypſela*, in the Territory of the *Parrhaſians*, towards *Stiritis* of *Laconia*. The *Lacedæmonians* therefore waſted the Territory of the *Parrhaſians*. And the *Mantineans* leauing their owne Citie to the Cuſtody of the *Argiues*, came forth to aide the *Parrhaſians* their Confederates. But being vnable to defend both the Fort of *Cypſela*, and the Cities of the *Parrhaſians* too, they went home againe; and the *Lacedæmonians* when they had ſet the *Parrhaſians* at liberty, and demoliſhed the fortification, went home likewiſe. A B

The *Lacedæmonians* put a Garriſon into *Lepreum*, of men newly enfranchiſed.

The ſame Summer, when thoſe Souldiers which went out with *Braſidas*, and of which *Clearidas*, after the making of the Peace, had the charge, were returned from the parts vpon *Thrace*, the *Lacedæmonians* made a decree, that thoſe *Helots* which had fought vnder *Braſidas*, ſhould receiue their liberty, and inhabite where they thought good; but not long after, they placed them, together with ſuch others as had been newly enfranchiſed in *Lepreum*, a City ſtanding in the Confines betweene *Laconia*, and the *Eleans*, with whom they were now at variance. C

Fearing alſo leſt thoſe Citizens of their owne, which had been taken in the * Iland, and had deliuered vp their Armes to the *Athenians*, ſhould vpon apprehenſion of diſgrace for that calamity, if they remained capable of honours, make ſome innouation in the State, they diſabled them, though ſome of them were in office already; and their diſablement was this, *That they ſhould neither beare office, nor be capable to buy and ſell*; yet in time they were againe reſtored to their former honours. D

* Sphacteria, *ouer againſt* Pylus.

The *Lacedæmonians* diſable thoſe that were taken in *Sphacteria*, to beare office, or to make bargain.

The same Summer alſo, the *Dictideans* tooke *Thyſſus*, a Towne in Mount *Athos*, and Confederate of the *Athenians*.

The *Dictideans* take *Thyſſus* from the *Athenians*.

This whole Summer there was continuall commerce betweene the *Athenians* and the *Peloponneſians*; neuertheleſſe they began, both the *Athenians*, and the *Lacedæmonians*, to haue each other in ſuſpition immediately after the Peace, in reſpect of the places not yet mutually ſurrendred. For the *Lacedæmonians*, to whoſe lot it fell to make reſtitution E

Iealouſie betweene the *Athenians* and *Lacedæmonians*.

A tion first, had not rendred *Amphipolis*, and the other Cities, nor had caused the Peace to be accepted by the Confederates vpon *Thrace*, nor by the *Bœotians*, nor *Corinthians*, though they had euer professed, that in case they refused, they would ioyne with the *Athenians*, to bring them to it by force, and had prefixed a time (though not by writing) within the which, such as entred not into this Peace, were to be held as enemies vnto both. The *Athenians* therefore, when they saw none of this really performed, suspected that they had no sincere intention, and thereupon refused to
B render *Pylus*, when they required it; nay, they repented that they had deliuered vp the prisoners they tooke in the Iland; and detained the rest of the Townes they then held, till the *Lacedæmonians* should haue performed the conditions on their part also. The *Lacedæmonians*, to this alledged, *That they had done what they were able to doe. For they had deliuered the* Athenian *prisoners that were in their hands, and had withdrawne their Souldiers from the parts vpon* Thrace *and whatsoeuer else was in their owne power to performe. But* Amphipolis *they said, was not in their power to surrender. That they would*
C *endeuour to bring the* Bœotians *and* Corinthians, *to accept the Peace, and to get* Panactum *restored, and all the* Athenian *prisoners in* Bœotia, *to be sent home.* And therefore desired them *to make restitution of* Pylus, *or if not so, at least to draw out of it, the* Messenians *and* Helotes (*as they for their part had drawne their Garrisons out of the Townes vpon* Thrace) *and if they thought good, to keepe it with a Garrison of* Athenians. After diuers, and long Conferences had this Summer, they so farre preuailed with the *Athenians*, at the last, as they drew thence, all the *Messenians*, and *Helotes*, and all other *Laconian* fugi-
D tiues and placed them in *Cranij*, a City of *Cephallenia*. So for this Summer there was Peace, and free passage from one to another.

In the beginning of Winter, (for now there were other *Ephores* in office; not those in whose time the Peace was made, but some of them that opposed it) Ambassadours being come from the Confederates; and the *Athenian*, *Bœotian*, and *Corinthian* Ambassadors being already there, and hauing had much conference together, but concluded nothing, *Cleobulus*, and *Xenares*, *Ephores* that most desired the
E dissolution of the Peace, when the rest of the Ambassadorus were gone home, entred into priuate Conference with

Amphipolis not yet rendred, not the Peace accepted in the parts about *Thrace*, nor by the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*.

The *Athenians* refuse to render *Pylus*.

The *Apologie* of the *Lacedæmonians* for not performing the *Articles*.

The *Athenians* draw the *Messenians* and *Helotes* out of *Pylus*.

The end of the eleuenth Summer.

The *Lacedæmonian Ephores* endeuour to dissolue the peace.

A propoſition of a league betweene the *Lacedæmonians*, *Argiues*, *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*.

with the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*, exhorting them to runne both the ſame courſe; and aduiſed the *Bœotians* to enduour firſt to make a League themſelues with the *Argiues*, and then to get the *Argiues* together with themſelues, into a League with the *Lacedæmonians*. For that they might by this meanes avoyd the neceſsity of accepting the Peace with *Athens*. For the *Lacedæmonians* would more regard the friendſhip and League of the *Argiues*, then the enmitie and diſſolution of the Peace with the *Athenians*. For hee knew the *Lacedæmonians* had euer deſired to haue *Argos* their friend vpon any reaſonable conditions, becauſe they knew that their Warre without *Peloponneſus*, would thereby bee a great deale the eaſier. Wherefore they entreated the *Bœotians* to put *Panactum* into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, to the end that if they could get *Pylus* for it in exchange, they might make War againſt the *Athenians* the more commodiouſly.

The *Bœotians* and *Corinthians* being diſmiſſed by *Xenares* and *Cleobalus*, and all the other *Lacedæmonians* of that Faction, with theſe points to be deliuered to their Commonwealths, went to their ſeuerall Cities. And two men of *Argos*, of principall authority in that Citie, hauing waited for, and met with them by the way, entred into a treaty with them, about a League betweene the *Argiues* and the *Bœotians*, as there was betweene them and the *Corinthians*, and the *Eleans*, and *Mantineans* already. For they thought, if it ſucceeded, they might the more eaſily haue either Warre or Peace, (foraſmuch as the cauſe would now bee common) either with the *Lacedæmonians*, or whomſoeuer elſe it ſhould be needfull.

The *Argiues* propound a League to the *Bœotians* and *Corinthians*.

Whē the *Bœotian* Ambaſſadors heard this, they were wel pleaſed. For as it chanced, the *Argiues* requeſted the ſame things of them, that they, by their friends in *Lacedæmon*, had beene ſent to procure of the *Argiues*. Theſe men therefore of *Argos*, when they ſaw that the *Bœotians* accepted of the motion, promiſed to ſend Ambaſſadours to the *Bœotians* about it, and ſo departed.

And promiſe to ſend Ambaſſadours into *Bœotia* to that purpoſe.

When the *Bœotians* were come home, they related there what they had heard, both at *Lacedæmon*, and by the way, from the *Argiues*. The Gouernours of *Bœotia* were glad thereof, and much more forward in it now, then formerly they had beene, ſeeing that not onely their friends in *Lacedæmon*

A *Lacedæmon* desired, but the *Argiues* themselues hastned to haue done the selfe-same thing. Not long after this, the Ambassadors came to them from *Argos*, to solicite the dispatch of the businesse before propounded, but the gouernours of *Bœotia* commended onely the proposition, and dismissed them, with promise to send Ambassadors about the League to *Argos*. In the meane time the Gouernours of *Bœotia* thought fit, that an oath should first be taken by themselues, and by the Ambassadors from *Corinth*, *Megara*, and the Confederates vpon *Thrace*, to giue mutuall assi-
B stance vpon any occasion to them that should require it, and neither to make War nor Peace without the common consent. And next that the *Bœotians* and *Megareans*, (for these two ran the same course) should make a League with the *Argiues*. But before this oath was to be taken, the *Gouernors* of *Bœotia* communicated the busines to the 4 *Bœotian* Councels, in the which the whole authority of the State consisteth, and withall presented their aduice, *That any City that would, might ioyne with them, in the like oath for mutuall assistance*. But they that were of these Councels approued
C not the proposition, because they feared to offend the *Lacedæmonians* in being sworne to the *Corinthians*, that had reuolted from their confederacy. For the *Gouernors* of *Bœotia* had not reported vnto them, what had past at *Lacedæmon*, how *Cleobulus*, and *Xenares* the *Ephores*, and their friends there, had aduised them, to enter first into league with the *Argiues*, and *Corinthians*, and then afterwards to make the same league with the *Lacedæmonians*. For they thought that the Councels, though this had neuer been told them, would haue decreed it no otherwise then they vpon premeditation should
D aduise. So the businesse was checked, and the Ambassadors from *Corinth*, and from the Cities vpon *Thrace*, departed without effect. And the *Gouernors* of *Bœotia*, that were before minded, if they had gotten this done, to haue leagued themselues also with the *Argiues*, made no mention of the *Argiues* in the Councels at all, nor sent the Ambassadors to *Argos*, as they had before promised, but a kind of carelessenesse and delay possessed the whole businesse.

The same Winter the *Olynthians* tooke *Mecyberne*, held with a Garrison of the *Athenians* by assault.

E After this the *Lacedæmonians* (for the conferences betweene the *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians* about restitu-

The *Bœotians* propound an oath betwene themselues, the *Corinthians*, *Chalcideans*, and *Megareans*, of mutuall assistance.

The *Argiue* league with the *Bœotians*, falleth off.

Mecyberne taken from the *Athenians* by assault.

The *Lacedemonians* entet into a League with the *Bœotians*, knowing it to be against Iustice.

tion reciprocall continued still) hoping that if the *Athenians* should obtaine from the *Bœotians*, *Panactum*; that then they also should recouer *Pylus*, sent Ambassadors to the *Bœotians*, which request that *Panactum*, and the *Athenian* prisoners might be put into the hands of the *Lacedæmonians*, that they might get *Pylus* restored in exchange. But the *Bœotians* answered, that vnlesse the *Lacedæmonians* would make a particular League with them, as they had done with the *Athenians*, they would not doe it. The *Lacedæmonians*, though they knew they should therein wrong the *Athenians*, for that it was said in the *Articles*, that neither party should make either League, or Warre, without the others consent, yet such was their desire to get *Panactum*, to exchange it for *Pylus*, and withall, they that longed to breake the Peace with *Athens*, were so eager in it, that at last they concluded a league with the *Bœotians*, Winter then ending, and the Spring approaching. And *Panactum* was presently pulled downe to the ground. So ended the eleuenth yeere of this Warre.

THE TVVELFTH YEERE.
The *Argiues* seeke Peace with the *Lacedæmonians*.

In the Spring following, the *Argiues*, when they saw that the Ambassadors which the *Bœotians* promised to send vnto them, came not, and that *Panactum* was razed, and that also there was a priuate league made betweene the *Bœotians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, were afraid lest they should on all hands be abandoned, and that the Confederates would all goe to the *Lacedæmonians*. For they apprehended that the *Bœotians* had been induced, both to raze *Panactum*, and also to enter into the *Athenian* Peace, by the *Lacedæmonians*; and that the *Athenians*, were priuy to the same. So that now they had no meanes to make league with the *Athenians* neither, whereas before they made account that if their truce with the *Lacedæmonians* continued not, they might vpon these differences, haue ioyned themselues to the *Athenians*. The *Argiues* being therefore at a stand, and fearing to haue Warre all at once with the *Lacedæmonians*, *Tegeats*, *Bœotians*, and *Athenians*, as hating formerly refused the truce with the *Lacedæmonians*, and imagined to themselues the principality of all *Peloponnesus*, they sent Ambassadors with as much speed as might be, *Busirophus* & *Eson* persons, as they thought most acceptable vnto them, with this cogitation, that by compounding with the *Lacedæmonians*, as well as for their present estate they might, howsoeuer the world went, they should at least liue at quiet. When

A When theſe Ambaſſadors were there, they fell to treat of the Articles vpon which the agreement ſhould be made. And at firſt the *Argiues* deſired to haue the matter referred, either to ſome priuate man, or to ſome City, concerning the Territory of *Cynuria*, about which they haue alwayes differed, as lying on the borders of them both (it containeth the Cities of *Thyrea* and *Anthena*, and is poſſeſſed by the *Lacedæmonians*) But afterwards, the *Lacedæmonians* not ſuffering mention to be made of that, but that if they would haue the Truce goe on as it did before, they might;

The Territory of *Cynuria*, ground of the quarrels betweene *Lacedæmon* and *Argos*.

B the *Argiue* Ambaſſadours, got them to yeeld to this, *That for the preſent, an accord ſhould be made for fifty yeeres; but withall, that it ſhould be lawfull neuertheleſſe, (if one challenged the other thereunto) both for* Lacedæmon, *and* Argos *to try their Titles to this Territory by battell, ſo that there were in neither City, the Plague or a Warre to excuſe them;* (as once before they had done, when as both ſides thought they had the victory.) *And that it ſhould not be lawfull for one part to follow the chaſe of the other, further then to the bounds either of* Lacedæmon *or* Argos.

An odde condition of a Truce.

C And though this ſeemed to the *Lacedæmonians* at firſt to be but a fooliſh propoſition, yet afterwards, (becauſe they deſired by all meanes to haue friendſhip with the *Argiues*) they agreed vnto it, and put into writing what they required. Howſoeuer, before the *Lacedæmonians* would make any full concluſion of the ſame, they willed them to returne firſt to *Argos*, and to make the *People* acquainted with it, and then, if it were accepted, to returne at the *Hyacinthian* Feaſt, and ſweare it. So theſe departed.

Whileſt the *Argiues* were treating about this, the *Lace-*

The *Lacedæmonian* Ambaſſadors require *Pylus* in exchange for *Panactum*.

D *dæmonian* Ambaſſadors, *Andromenes*, and *Phadimus*, and *Antimenidas*, Commiſſioners for receiuing of *Panactum*, and the priſoners from the *Bœotians*, to render them to the *Athenians*, found that *Panactum* was demoliſhed, and that their pretext was this, That there had been anciently an Oath by occaſion of difference betweene the *Athenians* and them, That neither part ſhould inhabite the place ſolely, but ioyntly both. But for the *Athenian* priſoners, as many as the *Bœotians* had, they that were with *Andromenes* receiued, conuoyed and deliuered them vnto the *Athenians*, and withall

E told them of the razing of *Panactum*, alledging it as rendred, in that, no enemy of *Athens* ſhould dwell in it hereafter.

The *Athenians* take in euill part, both the razing of *Panactum*, and the League made with the *Bœotians*.

But when this was told them, the *Athenians* made it a haynous matter, for that they conceiued that the *Lacedæmonians* had done them wrong, both in the matter of *Panactum* which was pulled downe, and ſhould haue beene rendred ſtanding; and becauſe alſo they had heard of the priuate League made with the *Bœotians*, whereas they had promiſed to ioyne with the *Athenians* in compelling ſuch to accept of the Peace, as had refuſed it; withall they weighed whatſoeuer other points the *Lacedæmonians* had beene ſhort in, touching the performance of the *Articles*, and thought themſelues abuſed; ſo that they anſwered the *Lacedæmonian* Ambaſſadours roughly, and diſmiſſed them.

The *Argiues* make League with *Athens*, by meanes of *Alcibiades*.

This difference ariſing betweene the *Lacedæmonians*, and the *Athenians*, it was preſently wrought vpon by ſuch alſo of *Athens*, as deſired to haue the Peace diſſolued.

Amongſt the reſt was *Alcibiades the ſonne of Clinias*, a man though yong in yeeres, yet in the dignity of his Anceſtors honoured as much as any man of what Citie ſoeuer: Who was of opinion, that it was better to ioyne with the *Argiues*; not onely for the matter it ſelfe, but alſo out of ſtomacke, labouring to croſſe the *Lacedæmonians*, becauſe they had made the Peace by the meanes of *Nicias*, and *Laches*, without him; whom for his youth they had neglected, and not honoured, as for the ancient hoſpitality betweene his houſe and them, had been requiſite, which his father had indeed renounced, but he himſelfe by good Offices done to thoſe priſoners, which were brought from the Iland, had a purpoſe to haue renewed. But ſuppoſing himſelfe on all hands diſparaged, he both oppoſed the Peace at firſt, alledging that the *Lacedæmonians* would not be conſtant, and that they had made the Peace, onely to get the *Argiues* by that meanes away from them, and afterwards to inuade the *Athenians* againe, when they ſhould be deſtitute of their friends; And alſo as ſoone as this difference was on foote, he ſent preſently to *Argos* of himſelfe, willing them with all ſpeed to come to *Athens*, as being thereunto inuited, and to bring with them the *Eleans* and *Mantineans*, to enter with the *Athenians* into a League, the opportunity now ſeruing; and promiſing that he would helpe them all he could.

The cauſe why *Alcibiades* diſireth to breake with the *Lacedæmonians*.

Alcibiades ſendeth for the *Argiues* to *Athens* to make a League.

The *Argiues* hauing heard the meſſage, and knowing that the *Athenians* had made no League with the *Bœotians*,

A *tians*, and that they were at great quarrell with the *Lacedæmonians*, neglected the Ambaſſadors they had then in *Lacedæmon*, (whom they had ſent about the Truce) and applied themſelues to the *Athenians*, with this thought; that if they ſhould haue Warre, they ſhould by this meanes be backed with a City that had been their ancient friend, gouerned like their owne by *Democracy*, and of greateſt power by Sea. Whereupon they preſently ſent Ambaſſadours to *Athens* to make a League; and together with theirs, went alſo the Ambaſſadors of the *Eleans*, and *Man-*
B *tineans*. Thither alſo with all ſpeed came the *Lacedæmonian* Ambaſſadors, *Philocharidas*, *Leon*, and *Endius*, perſons accounted moſt gracious with the *Athenians*, for feare, leſt in their paſsion, they ſhould make a League with the *Argiues*; and withall to require the reſtitution of *Pylus* for *Panactum*, and to excuſe themſelues concerning their League with the *Bœotians*, as not made for any harme intended to the *Athenians*.

The *Lacedæmonian* Ambaſſadours come in haſte to *Athens*, to preuent their League with the *Argiues*.

Now ſpeaking of theſe things before the Councell, and how that they were come thither with full power to
C make agreement concerning all Controuerſies betwixt them, they put *Alcibiades* into feare, leſt, if they ſhould ſay the ſame before the people, the multitude would be drawne vnto their ſide, and ſo the *Argiue* League fall off. But *Alcibiades* deuiſeth againſt them this plot. He perſwadeth the *Lacedæmonians* not to confeſſe their plenary power before the people, and giueth them his faith, that then *Pylus* ſhould be rendred, (for he ſaid he would perſwade the *Athenians* to it, as much as he now oppoſed it) and that the reſt of their differences ſhould be compoun-
D ded. This he did to alienate them from *Nicias*, and that by accuſing them before the people, as men that had no true meaning, nor euer ſpake one and the ſame thing, he might bring on the league with the *Argiues*, *Eleans*, & *Mantineans*. And it came to paſſe accordingly. For when they came before the people, and to the queſtion, whether they had full power of concluding, had (contrary to what they had ſaid in Conncell) anſwered *no*, the *Athenians* would no longer endure them, but gaue eare to *Alcibiades*, that exclaimed againſt the *Lacedæmonians* farre more now then euer,
E and were ready then preſently to haue the *Argiues*, and thoſe others with them brought in, and to make the League.

Alcibiades perſwadeth the *Lacedæmonian* Ambaſſadors, to deny before the people, that they had power to conclude.

Alcibiades inueigheth againſt the *Lacedæmonians*.

League. But an Earthquake happening, before any thing was concluded, the aſſembly was adiourned. In the next dayes meeting, *Nicias*, though the *Lacedæmonians* had been abuſed, and he himſelfe alſo deceiued, touching their comming with full power to conclude, yet he perſiſted to affirme, that it was their beſt courſe to be friends with the *Lacedæmonians*, and to deferre the *Argiues* buſineſſe, till they had ſent to the *Lacedæmonians* againe to be aſſured of their intention; ſaying, that it was honour vnto themſelues, and diſhonour to the *Lacedæmonians* to haue the Warre put off. For, for themſelues, being in eſtate of proſperity, it was beſt to preſerue their good fortune, as long as they might; whereas to the other ſide, who were in euill eſtate, it ſhould be in place of gaine to put things as ſoone as they could to the hazzard. So he perſwaded them to ſend Ambaſſadours, whereof himſelfe was one, to require the *Lacedæmonians*, (if they meant ſincerely) to render *Panactum* ſtanding, and alſo *Amphipolis*: and if the *Bœotians* would not accept of the Peace, then to vndoe their League with them, according to the Article, That the one ſhould not make league with any, without the conſent of the other. They willed him to ſay further; That *they themſelues alſo, if they had had the will to doe wrong, had ere this made a league with the* Argiues, *who were preſent then at* Athens, *for the ſame purpoſe*. And whatſoeuer they had to accuſe the *Lacedæmonians* of beſides, they inſtructed *Nicias* in it, and ſent him and the other, his fellow Ambaſſadours, away. When they were arriued, and had deliuered what they had in charge, and this laſt of all, *That the* Athenians *would make League with the* Argiues, *vnleſſe the* Lacedæmonians *would renounce their League with the* Bœotians, *if the* Bœotians *accepted not the Peace*, the *Lacedæmonians* denyed to renounce their league with the *Bœotians*, (for *Xenares* the *Ephore*, and the reſt of that faction carried it) but at the requeſt of *Nicias*, they renued their former Oath. For *Nicias* was afraid he ſhould returne with nothing done, and be carped at (as after alſo it fell out) as** author of the *Lacedæmonian* Peace.

At his returne, when the *Athenians* vnderſtood that nothing was effected at *Lacedæmon*, they grew preſently into choler, and apprehending iniury (the *Argiues*, and their Confederates being there preſent, brought in by *Alcibiades*)

Nicias endeuoreth to haue the Peace goe on with the *Lacedæmonians*.

Nicias is ſent Ambaſſador to *Lacedæmon* to get ſatisfaction about performance of the Articles.

Nicias was the Author of the Peace betweene the *Athenians* and the *Lacedæmonians*, and that Peace was therefore called *Nicia*.

Alcibiades, they made a Peace, and a League with them, in theſe words.

THE ARTICLES OF THE LEAGVE BETWEENE THE ATHENIANS AND THE ARGIVES, &c.

The Athenians, *and* Argiues, *and* Mantineans, *and* Eleans, *for themſelues, and for the Confederates commanded by euery of them, haue made an accord for* 100 *yeeres without fraud or damage, both by Sea and Land.*

It ſhall not be lawfull for the Argiues *nor* Eleans, *nor* Mantineans, *nor their Confederates to beare Armes againſt the* Athenians, *or the* * *Confederates vnder the command of the* Athenians, *or their Confederates, by any fraud or machination whatſoeuer. And the* Athenians, Argiues, *and* Mantineans, *haue made League with each other for* 100 *yeeres on theſe termes.*

* Confederats were of two ſorts, ſuch as on equall termes entred League with other, and ſuch as ſerued other in the Warre by compulſion, or as ſubiects; both called in the Greeke, σύμμαχοι, properly, but not properly Confederates.

If any enemy ſhall inuade the Territory of the Athenians; *then the* Argiues, Eleans, *and* Mantineans *ſhall goe vnto* Athens, *to aſsiſt them according as the* Athenians *ſhall ſend them word to doe, in the beſt manner they poſsibly can. But if the enemy after hee haue ſpoyled the Territory ſhall be gone backe, then their Citie ſhall be held as an enemy to the* Argiues, Eleans, Mantineans, *and* Athenians, *and Warre ſhall be made againſt it, by all thoſe Cities. And it ſhall not be lawfull for any of thoſe Cities to giue ouer the Warre, without the conſent of all the reſt.*

And if an enemy ſhall inuade the Territory, either of the Argiues, *or of the* Eleans, *or of the* Mantineans, *then the* Athenians *ſhall come vnto* Argos, Elis, *and* Mantinea, *to aſsiſt them, in ſuch ſort as thoſe Cities ſhall ſend them word to doe, in the beſt manner they poſsibly can. But if the enemy after he hath waſted their Territory, ſhall be gone backe, then their Citie ſhall be held as an enemy, both to the* Athenians, *and alſo to the* Argiues, Eleans, *and* Mantineans, *and Warre ſhall be made againſt it, by all thoſe Cities; and it ſhall not be lawfull for any of them to giue ouer the Warre againſt that Citie, without the conſent of all the reſt.*

There ſhall no armed men be ſuffered to paſſe through the Dominions either of themſelues, or of any the Confederates vnder their ſeuerall commands to make Warre in any place whatſoeuer, vnleſſe by the ſuffrage of all the Cities, Athens, Argos, Elis, *and* Mantinea *their paſſage be allowed.*

To ſuch as come to aſsiſt any of the other Cities, that Citie which ſendeth them ſhal giue maintenance for thirtie dayes after they ſhal arriue in the Citie that ſent for them; and the like at their going away. But if they will vſe the Army for a longer time, then the Citie that ſent for them, ſhall find them maintenance, at the rate of three Oboles *of Ægina a day, for a man of Armes, and of a Drachma of Ægina for a horſeman.*

The

The Citie which ſendeth for the aydes, ſhall haue the leading, and command of them, whileſt the Warre is in their owne Territory: But if it ſhall ſeeme good vnto theſe Cities to make a Warre in common, then all the Cities ſhall equally participate of the command. A

The Athenians *ſhall ſweare vnto the Articles both for themſelues, and for their Confederates; and the* Argiues, Eleans, Mantineans, *and the Confederates of theſe ſhall euery one ſweare vnto them Citie by Citie, and their oath ſhall be the greateſt that by cuſtome of the ſeuerall Cities is vſed, and with moſt perfect* * *hoaſtes, and in theſe words:* I will ſtand to this League according to the Articles thereof, iuſtly, innocently, and ſincerely, and not B tranſgreſſe the ſame by any Art or Machination whatſoeuer.

* Beaſts offered in ſacrifice.

This oath ſhall be taken at Athens, *by the* Senate, *and the* Officers of the Commons, *and adminiſtred by the* Prytaneis. *At* Argos *it ſhall be taken by the* Senate, *and the* Councell *of* Eighty, *and by the* Artynæ, *and adminiſtred by the* Councell of Eighty. *At* Mantinea *it ſhall be taken by the* procurators of the people, *and by the* Senate, *and by the reſt of the* Magiſtrates, *and adminiſtred by the* Theori, *and by the* Tribunes of the Souldiers. *At* Elis *it ſhall be taken by* the procurators of the peo- C ple, *and by the* Officers of the Treaſury, *and by the* Councell of 600, *and adminiſtred by the* Procurators of the People, *and by the* Keepers of the Law.

This oath ſhall be renued by the Athenians, *who ſhall goe to* Elis, *and to* Mantinea, *and to* Argos, *thirty dayes before the* Olympian *Games*; *and by the* Argiues, Eleans, *and* Mantineans, *who ſhall come to* Athens, *ten dayes before the* Panathenæan *Holydayes.*

The Articles of this League and Peace and the oath, ſhall be inſcribed in a pillar of ſtone; by the Athenians *in the Cittadell; by the* D Argiues *in their Market place, within the Precinct of the Temple of* Apollo; *and by the* Mantineans *in their Market place, within the precinct of the Temple of* Iupiter. *And at the* Olympian *Games, now at hand, there ſhall be erected ioyntly by them all, a brazen pillar in* Olympia, [*with the ſame inſcription.*]

If it ſhall ſeeme good to theſe Cities to adde any thing to theſe Articles; whatſoeuer ſhall be determined by them all in common Councell, the ſame ſhall ſtand good.

Thus was the League and the Peace concluded, and that which was made before betweene the *Lacedæmonians* & the E *Athenians*, was notwithſtanding, by neither ſide renounced.

But

A But the *Corinthians*, although they were the Confederats of the *Argiues*, yet would they not enter into this League; nay, though there were made a League before this, betweene them and the *Argiues*, *Eleans*, and *Mantineans*, that where one, there all, ſhould haue Warre, or Peace, yet they refuſed to ſweare to it; but ſaid that their League defenſiue was enough, whereby they were bound to defend each other, but not to take part one with another in inuading. So the *Corinthians* fell off from their Confederates, and inclined againe to the *Lacedæmonians*.

The *Corinthians* ſtill refuſe the Peace with *Athens*, and encline againe to the *Lacedæmonians*.

B This Summer were celebrated the *Olympian* Games, in which *Androſthenes* an *Arcadian*, was the firſt time Victor in the exerciſe called * *Pancratium*. And the *Lacedæmonians* were by the *Eleans* prohibited the Temple there; ſo as they might neither ſacrifice, nor contend for the prizes, amongſt the reſt; for that they had not payed the Fine ſet vpon them, (according to an *Olympique* Law) by the *Eleans*, that laide to their charge that they had put Souldiers into the Fort of *Phyrcon*, and into *Lepreum* in the time of the *Olympique* Truce.

The *Olympian* Games.

* Pancratium *conſiſted of wraſtling and fighting with Fiſts.*
The *Lacedæmonians* forbidden the exerciſes, and why.

C The Fine amounted vnto * 2000 *Minæ*, which was *two *Minæ* for euery man of Armes, according to the Law. But the *Lacedæmonians* by their Ambaſſadours which they ſent thither, made anſwer, *That they had beene vniuſtly condemned, alledging that the Truce was not publiſhed in* Lacedæmon, *when their Souldiers were ſent out.*

*625 pound ſterling.
*6 pound 5 ſhillings ſterling.

To this the *Eleans* ſaid againe, *That the Truce was already begunne amongſt themſelues, who vſed to publiſh it firſt in their owne Dominion, and thereupon, whileſt they lay ſtill, and expected no ſuch matter, as in time of Truce, the* Lacedæmonians *did them* D *the iniury at vnawares.*

Contention between the *Lacedæmonians* and *Eleans*, before the *Grecians*, at *Olympia*, about a mulct ſet vpon the *Lacedæmonians*, by the *Eleans*, for breaking the *Olympique* Truce.

The *Lacedæmonians* hereunto replyed, *That it was not neceſſary to proceed to the publiſhing of the truce in* Lacedæmon *at all, if they thought themſelues wronged already; but rather, if they thought themſelues not wronged yet, then to doe it by way of preuention, that they ſhould not Arme againſt them afterwards.*

The *Eleans* ſtood ſtiffely in their firſt Argument; that they would neuer be perſwaded but iniury had been done them; but were neuertheleſſe contented, *If they would ren-* E *der* Lepreum, *both to remit their own part of the money, and alſo to pay that part for them which was due vnto the* God.

When this would not be agreed vnto, they required this, not that they ſhould render *Lepreum* vnleſſe they would, but that then they ſhould come to the Altar of *Iupiter Olympian*, ſeeing they deſired to haue free vſe of the Temple, and there before the *Grecians* take an oath, to pay the fine at leaſt hereafter. But when the *Lacedæmonians* refuſed that alſo, they were excluded the Temple, the ſacrifices, and the games, and ſacrificed at home; But the reſt of the *Grecians*, except the *Lepreates*, were all admitted to be ſpectators. Neuertheleſſe, the *Eleans* fearing leſt they would come and ſacrifice there by force, kept a guard there of their yongeſt men, in Armes, to whom were added *Argiues* and *Mantineans*, of either Citie 1000, and certaine *Athenian* horſemen, who were then at *Argos*, waiting the celebration of the Feaſt. For a great feare poſſeſſed all the Aſſembly, leſt the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould come vpon them with an Army; and the rather, becauſe *Lichas the ſonne of Arceſilaus*, a *Lacedæmonian*, had been whipped by the Serjeants vpon the Race, for that when his Chariot had gotten the prize, after Proclamation made, that the Chariot of the *Bœotian* State had wonne it (becauſe he himſelfe was not admitted to run) he came forth into the Race, and crowned his Chariotier, to make knowne that the Chariot was his owne. This added much vnto their feare, and they verily expected ſome accident to follow. Neuertheleſſe, the *Lacedæmonians* ſtirred not, and the Feaſt paſſed ouer.

Lichas a Lacedæmonian whipped vpon the Olympian Race.

After the *Olympian* Games, the *Argiues* and their Confederates went to *Corinth*, to get the *Corinthians* into their League, and the *Lacedæmonian* Ambaſſadors chanced to be there alſo; and after much conference, and nothing concluded, vpon occaſion of an Earthquake, they brake off the conference, and returned euery one to his owne Citie. And ſo this Summer ended.

The twelfth Summer.

The next Winter, the men of *Heraclea* in *Trachinia*, fought a battell againſt the *Ænians*, *Dolopians*, *Melians*, and certaine *Theſſalians*. For the neighbour Cities, were enemies to this Citie, as built to the preiudice onely of them, and both oppoſed the ſame from the time it was firſt founded, annoying it what they could, and alſo in this battell ouercame them, and ſlew *Xenares* a *Lacedæmonian*, their Commander, with ſome others, *Heracleots*. Thus ended this Winter, and the twelfth yeere of this Warre.

In

A In the very beginning of the next Summer, the *Bœotians* tooke *Heraclea* miſerably afflicted, into their owne hands, and put *Hegeſippidas* a *Lacedæmonian* out of it, for his euill gouernment. They tooke it, becauſe they feared, leſt whileſt the *Lacedæmonians* were troubled about *Peloponneſus*, it ſhould haue beene taken in by the *Athenians*. Neuertheleſſe the *Lacedæmonians* were offended with them for doing it.

The ſame Summer *Alcibiades the ſonne of Clinias*, being Generall of the *Athenians*, by the practice of the *Argiues*,
B and their Confederates, went into *Peloponneſus*, and hauing with him a few men of Armes, and Archers of *Athens*, and ſome of the Confederates which he tooke vp there, as he paſſed through the Countrey with his Army, both ordered ſuch affaires by the way concerning the League, as was fit; and comming to the *Patræans*, perſwaded them to build their walls downe to the Sea-ſide, and purpoſed to raiſe another wall himſelfe towards *Rhium* in *Achaia*. But the *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, and ſuch others as this wall would haue preiudiced, came forth and hindred him.

C The ſame Summer fell out a Warre betweene the *Epidaurians* and the *Argiues*; the pretext thereof was about a Beaſt for ſacrifice, which the *Epidaurians* ought to haue ſent, in conſideration of their paſtures, to *Apollo Pythius*, and had not done it; the *Argiues* being the principall owners of the Temple. But *Alcibiades*, and the *Argiues* had indeed determined to take in the City, though without pretence at all, both that the *Corinthians* might not ſtirre, and alſo that they might bring the *Athenian* ſuccours from *Ægina*, into thoſe parts a neerer way, then by compaſsing the Promon-
D tory of *Scyllæum*. And therefore the *Argiues* prepared, as of themſelues, to exact the ſacrifice by inuaſion.

About the ſame time alſo, the *Lacedæmonians* with their whole forces, came forth as farre as *Leuctra*, in the Confines of their owne Territory towards *Lycæum*, vnder the Conduct of *Agis*, the ſonne of *Archidamus* their King. No man knew againſt what place they intended the Warre; No not the Cities themſelues out of which they were leuyed. But when in the ſacrifices which they made for their paſſage, the tokens obſerued were vnlucky, they went home a-
E gain, and ſent word about to their Confederates (being now the moneth *(Carneius)* to prepare themſelues after the next

Warre betweene the *Epidaurians* and *Argiues*.

* Their holy moneth, in which they kept a Feaſt to Apollo.

* ἱσταμένια.

* July.

* Feaſt of the New Moone (kept by the *Dorians*,) to be againe vpon their march. The *Argiues*, who ſet forth the 26 day of the moneth before * *Carneus*, though they celebrated the ſame day, yet all the time they continued inuading and waſting *Epidauria*. And the *Epidaurians* called in their Confederates to helpe them, whereof ſome excuſed themſelues vpon the quality of the moneth, and others came but to the Confines of *Epidauria*, and there ſtayed. Whilſt the *Argiues* were in *Epidauria*, the Ambaſſadours of diuers Cities, ſolicited by the *Athenians*, met together at *Mantinea*, where in a conference amongſt them, *Ephamidas* of *Corinth* ſaid, *That their actions agreed not with their words, for as much as whilſt they were ſitting there to treat of a Peace, the* Epidaurians *with their Confederates, and the* Argiues *ſtood armed in the meane time againſt each other in order of battell. That it was therefore fit that ſome body ſhould goe firſt vnto the Armies from either ſide, and diſſolue them, and then come againe and diſpute of Peace.*

Ambaſſadors meet about Peace, but cannot agree.

This aduice being approued, they departed, and withdrew the *Argiues* from *Epidauria*; and meeting afterwards againe in the ſame place, they could not for all that agree; and the *Argiues* againe inuaded and waſted *Epidauria*.

The *Lacedæmonians* alſo drew forth their Army againſt *Carya*, but then againe their ſacrifice for paſſage, being not to their mind, they returned. And the *Argiues*, when they had ſpoyled about the third part of *Epidauria*, went home likewiſe. They had the aſsiſtance of one thouſand men of Armes of *Athens*, and *Alcibiades* their Commander; but theſe hearing that the *Lacedæmonians* were in the field, and ſeeing now there was no longer need of them, departed, and ſo paſſed this Summer.

The end of the thirteenth Summer.

The next Winter the *Lacedæmonians* vnknowne to the *Athenians*, put 300 Garriſon Soldiers vnder the Command of *Ageſippidas*, into *Epidaurus* by Sea. For which cauſe the *Argiues* came and expoſtulated with the *Athenians*, that whereas it was written in the Articles of the League, that no enemy ſhould be ſuffered to paſſe through either of their Dominions, yet had they ſuffered the *Lacedæmonians* to paſſe by * Sea; and ſaid they had wrong, vnleſſe the *Athenians* would againe put the *Meſſenians*, and *Heletes* into *Pylus* againſt the *Lacedæmonians*. Hereupon the *Athenians*, at the perſwaſion of *Alcibiades*, wrote vpon the * *Lacenian* pillar

* *The* Argiues *acknowledge the Sea on their owne coaſt, to be of the Dominion of* Athens.

* *Which was erected for the Articles of the Peace to be written in.*

A pillar [vnder the inscription of the Peace] that the *Lacedæmonians* had violated their oath, and they drew the *Helotes* out of* *Cranij*, and put them againe into *Pylus*, to infest the Territory with driuing of booties, but did no more.

All this Winter, though there was Warre betweene the *Argiues* and *Epidaurians*, yet was there no set battell, but onely Ambushes and Skirmishes, wherein were slaine on both sides, such as it chanced.

But in the end of Winter, and the Spring now at hand, the *Argiues* came to *Epidaurus* with Ladders, as destitute of
B men by reason of the Warre, thinking to haue wonne it by assault, but returned againe with their labour lost. And so ended this Winter, and the thirteenth yeere of this Warre.

In the middle of the next Summer, the *Lacedæmonians* seeing that the *Epidaurians*, their Confederates, were tyred, and that of the rest of the Cities of *Peloponnesus*, some had already reuolted, and others were but in euill termes, and apprehending that if they preuented it not, the mischiefe would spread still farther, put themselues into the field
C with all their owne forces, both of themselues and their *Helotes*, to make Warre against *Argos*, vnder the Conduct of *Agis the sonne of Archidamus* their King. The *Tegeates* went also with them, and of the rest of *Arcadia*, all that were in the *Lacedæmonian* League. But the rest of their Confederates both within *Peloponnesus*, and without, were to meet together at *Phlius*. That is to say, of the *Bœotians* 5000 men of Armes, and as many Light-armed, 500 horse, and to euery *horseman, another man on foot, which holding the horses Mane, ran by with equall speed. Of *Co-*
D *rinthians*, 1000 men of Armes, and of the rest more or lesse, as they were. But the *Phliasians*, because the Army was assembled in their owne Territory, put forth their whole power. The *Argiues* hauing had notice both formerly of the preparation of the *Lacedæmonians*, and afterward of their marching on to ioyne with the rest at *Phlius*, brought their Army likewise into the field. They had with them the aides of the *Mantineans*, and their Confederates, and 5000 men of Armes of the *Eleans*, and marching forward, met the* *Lacedæmonians* at *Methydrium*, a Towne of
E *Arcadia*, each side seazing on a hill. And the *Argiues* prepared to giue battell to the *Lacedæmonians*, whiles they were

* *In* Cephalonia *where they had before placed them.*

THE FOVRTEENTH YEERE.

Preparation of the *Lacedæmonians* against *Argos*.

* *Διπλασιοι.*

* *The* Lacedæmonians, Tegeates, *and some* Arcadians, *not the whole League, which was not yet vnited.*

The *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates meet at *Phlius*.
The *Argiues* go to meet them at the Forreſt of *Nemea*.

The *Lacedæmonians* come into the Plaines before *Argos*.

The *Argiues* encloſed betweene the *Lacedæmonians* and the *Bœotians*.

And the *Lacedæmonians* encloſed betweene the army of the *Argiues* and their Citie.

* ξενίσαντι He that lodged, the Lacedæmonians when any of them came to Argos.

were ſingle. But *Agis* diſlodging his Army by night, marched on to *Phlius* to the reſt of the Confederates, vnſeene. A
Vpon knowledge hereof, the *Argiues* betimes in the morning retyred firſt to *Argos*, and afterwards to the Forreſt of *Nemea*, by which they thought the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates would fall in. But *Agis* came not the way which they expected, but with the *Lacedæmonians*, *Arcadians*, and *Epidaurians*, whom he acquainted with his purpoſe, tooke another more difficult way to paſſe, and came downe into the *Argiue* Plaines. The *Corinthians* alſo, and *Pellenians*, and *Phliaſians*, marched another troubleſome B
way; Onely the *Bœotians*, *Megareans*, and *Sicyonians*, were appointed to come downe by the way of the Forreſt of *Nemea*, in which the *Argiues* were incamped; to the end that if the *Argiues* ſhould turne head againſt the *Lacedæmonians*, theſe might ſet vpon them at the backe with their horſe.

Thus ordered, *Agis* entred into the Plaines, and ſpoyled *Saminthus*, and ſome other Townes thereabouts. Which when the *Argiues* vnderſtood, they came out of the Foreſt ſomewhat after breake of day to oppoſe them, and ligh- C
ting among the *Phliaſians* and *Corinthians*, ſlew ſome few of the *Phliaſians*, but had more ſlaine of their owne, by the *Corinthians*, though not many. The *Bœotians*, *Megareans*, and *Sicyonians*, marched forward towards *Nemea*, and found that the *Argiues* were departed. For when they came downe, and ſaw their Country waſted, they put themſelues into order of battell; and the *Lacedæmonians*, on the other ſide did the ſame; and the *Argiues* ſtood intercepted in the middeſt of their enemies. For in the Plaine between them and the City, ſtood the *Lacedæmonians*, and thoſe with D
them; aboue them were the *Corinthians*, *Phliaſians*, and *Pellenians*; and towards *Nemea* were the *Bœotians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Megareans*. And horſemen they had none, for the *Athenians* alone, of all their Confederates, were not yet come. Now the generality of the Army of the *Argiues*, and their Confederates, did not thinke the danger preſent ſo great, as indeed it was, but rather that the aduantage in the battell would be their own, and that the *Lacedæmonians* were intercepted, not onely in the *Argiues* Territory, but alſo hard by the Citie. But two men of *Argos*, *Thraſyllus*, one of the E
fiue Commanders of the Army, and *Alciphron*, * entertay-

ner

A ner of the *Lacedæmonians*, when the Armies were euen ready to ioyne, went vnto *Agis*, and dealt with him to haue the battell put off, for as much as the *Argiues* were content and ready, both to propound, and accept of equall Arbitrators, in whatſoeuer the *Lacedæmonians* ſhould charge them withall, and in the meane time, to haue peace with them ſolemnely confirmed.

Propoſitions of Peace made by two priuate men of *Argos*:

This theſe *Argiues* ſaid of themſelues, without the command of the generality; and *Agis*, of himſelfe likewiſe, accepting their propoſition, without deliberation had with
B the maior part, and hauing communicated it onely to ſome one more of thoſe that had charge in the Army, made Truce with them for foure moneths; in which ſpace, they were to performe the things agreed vpon betwixt them. And then preſently he withdrew his Armie, without giuing account to any of the reſt of the League why he did ſo. The *Lacedæmonians*, and the Confederates followed *Agis*, according to the Law, as being their Generall, but amongſt themſelues taxed him exceedingly, for that hauing a very faire occaſion of battell, the *Argiues* be-
C ing incloſed on all ſides, both by their Horſe and Foot, hee yet went his way, doing nothing worthy the great preparation they had made. For this was in very truth the faireſt Army that euer the *Grecians* had in the field vnto this day; but it was moſt to be ſeene, when they were * altogether in the Forreſt of *Nemea*. Where the *Lacedæmonians* were with their whole Forces, beſides the *Arcadians*, *Bœotians*, *Corinthians*, *Sicyonians*, *Pelleniars*, *Phliaſiars*, and *Megareans*; and theſe all choſen men of their ſeuerall Cities, and ſuch as were thought a match, not onely for the
D League of the *Argiues*, but for ſuch another added to it. The Army thus offended with *Agis*, departed, and were diſſolued, euery man to his home. The *Argiues* were much more offended with thoſe of their Citie, which without the conſent of the multitude, had made the Truce, they alſo ſuppoſing that the *Lacedæmonians* had eſcaped their hands in ſuch an aduantage, as they neuer had the like before; in that the battell was to haue been fought vnder their City walls, and with the aſſiſtance of many and good Confederates. And in their returne, they began to ſtone
E *Thraſyllus*, at the *Charadrum*, (the place where the Souldiers before they enter into the City from warfare, vſe to haue their

Agis withdraweth his Army, and is cenſured for it by the Confederates.

* *That is, going home; for till then they were neuer altogether in* Nemea.

Thraſyllus puniſhed for propounding the Peace.

their Military causes heard) but he flying to the Altar, saued himselfe, neuertheleſſe they confiscated his goods.

The *Athenians* instigate the *Argiues* to breake the Truce.

After this, the *Athenians* comming in, with the ayde of 1000 men of Armes, and 300 Horſe, vnder the Conduct of *Laches* and *Nicoſtratus*, the *Argiues* (for they were afraid for all this, to breake the Truce with the *Lacedæmonians*) willed them to be gone againe, and when they desired to treat, would not present them to the People, till such time as the *Mantineans*, and *Eleans* (who were not yet gone) forced them vnto it by their importunity. Then the *Athenians*, in the presence of *Alcibiades*, that was Ambassadour there, spake vnto the *Argiues*, and their Confederates, saying, *That the Truce was vnduely made, without the assent of the rest of their Confederates, and that now (for they were come time enough) they ought to fall againe to the Warre*, and did by their words so preuaile with the Confederates, that they all, saue the *Argiues*, presently marched against * *Orchomenus* of *Arcadia*.

The *Argiues* breake the Truce, and besiege *Orchomenus*.

* *There was another* Orchomenus *in* Bœotia.

And these, though satisfied, stayed behind at first, but afterwards they also went; and sitting downe before *Orchomenus*, ioyntly besieged, and assaulted the same; desiring to take it in, as well for other causes, as chiefly for that the Hostages which the *Arcadians* had giuen to the *Lacedæmonians*, were there in custody. The *Orchomenians* fearing the weakenesse of their wals, and the greatnesse of the Army, and lest they should perish, before any reliefe arriued, yeelded vp the Towne on conditions: *To be receiued into the League; to giue Hostages for themselues; and to surrender the Hostages held there by the* Lacedæmonians, *into the hands of the* Mantineans.

Orchomenus yeelded.

The Confederates after this, hauing gotten *Orchomenus*, sate in Councell, about what Towne they should proceed against next. The *Eleans* gaue aduice to goe against * *Lepreum*, but the *Mantineans*, against *Tegea*. And the *Argiues* and *Athenians* concurred in opinion with the *Mantineans*. But the *Eleans* taking it in euill part, that they did not decree to goe against *Lepreum*, went home; but the rest prepared themselues at *Mantinea*, to goe against *Tegea*, which also some within had a purpose to put into their hands.

* *As being in particular hostility with it.*

The *Argiues* goe next against *Tegea*, which displeaseth the *Eleans*, and they goe home.

The *Lacedæmonians* question their King, for suffering the *Argiues* to goe off vnfoughten.

The *Lacedæmonians*, after their returne from *Argos* with their foure moneths Truce, seuerely questioned *Agis*, for that vpon so faire an opportunity, as they neuer had before, he subdued not *Argos* to the State; for so many and so

good

A good Confederates, would hardly be gotten together againe at one time. But when also the newes came of the taking of *Orchomenus*, then was their indignation much greater, and they presently resolued, contrary to their owne custome, in their passion, to raze his house, and fine him in the summe of * 10000 Drachmaes. But he besought them that they would doe neither of these things yet, and promised that leading out the Armie againe, he would by some valiant action cancel those accusations; or, if not, they might proceed afterwards to doe with B him whatsoeuer they thought good on. So they forbore both the Fine, and the razing of his house; but made a decree for that present, such as had neuer beene before, that tenne *Spartans* should bee elected and ioyned with him as Councellours, without whom it should not be lawfull for him to leade the Army into the field.

* 312 pound: 10 shillings sterling.

In the meane time came newes from their side in *Tegea*, that vnlesse they came presently with aide, the *Tegeans* would reuolt to the *Argiues*, and their Confederates; and that they wanted little of being reuolted already.

The *Lacedæmonians* put their Army into the field to rescue *Tegea*.

C Vpon this, the *Lacedæmonians* with speed leuyed all their forces, both of themselues, and their *Helotes*, in such number, as they had neuer done before, and marched vnto *Orestium* in *Mænalia*, and appointed the *Arcadians*, such as were of their League, to assemble, and follow them at the heeles to *Tegea*.

The *Lacedæmonians* being come entire to *Orestium*, from thence sent backe the sixt part of their Armie (in which they put both the yongest and the eldest sort) for the custody of the Citie, and with the rest marched on to *Te-*D *gea*; and not long after, arriued also their Confederates of *Arcadia*.

They sent also to *Corinth*, and to the *Bœotians*, *Phoceans*, and *Locrians*, to come with their aydes with all speed to *Mantinea*. But these had too short a warning, nor was it easie for them, vnlesse they came altogether, and stayed for one another, to come through the enemies Countrey, which lay betweene, and barred them of passage. Neuertheless, they made what hast they could. And the *Lacedæmonians* taking with them, their *Arcadian* Confederates present, E entred into the Territory of *Mantinea*, and pitching their Camp by the *Temple of Hercules*, wasted the Territory about.

The *Lacedæmonians* waste the Territory of *Mantinea*.

The *Argiues*, and their Confederates, as soone as they came in sight, seazed on a certaine place fortified by nature, and of hard accesse, and put themselues into battell array. And the *Lacedæmonians* marched presently towards them, and came vp within a stone or a darts cast. But then one of the ancient men of the Army cryed out vnto *Agis*, seeing him to goe on against a place of that strength, that he went about to amend one fault with another, signifying that he intended to make amends for his former retreat from *Argos*, which hee was questioned for, with his now vnseasonable forwardnesse. But he, whether it were vpon that increpation, or some other suddaine apprehension of his owne; presently withdrew his Army before the fight began, and marching vnto the Territory of *Tegea*, turned the course of the water into the Territory of *Mantinea*; touching which water, because into what part soeuer it had his course, it did much harme to the Countrey, the *Mantineans*, and *Tegeates* were at Warres. Now his drift was by the turning of that water, to prouoke those *Argiues*, and their Confederates which kept the hill, when they should heare of it, to come down, and oppose them, that so they might fight with them in the Plaine. And by that time he had stayed about the water a day, he had diuerted the streame. The *Argiues*, & their Confederates were at first amazed at this their sudden retreat, from so neere them, and knew not what to make of it. But when after the retreat they returned no more in sight, and that they themselues lying still on the place, did not pursue them, then began they anew to accuse their Cõmanders, both for suffering the *Lacedæmonians* to depart formerly, when they had them inclosed at so faire an aduantage before *Argos*; and now againe, for not pursuing them when they ran away, but giuing them leaue to saue themselues, & betraying the Army. The Commanders for the preset, were much troubled hereat, but afterwards they drew downe the Armie from the Hill, and comming forth into the Plaine, encamped, as to goe against the enemie. The next day the *Argiues* and their Confederates put themselues into such order as (if occasion serued) they meant to fight in, & the *Lacedæmonians* returning frõ the water to the temple of *Hercules*, the same place where they had formerly encamped, perceiue the enemies to be all of thẽ in order of battell

The *Argiues* come downe from their aduantage, to seeke the enemy.

A battell hard by them, come downe already from the hill Certainely the *Lacedæmonians* were more affrighted at this time, then euer they had beene to their remembrance before. For the time they had to prepare themſelues was exceeding ſhort, and ſuch was their diligence that euery man fell immediately into his owne Ranke, *Agis* the King commanding all, according to the Law. For whileſt the King hath the Army in the field, all things are commanded by him, and he ſignifieth what is to be done, to the * *Polemarchi*, they to the *Lochagi*, theſe to the *Pentecontateres*, B and theſe againe to the *Enomatarchi*, who laſtly make it knowne, euery one to his owne *Enomatia*. In this manner, when they would haue any thing to be done, their commands paſſe through the Army, and are quickly executed. For almoſt all the *Lacedæmonian* Army, ſaue a very few, are Captaines of Captaines, and the care of what is to be put in execution, lyeth vpon many. Now their left Wing conſiſted of the * *Sciritæ*, which amongſt ahe *Lacedæmonians* haue euer alone that place. Next to theſe were placed the *Braſidian* Souldiers lately come out of *Thrace*, C and with them, * thoſe that had been newly made free. After them in order, the reſt of the *Lacedæmonians*, Band after Band, and by them *Arcadians*, firſt the *Heræans*, after theſe the *Mænalians*. In the right Wing were the *Tegeates*, and a few *Lacedæmonians* in the point of the ſame Wing. And vpon the out ſide of either Wing, the horſemen. So ſtood the *Lacedæmonians*. Oppoſite to them, in the right Wing, ſtood the *Mantineans*, becauſe it was vpon their owne Territory, and with them ſuch *Arcadians* as were of their League. Then the 1000 choſen *Argiues* which D the City had for a long time cauſed to be trayned for the Warres, at the publique charge; and next to them the reſt of the *Argiues*. After theſe the *Cleonæans*, and *Orneates*, their Confederates. And laſtly, the *Athenians* with the Horſemen (which were alſo theirs) had the left Wing. This was the order and preparation of both the Armies.

The Army of the *Lacedæmonians* appeared to be the greater. But what the number was, either of the particulars of either ſide, or in generall, I could not exactly write. E For the number of the *Lacedæmonians*, agreeable to the ſecrecy of that State, was vnknowne; and of the other ſide, for

The *Lacedæmonians* put themſelues in order battell.

* Polemarchi *Martials of the field. The Commanders of Regiments, Colonels.* Pentecontateres, *Captaines of Companies.* Enomatarchi, *Captaines of the fourth part of Company. An* Enomatia, *was in this Army thirty two Souldiers.*

* *A Band of the* Lacedæmonians *ſo called, perhaps from* Scirus, *a Towne in* Laconia.

* νεοδαμώδεις

The order of the battell of the *Argiues.*

the ostentation vsuall with all men, touching the number of themselues was vnbeleeued. Neuertheleſſe the number of the *Lacedæmonians* may be attained by computing thus. Beſides the *Scirita*, which were 600. there fought in all ſeuen * Regiments, in euery Regiment were foure * Companies, in each Company were foure * *Enomatiæ*, and of euery *Enomatia*, there ſtood in Front, foure; but they were not ranged all alike in File, but as the Captaines of Bands thought it neceſſary. But the Army in generall was ſo ordered, as to be eight men in depth, and the firſt Ranke of the whole, beſides the *Scirita*, conſiſted of 448 Souldiers.

Now when they were ready to ioyne, the Commanders made their hortatines, euery one to thoſe that were vnder his owne command. To the *Mantineans* it was ſaid, *That they were to fight for their Territory, and concerning their liberty, and ſeruitude, that the former might not be taken from them, and that they might not againe taſte of the later.* The *Argiues* were admoniſhed, *That whereas anciently they had the leading of* Peloponneſus, *and in it an equall ſhare, they ſhould not now ſuffer themſelues to be depriued of it for euer; and that withall, they ſhould now reuenge the many iniuries of a City, their neighbour and enemy.* To the *Athenians* it was remembred, *how honourable a thing it would be for them, in company of ſo many and good Confederates, to be inferior to none of them; and that if they had once vanquiſhed the* Lacedæmonians *in* Peloponneſus, *their owne Dominion would become both the more aſſured, and the larger by it, and that no other would inuade their Territory hereafter.* Thus much was ſaid to the *Argiues* and their Confederates. But the *Lacedæmonians* encouraged one another, both of themſelues, and alſo by the * manner of their Diſcipline in the Warres, taking encouragement, being valiant men, by the commemoration of what they already knew, as being well acquainted, that a long actuall experience, conferred more to their ſafety, then any ſhort verball exhortation, though neuer ſo well deliuered. After this followed the battell.

The *Argiues* and their Confederates, marched to the charge with great violence, and fury. But the *Lacedæmonians*, ſlowly, and with many Flutes, according to their Military Diſcipline, not as a point of Religion, but that marching euenly, and by meaſure, their Rankes might not be diſtracted,

* λόχοι, *leſſe then ordinary Regiments with vs, more then ordinary Companies.*
* *Companies of 50, but more or leſſe in them as occaſion ſerued.*
* Enomatia, *the fourth part of a* Pentecoſtye. *By this account euery* Enomatia *had 32. euery* Pentecoſtye *128. euery Band of* λόχοι *512. the whole Army beſides the* Sciritæ *3584, and with the* Sciritæ *which are 600. 4184. which number riſeth alſo thus, 448 in ranke 8 in File, make 3584, and then the 600 Scirite, as before make 4184. light-armed Souldiers, which vſually farre exceeded the number of men of Armes are not reckoned.*

The hortatiue to the *Argiues*, and their Confederates.

The *Lacedæmonians* encourage one another.
* *They vſed before battell to ſing Songs containing encouragement, to dye for their Country.*

The fight.

A distracted, as the greatest Armies, when they march in the face of the Enemy vse to be.

Whilest they were yet marching vp, *Agis* the King thought of this course. All Armies doe thus; In the Conflict they extend their right Wing, so as it commeth in vpon the Flanke of the left Wing of the enemy; and this happeneth for that, that euery one through feare seeketh all he can to couer his vnarmed side, with the Shield of him that standeth next him on his right hand, conceiuing, that to be so locked together, is their best defence. The be-
B ginning hereof, is in the leader of the first File on the right hand, who euer striuing to shift his vnarmed side from the enemy, the rest vpon like feare follow after. And at this time, the *Mantineans* in the right Wing, had farre encompassed the *Sciritæ*: and the *Lacedæmonians* on the other side, and the *Tegeates*, were come in, yet farther, vpon the Flanke of the *Athenians*, by as much as they had the greater Army. Wherfore *Agis* fearing lest his left Wing should be encompassed, & supposing the *Mantineans* to be come in farre, signified vnto the *Sciritæ* and *Brasidians*, to draw out part of
C their Bands, and therewith to equalize their left Wing, to the right Wing of the *Mantineans*, and into the void space, he commanded to come vp *Hipponoidas*, and *Aristocles*, two Colonels with their Bands, out of the right Wing, and to fall in there, and make vp the breach: Conceiuing that more then enough would be still remaining in their right Wing, and that the left Wing opposed to the *Mantineans*, would be the stronger. But it happened, (for he commanded it in the very onset, and on the sodaine) both that *Aristocles*, and *Hipponoidas* refused to go to the place comman-
D ded (for which they were afterwards banished *Sparta*, as thought to haue disobeyed out of cowardise) and that the enemy had in the meane time also charged. And when those which he commanded to goe to the place of the *Sciritæ*, went not, they could no more reunite themselues, nor cloze againe the empty space. But the *Lacedæmonians*, though they had the worst at this time in euery point, for skill, yet in valour they manifestly shewed themselues superior. For after the fight was once begun, notwithstanding that the right Wing of the *Mantineans* did put to
E flight the *Sciritæ* & *Brasidians*, and that the *Mantineans*, together with their Confederates, and those 1000 chosen men of

The *Lacedæmonians* haue the disaduantage for order, but aduantage of valour.

of *Argos*, falling vpon them in Flanke, by the breach not yet clozed vp, killed many of the *Lacedæmonians*, and put to flight, and chaſed them to their Carriages, ſlaying alſo certaine of the elder ſort, left there for a guard, ſo as in this part the *Lacedæmonians* were ouercome. But with the reſt of the Army, and eſpecially the middle battell, where *Agis* was himſelfe, and thoſe which are called, *the* 300 *horſemen*, about him, they charged vpon the eldeſt of the *Argiues*, and vpon thoſe which are named, *the fiue Cohorts*, and vpon the *Cleonæans*, and *Ornеates*, and certaine *Athenians* aranged amongſt them, and put them all to flight. In ſuch ſort, as many of them neuer ſtrooke ſtroake, but as ſoone as the *Lacedæmonians* charged, gaue ground preſently, and ſome for feare to be ouertaken, were trodden vnder foot. As ſoone as the Army of the *Argiues* and their Confederates had in this part giuen ground, they began alſo to breake, on either ſide. The right Wing of the *Lacedæmonians* and *Tegeates* had now with their ſurpluſage of number hemmed the *Athenians* in, ſo as they had the danger on all hands, being within the circle, pend vp; and without it, already vanquiſhed. And they had been the moſt diſtreſſed part of all the Army had not their horſemen come in to helpe them. Withall it fell out that *Agis* when he perceiued the left Wing of his owne Army to labour, namely, that which was oppoſed to the *Mantineans*, and to thoſe thouſand *Argiues*, commanded the whole Army to goe and relieue the part ouercome. By which meanes the *Athenians*, and ſuch of the *Argiues* as together with them, were ouerlaid whilſt the Army paſſed by and declined them, ſaued themſelues at leaſure. And the *Mantineans* with their Confederates, and thoſe choſen *Argiues*, had no more mind now of preſsing vpon their enemies, but ſeeing their ſide was ouercome, and the *Lacedæmonians* approaching them, preſently turned their backs. Of the *Mantineans* the greateſt part were ſlaine, but of thoſe choſen *Argiues*, the moſt were ſaued, by reaſon the flight, and going off, was neither haſty nor long. For the *Lacedæmonians* fight long and conſtantly till they haue made the enemy to turne his backe, but that done, they follow him not farre.

The *Lacedæmonians* haue the victory.

The *Lacedæmonians* purſue not the enemy farre.

Thus or neere thus, went the battell, the greateſt that had been of a long time betweene *Grecians*, and *Grecians*, and of two the moſt famous Cities. The *Lacedæmonians* laying

A laying together the Armes of their slaine enemies, presently erected a Trophie, and rifled their dead bodies. Their owne dead they tooke vp, and carried them to *Tegea*, where they were also buried, and deliuered to the Enemie theirs, vnder truce. Of the *Argiues*, and *Orneates*, and *Cleoneans* were slaine 700. of the *Mantineans*, 200. and of the *Athenians*, with the *Æginetæ*, likewise 200. and both the Captaines. The Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians* were neuer pressed, and therfore their losse was not worth mentioning. And of the *Lacedæmonians* themselues, it is B hard to know the certainety, but it is said there were slaine three hundred.

Number of the dead.

When it was certaine they would fight, *Pleistoanax* the other King of the *Lacedæmonians*, and with him both old and yong, came out of the Citie to haue ayded the Armie, and came forth as farre as *Tegea*; but being aduertised of the victory, they returned. And the *Lacedæmonians* sent out to turne backe also those Confederates of theirs which were comming to them from *Corinth*, and from without the *Isthmus*. And then they also went home C themselues, and hauing dismissed their Confederates (for now were the *Carneian* Holidaies) celebrated that Feast. Thus in this one Battell they wiped off their disgrace with the *Grecians*: for they had beene taxed both with cowardise, for the blow they receiued in the Iland, and with imprudence and slackneſse in other occasions. But after this, their miscarriage was imputed to Fortune, and for their mindes, they were esteemed to haue been euer the same they had beene.

The *Lacedæmonians* recouer their reputation.

The day before this Battell, it chanced also that the D *Epidaurians* with their whole power inuaded the Territory of *Argos*, as being emptied much of men; and whilest the *Argiues* were abroad, killed many of those that were left behinde to defend it.

The *Epidaurians* enter the territory of *Argos*.

Also three thousand men of *Elis*, and a thousand *Athenians*, besides those which had beene sent before, being come after the Battell to ayde the *Mantineans*, marched presently all, to *Epidaurus*, & lay before it all the while the *Lacedæmonians* were celebrating the *Carneian* Holidaies: and assigning to euery one his part, began to take in the Citie with E a Wall. But the rest gaue ouer, only the *Athenians* quickly finished a Fortification, (which was their taske) wherein stood

The *Athenians* build a Fort before *Epidaurus*.

hood the Temple of *Iuno*. In it, amongst them all they left a Garrison, and went home euery one to his owne Citie. And so this Summer ended.

The end of the twelfth Summer.

Peace concluded betweene the *Argiues* and *Lacedæmonians*.

In the beginning of the Winter following, the *Lacedæmonians*, presently after the end of the *Carneian* Holidaies, drew out their Armie into the Field, and being come to *Tegea*, sent certaine propositions of agreement before to *Argos*. There were before this time many Citizens in *Argos*, well-affected to the *Lacedæmonians*, and that desired the deposing of the *Argiue People*, and now after the Battell, they were better able by much to perswade the people to composition, then they formerly were. And their designe was, first, to get a Peace made with the *Lacedæmonians*, and after that a League, and then at last to set vpon the Commons.

There went thither, *Lichas* the sonne of *Archesilaus*, entertainer of the *Argiues* in *Lacedæmon*, and brought to *Argos* two propositions, one of Warre, if the Warre were to proceed, another of Peace, if they would haue Peace. And after much contradiction, (for *Alcibiades* was also there) the *Lacedæmonian* Faction, that boldly now discouered themselues, preuailed with the *Argiues* to accept the proposition of Peace, which was this.

THE ARTICLES.

It seemeth good to the Councell of the Lacedæmonians, *to accord with the* Argiues *on these Articles:*

The Argiues *shall redeliuer vnto the* Orchomenians *their* * *children, and vnto the* Mænalians *their* * *men, and vnto the* Lacedæmonians *those* * *men that are at* Mantinea.

* *Hostages which they tooke of the* Orchomenians.
* *Hostages of the* Mænalians.
3 *Hostages of the* Arcadians *giuen to the* Lacedæmonians, *and by them kept in* Orchomenus, *and at the taking of* Orchomenus *by the* Argiue *League, carried away to* Mantinea.

They shall withdraw their Souldiers from Epidaurus, *and raze the Fortification there. And if the* Athenians *depart not from* Epidaurus *likewise, they shall bee held as Enemies both to the* Argiues *and to the* Lacedæmonians, *and also to the Confederates of them both.*

If the Lacedæmonians *haue any men of theirs in custody, they shall deliuer them euery one to his owne Citie.*

And for so much as concerneth the * *God, the* Argiues *shall accept composition with the* Epidaurians, *vpon an* * *Oath which they shall sweare, touching that controuersie, and the* Argiues *shall giue the forme of that Oath.*

* Apollo, *to whom the* Epidaurians *should haue sent a beast for sacrifice, in name of their pastures, but not doing it, the* Argiues *went about to force the to it.*
* *An Oath to send the beast for sacrifice hereafter.*

All the Cities of Peloponnesus, *both small and great, shall bee free, according to their patriall Lawes.*

If

A *If any without* Peloponnesus *shall enter into it, to doe it harme, the* Argiues *shall come forth to defend the same, in such sort as in a Common Councell shall by the* Peloponnesians *be thought reasonable.*

The Confederates of the Lacedæmonians, *without* Peloponnesus, *shall haue the same conditions which the Confederates of the* Argiues, *and of the* Lacedæmonians *haue, euery one holding his owne.*

This composition is to hold from the time, that they shall both parts haue shewed the same to their Confederates, and obtained their
B *consent.*

And if it shall seeme good to either part to adde or alter any thing, their Confederates shall be sent vnto, and made acquainted therewith.

These Propositions the *Argiues* accepted at first, and the Army of the *Lacedæmonians* returned from *Tegea*, to their owne City. But shortly after, when they had commerce together, the * same men went further, and so wrought, that the *Argiues* renouncing their League with the *Mantineans*, *Eleans*, and *Athenians*, made league and alliance with the
C *Lacedæmonians* in this forme.

It seemeth good to the Lacedæmonians *and* Argiues, *to make League and alliance for fifty yeeres, on these Articles:*

That either side shall allow vnto the other, equall and like trials of Iudgement, after the forme vsed in their Cities.

That the rest of the Cities of Peloponnesus *(this League and Alliance comprehending also them) shall be* free, both frō the lawes, *and payments of any other City then their owne, holding what they haue, and affording equall, and like tryals of iudgement, according to the forme vsed in their seuerall Cities.*

D *That euery of the Cities, Confederate with the* Lacedæmonians *without* Peloponnesus, *shall be in the same condition with the* Lacedæmonians, *and the Confederates of the* Argiues, *in the same with the* Argiues, *euery one holding his owne.*

That if at any time there shall need an expedition to be vndertaken in common, the Lacedæmonians, *and the* Argiues *shall consult thereof, and decree, as shall stand most with equity towards the Confederates; and that if any Controuersie arise betweene any of the Cities either within, or without* Peloponnesus, *about limits or other matter, they also shall de-*
E *cide it.*

That if any Confederate Citie bee at contention with

* *The* Lacedæmonian *faction.*

The League betweene the Argiues and Lacedæmonians.

* ἀντίγραφα ἐξ ἀντιβόλου.

another, it ſhall haue recourſe to their City, which they both ſhall A
think moſt indifferent, but the particular men of any one City, ſhall
be iudged according to the Lawes of the ſame.

Thus was the Peace and League concluded, and whatſoeuer one had taken from other in the Warre, or whatſoeuer one had againſt another otherwiſe, was all acquitted.

The *Argiues* and *Lacedæmonians* make an order that the *Athenians* ſhall quit the Fort.

Now when they were together ſettling their buſineſſe, they ordered, that the *Argiues* ſhould neither admit Herald or Ambaſſage from the *Athenians*, till they were gone out of *Peloponneſus*, and had quit the Fortification, nor ſhould make Peace or Warre with any, without conſent of the B
reſt.

They ſollicite the townes vpon *Thrace* to reuolt from the *Athenians*.

And amongſt other things which they did in this heat, they ſent Ambaſſadors from both their Cities, to the Townes lying vpon *Thrace*, and vnto *Perdiccas*, whom they alſo perſwaded to ſweare himſelfe of the ſame League. Yet he reuolted not from the *Athenians* preſently, but intended it, becauſe he ſaw the *Argiues* had done ſo; and was himſelfe alſo anciently deſcended out of *Argos*. They likewiſe renewed their old oath with the *Chalcideans*, and tooke another beſides it. C

Demoſthenes being ſent to fetch their Souldiers from the Fort, deſtroyeth the ſame by a wile to the *Epidaurians*.

The *Argiues* ſent Ambaſſadors alſo to *Athens*, requiring them to abandon the Fortification they had made againſt *Epidaurus*. And the *Athenians* conſidering that the Souldiers they had in it, were but few, in reſpect of the many other that were with them in the ſame, ſent *Demoſthenes* thither to fetch them away. He, when he was come, and had exhibited for a pretence, a certaine exerciſe of naked men without the Fort, when the reſt of the Garriſon were gone forth to ſee it, made faſt the Gates, and afterwards hauing renewed the League with the *Epidaurians*, the *A-* D
thenians by themſelues put the Fort into their hands.

The *Mantineans* forſake the League of *Athens*.

After the reuolt of the *Argiues* from the League, the *Mantineans* alſo, though they withſtood it at firſt, yet being too weake without the *Argiues*, made their Peace with the *Lacedæmonians*, and laid downe their command ouer the
* other Cities. And the *Lacedæmonians* and *Argiues*, with a thouſand men of either City, hauing ioyned their Armes, the *Lacedæmonians* firſt, with their ſingle power, reduced the gouernment of *Sicyon* to a *ſmaller number*, and then they both together diſſolued the *Democracy* at *Argos*. E

* *Which they had the leading of in* Arcadia.

Sicyon, and *Argos* reduced to *Oligarchies*.

And the *Oligarchy* was eſtabliſhed conformable to the State

A State of *Lacedæmon*. These things passed in the end of Winter, and neere the Spring. And so ended the foureteenth yeere of this Warre.

The next Summer the *Dictidians* seated in Mount *Athos*, reuolted from the *Athenians*, to the *Chalcideans*.

THE FIFTEENTH YEERE.
The *Dictidians* reuolt from *Athens*.

And the *Lacedæmonians* ordered the State of *Achaia*, after their owne forme, which before was otherwise. But the *Argiues*, after they had by little and little assembled themselues, and recouered heart, taking their time when the *Lacedæmonians* were celebrating their exercises of the naked
B youth, assaulted the *Few*, and in a battell fought within the City, the Commons had the victory, & some they slew, other they draue into exile. The *Lacedæmonians*, though those of their faction in *Argos* sent for them, went not a long time after, yet at last they adiourned the exercises, and came forth with intention to giue them aid, but hearing by the way, at *Tegea*, that the *Few* were ouercome, they could not be entreated, by such as had escaped thence, to goe on, but returning, went on with the celebration of their exercises. But afterwards, when there came Ambassadors vnto
C them, both from the *Argiues* in the City, & from them that were driuen out, there being present also their Confederates, and much alledged on either side, they concluded at last, that those in the City had done the wrong, and decreed to goe against *Argos* with their Army; but many delayes passed, and much time was spent betweene. In the meane time the common people of *Argos*, fearing the *Lacedæmonians*, & regaining the League with *Athens*, as conceiuing the same would turne to their very great aduantage, raise long walls from their City, downe to the Sea-shore; to the end that
D if they were shut vp by Land, they might yet, with the helpe of the *Athenians*, bring things necessary into the City by Sea. And with this their building, some other Cities of *Peloponnesus* were also acquainted. And the *Argiues*, vniuersally themselues, and wiues, and seruants, wrought at the wal; and had workemen, and hewers of stone from *Athens*. So this Summer ended.

Argos relapseth into a *Democracy*.

The *Argiues* come againe to the League of *Athens*, and with long walls take in a way from their City to the Sea.

The end of the fifteenth Summer.

The next Winter, the *Lacedæmonians* vnderstanding, that they were fortifying, came to *Argos* with their Army, they and their Confederates, all but the *Corinthians*; & some pra-
E ctice they had beside, within the City it selfe of *Argos*. The Army was commanded by *Agis the sonne of Archidamus*,

The *Lacedæmonians* Army comes to *Argos*, and razeth the wals which they were building.

King of the *Lacedæmonians*. But thoſe things which were practizing in *Argos*, and ſuppoſed to haue beene already mature, did not then ſucceed. Neuertheleſſe they tooke the walles that were then in building, and razed them to the ground; and then after they had taken *Hyſiæ*, a towne in the *Argiue* Territory, and ſlaine all the freemen in it, they went home, and were diſſolued euery one to his owne City. A

They take *Hyſiæ* a Towne in *Argia*.

After this, the *Argiues* went with an Army into *Phliaſia*, which when they had waſted, they went backe. They did it, becauſe the men of *Phlius* had receiued their Outlawes; for there the greateſt part of them dwelt. B

The *Argiues* ſpoyle the Territory of *Phliaſia*.

The ſame Winter the *Athenians* ſhut vp *Perdiccas* in *Macedonia*, from the vſe of the Sea; Obiecting that hee had ſworne the League of the *Argiues*, and *Lacedæmonians*, and that when they had prepared an Army, vnder the command of *Nicias the ſonne of Niceratus*, to goe againſt the *Chalcideans* vpon *Thrace*, and againſt *Amphipolis*, he had broken the League made betwixt them, and him; and by his departure, was the principall cauſe of the diſſolution of that Army, and was therefore an enemy. And ſo this Winter ended, and the fifteenth yeere of this Warre. C

The *Athenians* quarrell *Perdiccas*, and barre him the vſe of the Sea.

THE SIXTEENTH YEERE.

The next Summer went *Alcibiades* to *Argos*, with twenty Gallies, and tooke thence the ſuſpected *Argiues*, and ſuch as ſeemed to fauour of the *Lacedæmonian* faction, to the number of 300, and put them into the neereſt of the Ilands ſubiect to the *Athenian* State.

Alcibiades fetcheth away 300 Citizens of *Argos* for *Laconiſme*.

The *Athenians* made Warre alſo againſt the Ile of *Melos*, with 30 Gallies of their owne, 6 of *Chios*, and 2 of *Lesbos*. Wherein were of their owne, 1200 men of Armes, 300 Archers, and 20 Archers on horſebake, and of their Confederates, and Ilanders, about 1500 men of Armes. The *Melians* are a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians*, and therefore refuſed to be ſubiect, as the reſt of the Ilands were, vnto the *Athenians*; but reſted at the firſt newtrall, and afterwards when the *Athenians* put them to it, by waſting of their Land, they entred into open Warre. D

The *Athenians* warre againſt the Iland of *Melos*.

Now the *Athenian* Commanders *Cleomenes the ſonne of Lycomedes*, and *Licias the ſonne of Liſimachus*, being encamped vpon their Land with theſe forces, before they would hurt the ſame, ſent Ambaſſadors to deale with them firſt by way of conference. Theſe Ambaſſadors the *Melians* refuſed to bring before the multitude, but commanded them E

to

A to deliuer their message before the *Magistrates*, and the *Few*, and they accordingly said as followeth.

DIALOGVE BETWEENE THE ATHENIANS and MELIANS.

Ath.

SInce we may not speake to the multitude, for feare lest when they heare our perswasiue and vnanswerable Arguments, all at once in a continued Oration, they should chance to bee seduced, (for we know that this is the scope of your bringing vs to audience
B *before the* Few) *make surer yet that point, you that sit heere; answer you also to euery particular, not in a set speech, but presently interrupting vs, whensoeuer any thing shall bee said by vs, which shall seeme vnto you to be otherwise. And first answer vs, whether you like this motion, or not?*

Wherevnto the Councell of the *Melians* answered;

Mel. *The equity of a leasurely debate is not to be found fault withall; but this preparation of warre, not future, but already heere present, seemeth not to agree with the same. For we see that you are come to bee Iudges of the conference, and that the issue of it, if we bee*
C *superiour in argument, and therefore yeeld not, is likely to bring vs Warre; and if we yeeld, seruitude.*

Ath. *Nay if you be come together to reckon vp suspitions of what may bee, or to any other purpose, then to take aduice vpon what is present, and before your eyes, how to saue your Citie from destruction, let vs giue ouer. But if this be the point, let vs speake to it.*

Mel. *It is reason, and pardonable for men in our cases, to turne both their words and thoughts vpon diuers things: Howsoeuer, this consultation being held onely vpon the point of our safety; we are content, if you thinke good, to goe on with the course you haue propounded.*

D Ath. *As we, therefore, will not, for our parts, with faire pretences, (as That hauing defeated the* Medes, *our raigne is therefore lawfull, or That we come against you for iniury done) make a long discourse without being beleeued; so would we haue you also not expect to preuaile, by saying, either, That you therefore tooke not our parts, because you were a Colonie of the* Lacedæmonians; *or, that you haue done vs no iniury; but out of those things which we both of vs doe really thinke, let vs goe through, with that which is possible, both you, and wee, knowing, that in humane disputation, iustice is then only agreed on, when the necessity is equall. Whereas they that haue*
E *oddes of power, exact as much as they can, and the weake yeeld to such conditions as they can get.*

Mel.

Mel. Well then, (seeing you put the point of profit in the place of that of Iustice) we hold it profitable for our selues, not to ouerthrow a generall profit to all men, which is this, That men in danger, if they pleade reason, and equity, nay, though somewhat without the strict compasse of Iustice, yet it ought euer to doe them good; And the same most of all concerneth you, forasmuch as you shall else giue an example vnto others, of the greatest reuenge that can bee taken, if you chance to miscarry. A

Ath. As for vs, though our dominion should cease, yet wee feare not the sequell. For not they that command, as doe the Lacedæmonians, are cruell to those that are vanquished by them, (yet wee haue nothing to doe now with the Lacedæmonians,) but such as hauing beene in subiection, haue assaulted those that commanded them, and gotten the victory. But let the danger of that be to our selues. In the meane time, wee tell you this, that wee are here now, both to enlarge our owne dominion, and also to conferre about the sauing of your Citie. For wee would haue dominion ouer you, without oppressing you, and preserue you, to the profit of vs both. B

Mel. But how can it be profitable for vs to serue, though it be so for you to command?

Ath. Because you by obeying, shall saue your selues from extremity; and wee not destroying you, shall reape profit by you. C

Mel. But will you not accept that wee remaine quiet, and be your friends, (whereas before wee were your enemies,) and take part with neither?

Ath. No. For your enimity doth not so much hurt vs, as your friendship will be an argument of our weakenesse, and your hatred, of our power, amongst those whom we beare rule ouer.

Mel. Why? Doe your Subiects measure equity so, as to put those that neuer had to doe with you, and themselues, who for the most part haue beene your owne Colonies, and some of them after reuolt conquered, into one and the same consideration? D

Ath. Why not? For they thinke they haue reason on their side, both the one sort and the other; and that such as are subdued, are subdued by force, and such as are forborne, are so through our feare. So that by subduing you, besides the extending of our dominion ouer so many more Subiects, we shall also assure it the more ouer those wee had before, especially being masters of the Sea, and you Ilanders, and weaker (except you can get the victory) then others whom wee haue subdued already.

Mel. Doe you thinke then that there is no assurance in that which we propounded? For here againe (since driuing vs from the plea of equity, E

A equity, you perſwade vs to ſubmit to your profit) when we haue ſhewed you what is good for vs, we muſt endeuour to draw you to the ſame, as far forth as it ſhall be good for you alſo. As many therefore as now are neutrall, what doe you but make them your enemies, when beholding theſe your proceedings, they looke that hereafter you will alſo turne your Armes vpon them? And what is this, but to make greater the Enemies you haue already, and to make others your Enemies euen a-gainſt their wills, that would not elſe haue beene ſo?

Ath. We doe not thinke that they ſhall be euer the more our Enemies, who inhabiting any where in the Continent, will bee long ere
B they ſo much as keepe guard vpon their liberty againſt vs. But Ilanders vn ſubdued, as you bee, or Handers offended with the neceſsity of ſubiection which they are already in, theſe may indeed, by vnaduiſed courſes, put both themſelues and vs into apparent danger.

Mel. If you then to retaine your command, and your vaſſals, to get looſe from you, will vndergoe the vtmoſt of danger, would it not in vs that be already free, be great baſeneſſe and cowardiſe, if we ſhould not incounter any thing whatſoeuer, rather then ſuffer our ſelues to be brought into bondage?

Ath. No; if you aduiſe rightly. For you haue not in hand a match
C of valour vpon equall termes, wherein to forfeit your honour, but rather a conſultation vpon your ſafety, that you reſiſt not ſuch as be ſo farre your ouermatches.

Mel. But wee know, that in matter of Warre, the euent is ſometimes otherwiſe then according to the difference of the number in ſides. And that if we yeeld preſently, all our hope is loſt; whereas, if wee hold out, we haue yet a hope to keepe our ſelues vp.

Ath. Hope, the comfort of danger, when ſuch vſe it as haue to ſpare, though it hurt them, yet it deſtroyes them not. But to ſuch as ſet their reſt vpon it, (for it is a thing by nature prodigall) it at
D once by failing maketh it ſelfe knowne; and knowne, leaueth no place for future caution. Which let not be your owne caſe you that are but weake and haue no more but this one ſtake. Nor bee you like vnto many men, who though they may preſently ſaue themſelues by humane meanes, will yet when (vpon preſſure of the Enemie) their moſt apparent hopes faile them, betake themſelues to blinde ones, as Diuination, Oracles, and other ſuch things, which with hopes deſtroy men.

Mel. Wee thinke it (you well know) a hard matter for vs to com-
E bate your power and fortune, vnleſſe wee might doe it on equall termes. Neuertheleſſe we beleeue, that for fortune wee ſhall bee nothing inferiour, as hauing the Gods on our ſide, becauſe wee ſtand innocent,

innocent, against men vniust. And for power, what is wanting in A
vs, will be supplied by our League with the Lacedæmonians, who
are of necessity obliged if for no other cause, yet for consanguinities
sake, and for their owne honour to defend vs. So that we are confi-
dent, not altogether so much without reason, as you thinke.

Ath. As for the fauour of the Gods, we expect to haue it as
well as you, for we neither doe, nor require any thing contrary to what
mankind hath decreed, either concerning the worship of the Gods, or
concerning themselues. For of the Gods we thinke, according to the
common opinion, and of men, that for certaine, by necessity of Nature,
they will euery where raigne ouer such as they be to strong for. Nei- B
ther did we make this Law, nor are we the first that vse it made, but
as we found it, and shall leaue it to posterity for euer so also we vse it.
Knowing that you likewise, and others that should haue the same
power which we haue, would doe the same. So that for as much as
toucheth the fauour of the Gods, we haue in reason no feare of being
inferiour. And as for the opinion you haue of the Lacedæmoni-
ans, in that you beleeue they will helpe you for their owne honour, wee
blesse your innocent mindes, but affect not your folly. For the Lace-
dæmonians, though in respect of themselues, and the constitutions of
their owne Country, they are wont for the most part, to be generous, C
yet in respect of others, though much might be alledged, yet the shortest
way one might say it all thus, That most apparantly of all men, they
hold for honourable that which pleaseth, and for iust, that which
profiteth. And such an opinion maketh nothing for your now absurd
meanes of safety.

Mel. Nay for this same opinion of theirs we now the rather be-
leeue that they will not betray their owne Colony, the Melians; and
thereby become perfidious to such of the Grecians as be their friends,
and beneficiall to such as be their enemies.

Ath. You thinke not then that what is profitable, must bee also D
safe, and that which is iust and honourable, must be performed with
danger, which commonly the Lacedæmonians are least willing of
all men, to vndergoe for others.

Mel. But we suppose that they will vndertake danger for vs,
rather then for any other; and that they thinke that we will be more
assured vnto them, then vnto any other; because for action wee lye
neere to Peloponnesus, and for affection, are more faithfull then
others for our neerenesse of kinne.

Ath. The security of such as are at Warres, consisteth not in the
good will of those that are called to their aide, but in the power of E
those meanes they excell in. And this the Lacedæmonians
them-

A themselues vse to consider more then any; and therefore out of diffidence in their owne forces, they take many of their Confederates with them, though to an expedition but against their neighbours. Wherefore it is not likely, we being Masters of the sea, that they will euer passe ouer into an Iland.

Mel. Yea, but they may haue others to send; and the Cretique sea is wide, wherein to take another, is harder for him that is Master of it, then it is for him that will steale by, to saue himselfe. And if this course faile, they may turne their Armes against your owne Territory, or those of your Confederates not inuaded by Brasidas. And then you
B shall haue to trouble your selues, no more about a Territory that you haue nothing to do withall, but about your own and your Confederates.

Ath. Let them take which course of these they will, that you also may find by experience, and not be ignorant, that the Athenians, neuer yet gaue ouer siege, for feare of any diuersion vpon others. But we obserue, that whereas you said you would consult of your safety you haue not yet in all this discourse said any thing, which a man relying on, could hope to be preserued by. The strongest arguments you vse, are but future hopes, and your present power, is too short to defend you against the forces already aranged against you. You shall therefore
C take very absurd counsaile, vnlesse excluding vs, you make amongst your selues some more discreet conclusion; For when you are by your selues, you will no more set your thoughts vpon shame, which, when dishonour and danger stand before mens eyes for the most part vndoeth them. For many, when they haue foreseene into what dangers they were entring, haue neuertheless beene so ouercome by that forcible word, dishonour, that that which is but called dishonour, hath caused them to fall willingly into immedicable calamities & so to draw vpon themselues, really by their owne madnesse, a greater dishonour then could haue befalne them by fortune. Which you, if you deliberate
D wisely, will take heed of, and not thinke shame to submit to a most potent Citie, and that vpon so reasonable conditions, as of League, and of enioying your owne, vnder tribute. And seeing choice is giuen you of Warre, or safety, doe not out of peeuishnesse take the worse. For such doe take the best course, who though they giue no way to their equals, yet doe fairely accomodate to their superiours, and towards their inferiours, vse moderation. Consider of it therefore, whilest we stand off, and haue often in your minde, that you deliberate of your Country, which is to be happy or miserable in & by this one consultation. So the Athenians went aside from the conference; and the Melians
E after they had decreed the very same things which before they had spoken, made answer vnto them in this manner.

Mel. *Men of* Athens, *our resolution is no other then what you haue heard before; nor will we in a small portion of time, ouerthrow that liberty in which our City hath remained for the space of 700 yeeres since it was first founded. But trusting to the fortune by which the* Gods *haue preserued it hetherto, and vnto the helpe of men, that is, of the* Lacedæmonians, *wee will doe our best to maintaine the same. But this we offer;* To be your friends; Enemies to neither side; and you to depart out of our Land after agreement, such as we shall both thinke fit. Thus the *Melians* answered; to which the *Athenians*, the conference being already broken off, replyed thus.

Ath. *You are the onely men, (as it seemeth to vs by this 'consultation) that thinke future things more certaine, then things seene, and behold things doubtfull, through desire to haue them true, as if they were already come to passe. As you attribute and trust the most, vnto the* Lacedæmonians, *and to* Fortune, *and* Hopes; *So will you be the most deceiued.* This said, the *Athenian* Ambassadors departed to their Campe, and the Commanders, seeing that the *Melians* stood out, fell presently to the War, and diuiding the worke among the seuerall Cities, encompassed the City of the *Melians* with a wall. The *Athenians* afterwards, left some forces of their owne, and of their Confederates, for a guard, both by Sea and Land, and with the greatest part of their Army, went home. The rest that were left, besieged the place.

The *Athenians* and *Melians* agree not.

The City of *Melos* besieged.

About the same time, the *Argiues*, making a Road into *Phliasia*, lost about 80 of their men, by ambush laid for them by the men of *Phlius*, and the outlawes of their owne City.

The *Argiues* loose 80 men by an Ambushment of the *Phliasians*.

And the *Athenians* that lay in *Pylus*, fetched in thither a great booty from the *Lacedæmonians*; notwithstanding which the *Lacedæmonians* did not warre vpon them, as renouncing the Peace, but gaue leaue by Edict onely, to any of their people that would to take booties reciprocally in the Territory of the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* in *Pylus* infest *Laconia*.

The *Corinthians* alſo made Warre vpon the *Athenians*, but it was for certaine controuersies of their owne, and the rest of *Peloponnesus* stirred not.

The *Corinthians* Warre on the *Athenians*.

The *Melians* also tooke that part of the wall of the *Athenians* by an assault in the night, which looked towards the Market place, and hauing slaine the men that guarded it, brought into the Towne both Corne, and other prouision what soeuer they could buy for money, and so returned

The *Melians* teleeue their Towne.

A and lay ſtill. And the *Athenians* from thenceforth kept a better watch. And ſo this Summer ended.

The end of the fifteenth Summer.

The Winter following, the *Lacedæmonians* being about to enter with their Army into the Territory of the *Argiues*, when they perceiued that the ſacrifices which they made on the border, for their paſſage, were not acceptable, returned. And the *Argiues*, hauing ſome of their owne Citie in ſuſpition, in regard of this deſigne of the *Lacedæmonians*, apprehended ſome of them, and ſome eſcaped.

About the ſame time, the *Melians* tooke another part
B of the wall of the *Athenians*, they that kept the ſiege, being then not many. But this done, there came afterwards freſh forces from *Athens*, vnder the Conduct of *Philocrates the ſonne of Demeas*. And the Towne being now ſtrongly beſieged, there being alſo within ſome that practiſed to haue it giuen vp, they yeelded themſelues to the diſcretion of the *Athenians*, who ſlew all the men of Military age, made ſlaues of the women and children, and inhabited the place with a Colony ſent thither afterwards, of fiue hundred
C men of their owne.

* * *

D

E

ANTIENT SICILY,
ACCORDING TO THE
Description of
Philip Cluverius

Aeoliæ insulæ
Ericusa
Phœnicusa
Strongyle
Pelorus promontor.
Pelorus
Chalcidicus
Neptunus
mon tes.
SICULUM
MARE.
Pachynum promont.
Camarina
Mesopotamum
Butra prom.
Odysseæ
Odysseæ promont
montes
Mor
ge
Gyas ager
Cacyparis
Polyzelum
Galata
Galatia
Galarina
Actna
Inessa: quæ et Actna
Hybla maior
Leontini
Læstrygonii
Ruthia
Syracusæ
Ortygia insula
Cyane fons
Olympium
Hybla minor
Megara
Helorus amnis
Pachynus
Phœnicus fluvius et portus
Neetum
Mutyca
Camarina
Hyblæi montes
Hyblæi nov. quæ et Herea
Dianæ fons
Cauliana portus
Gelonicampi
Phalaris
Macherium
Echetla
Caulonia
Nonyma
Heraclea
Philosophiana
Gela fluvius
Agrigentum
Phintias
Palica
Palicorum lacus
Camicus
Perusa lacus
Lilybæum promont
Ciphonia
Taurus promont
Lucopetra promont
Scylla
Rhegium
Messana
Tyndaris
Abacænum
Myle
Galæsus
Amestratus
Metastratum
Capytium
Tissa
Templum Veneris
Callipolis vel Bidis
Centuripæ
Adranum
Inachara
Symæthus
Tabe
Assorus
Chrysas
Longanus
Perusa
Palica
Nonyma
Heraclea
Philosophiana
Echetla
Caulonia
Gela
Agrigentum
Phintias
Camarina
Hyblæi
Dianæ fons
Cauliana portus
Odysseæ promont
Pachynum promont.
Pachynus portus
Phœnicus fluvius et portus
Neetum
Mutyca
Camarina
Hyblæi montes
Cyane fons
Olympium
Cacyparis
Polyzelum
Megara
Hybla maior
Hybla minor
Leontini
Læstrygonii
Ruthia
Syracusæ
Ortygia insula
Taurus promont
Ciphonia

A

THE SIXTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORY OF THVCYDIDES.

B

The principall Contents.

Sicily *described. The causes and pretences of the* Sicilian *Warre, with the consultation and preparation for the same.* Alcibiades, *one of the Generals of the Army accused of defacing the Images of* Mercury, *is suffered for that present to depart with the Armie.* C *The* Athenian *Army commeth to* Rhegium, *thence to* Catana. *From thence* Alcibiades *is sent for home, to make answer to his accusations, and by the way escaping, goeth to* Lacedæmon. Nicias *encampeth neere* Syracuse, *and hauing ouercome the Armie of the* Syracusians *in Battell, returneth to* Catana. *The* Syracusians *procure aydes amongst the rest of the* Sicilians. Alcibiades *instigateth and instructeth the* Lacedæmonians *against his Countrey.* Nicias *returneth from* Catana *to* Syracuse, *and encamping in* Epipolæ, *besiegeth the Citie, and beginneth to enclose them with a double Wall, which was almost brought to perfection in the beginning of the eighteenth yeere of this Warre.* D

THe same Winter the *Athenians* with greater Forces then they had before sent out with *Laches* and *Eurymedon*, resolued to goe againe into *Sicily*, and if they could wholly to subdue it. Being for the most part ignorant both of the greatnesse of the Iland, and of the multitude of people, as well *Greekes* E as *Barbarians* that inhabited the same; and that they vndertooke

The *Athenians* resolue to inuade *Sicily*.

The greatnesse of *Sicily*, and the inhabitants.

dertooke a Warre not much leſſe then the Warre againſt the *Peloponneſians*. A

For the compaſſe of *Sicily* is little leſſe then eight dayes ſayle for a Ship, and though ſo great, is yet diuided with no more then twenty Furlongs, Sea meaſure, from the Continent.

* ὄκτω.

It was inhabited in Old time, thus; and theſe were the Nations that held it. The moſt ancient Inhabitants in a part thereof, are ſaid to haue been the *Cyclopes*, and *Laeſtrigones*, of whoſe Stocke, and whence they came, or to what place they remoued, I haue nothing to ſay. Let that ſuffice which the *Poets* haue ſpoken, and which euery particular man hath learned of them. B

Cyclopes and Laeſtrigones.

After them, the firſt that appeare to haue dwelt therein, are the *Sicanians*, as they ſay themſelues; nay, before the other, as being the * naturall breed of the Iland. But the truth is, they were *Iberians*, and driuen away by the *Ligyans* from the bankes of *Sicanus*, a Riuer on which they were ſeated in *Iberia*. And the Iland from them came to be called *Sicania*, which was before *Trinacria*. And theſe two inhabit yet in the Weſterne parts of *Sicily*. C

Sicanians.

* αὐτόχθονες.

Sicania, Trinacria.

After the taking of *Ilium*, certaine *Troians*, eſcaping the hands of the *Grecians*, landed with ſmall Boats in *Sicily*, and hauing planted themſelues on the borders of the *Sicanians*, both the Nations in one were called *Elymi*, and their Cities were *Eryx*, and *Egeſta*.

Troians.

Hard by theſe came and dwelled alſo certaine *Phoceans*, who comming from *Troy*, were by tempeſt carried firſt into *Africke*, and thence into *Sicily*. But the *Siculi* paſſed out of *Italy*, (for there they inhabited) flying from the *Opici*, hauing, as is moſt likely, and as it is reported, obſerued the Straight, and with a fore-wind, gotten ouer, in Boats which they made ſuddenly on the occaſion, or perhaps by ſome other meanes. D

Siculi.

There is at this day a people in *Italy*, called *Siculi*. And *Italy* it ſelfe got that name after the ſame manner, from a King of *Arcadia*, called *Italus*. Of theſe a great Army croſsing ouer into *Sicily*, ouerthrew the *Sicanians* in battell, and draue them into the South, and Weſt parts of the ſame; and in ſtead of *Sicania*, cauſed the Iland to be called *Sicilia*, and held and inhabited the beſt of the Land, for neere 300 yeeres after their going ouer, and before any of E

the

A the *Grecians* came thither. And till now, they poſſeſſe the midland, and North parts of the Iland.

Alſo the *Phœnicians* inhabited the Coaſt of *Sicily* on all ſides, hauing taken poſſeſsion of certaine Promontories, and little Ilands adiacent, for Trades ſake with the *Sicilians*. But after that many *Grecians* were come in by Sea, the *Phœnicians* abandoned moſt of their former habitations, and vniting themſelues, dwelt in *Motya*, and *Soloeis*, and *Panormus*, vpon the borders of the *Elymi*; as relying vpon their League with the *Elymi*, and becauſe alſo, from thence, lay B the ſhorteſt Cut ouer vnto *Carthage*. Theſe were the *Barbarians*, and thus they inhabited *Sicily*.

Phœnicians.

Now for *Grecians*, firſt a Colony of *Chalcideans*, vnder *Thucles* their Conductor, going from *Euboea*, built *Naxus*, and the Altar of *Apollo* * *Archegetes*, now ſtanding without the City, vpon which the * Ambaſſadors employed to the Oracles, as often as they lanch from *Sicily*, are accuſtomed to offer their firſt ſacrifice. The next yeere *Archias*, a man of the *Herculean* Family, carried a Colony from *Corinth*, and became Founder of *Syracuſe*, where firſt he C draue the *Siculi* out of that * Iland, in which the inner part of the City now ſtandeth, not now enuironed wholly with the Sea, as it was then. And in proceſſe of time, when the City alſo that is without, was taken in with a wall, it became a populous Citie.

Chalcideans.

* *Id eſt*, Chiefe guide.

* *Bivoi.*

Corinthians.

* Naſus, Ortygia, *an Iland part of the citie of Syracuſe.*

In the fifth yeere after the building of *Syracuſe*, *Thucles*, and the *Chalcideans*, going from *Naxus*, built *Leontium*, expelling thence the *Siculi*, and after that *Catana*, but they that went to *Catana*, choſe *Euarchus* for their Founder. About the ſame time arriued in *Sicily*, alſo *Lamis*, with a Co- D lony from *Megara*, and firſt built a certaine Towne called *Trotilus*, vpon the Riuer *Pantacius*, where for a while after he gouerned the eſtate of his Colony in common with the *Chalcideans* of *Leontium*. But afterwards, when he was by them thruſt out, and had builded *Thapſus*, he dyed, and the reſt going from *Thapſus*, vnder the Conduct of *Hyblon*, a King of the *Siculi*, built *Megara*, called *Megara-Hyblea*. And after they had there inhabited 245 yeeres, they were by *Gelon* a *Tyrant* of *Syracuſe*, put out both of the City and Territory. But before they were driuen thence, namely, 100 E yeeres after they had built it, they ſent out *Pammilus*, and built the Citie of *Selinus*. This *Pammilus* came to them

Megareans.

from

from *Megara*, their owne Metropolitan City, and so together with them founded *Selinus*. *Gela* was built in the 45 A
yeere after *Syracuse*, by *Antiphemus*, that brought a Colony
Rhodians and Cretans. out of *Rhodes*, and by *Entymus*, that did the like out of *Crete*,
ioyntly. This City was named after the name of the
Riuer, *Gela*, and the place where now the City standeth,
and which at first they walled in, was called *Lindij*. And
the Lawes which they established, were the *Dorique*.
About 108 yeeres after their owne foundation, they of
Gela built the Citie of *Acragante*, calling the City after the
name of the Riuer, and for their Conductors, choze *Aristo-* B
nous, and *Pythilus*, and gaue vnto them the Lawes of *Gela*.
Messana first built by Pi- *Zancle* was first built by *Pirates*, that came from *Cumæ*, a
rats of Cumæ. *Chalcidean* City in *Opicia*; but afterwards there came a mul-
titude and helped to people it, out of *Chalcis*, and the rest of
Eubœans. *Eubœa*; and their Conductors were *Prieres*, and *Crataemenes*; one of *Cumæ*, the other of *Chalcis*. And the name of
the City was at first *Zancle*, so named by the *Sicilians*, be-
cause it hath the forme of a Sicle, and the *Sicilians* call a
Sicle, *Zanclon*. But these Inhabitants were afterwards cha-
Samians and other Ionians. sed thence by the *Samians*, and other people of *Ionia*, that in C
their flight from the *Medes*, fell vpon *Sicily*.

Rhegium. After this, *Anaxilas*, Tyrant of *Rhegium*, draue out the
Samians, and peopling the City with a mixt people of
them, and his owne, in stead of *Zancle*, called the place by
the name of his owne Countrey from whence he was an-
ciently descended, *Messana*. After *Zancle*, was built *Hime-*
ra, by *Euclides*, *Simus*, and *Sacon*; the most of which Colo-
ny were *Chalcideans*; but there were also amongst them cer-
taine Outlawes of *Syracuse*, the vanquished part of a Sedi-
tion, called the *Myletidæ*. Their language grew to a D
Meane betweene the *Chalcidean*, and *Dorique*; but the lawes
Acræ, Chasmenæ. of the *Chalcidean* preuailed. *Acræ*, and *Chasmenæ*, were
built by the *Syracusians*. *Acræ* 20 yeeres after *Syracuse*; and
Camarina. *Chasmenæ*, almost 20 after *Acræ*. *Camarina* was at first
built by the *Syracusians*, very neere the 135 yeere of their
owne Citie, *Dascon*, and *Menecolus*, being the Conductors.
But the *Camarineans* hauing been by the *Syracusians* driuen
from their seat by Warre, for reuolt, *Hippocrates*, Tyrant
of *Gela*, in processe of time, taking of the *Syracusians*, that
Territory for ransome of certaine *Syracusian* prisoners, be- E
came their Founder, and placed them in *Camerina* againe.

After

A After this againe, hauing beene driuen thence by *Gelon* they were planted the third time in the same Citie. These were the Nations, *Greekes* and *Barbarians*, that inhabited *Sicily*.

And though it were thus great, yet the *Athenians* longed very much to send an Armie against it, out of a desire to bring it all vnder their subiection (which was the true motiue) but as hauing withall this faire pretext of aiding their kindred & new Confederates. But principally they were instigated to it by the Ambassadors of *Egesta* who were at
B *Athens*, and earnestly pressed them thereto. For bordering on the territory of the *Selinuntians*, they had begun a War about certain things concerning marriage, & about a piece of ground that lay doubtfully between them. And the *Selinuntians* hauing leagued themselues with the *Syracusians*, infested them with War both by Sea and by Land. Insomuch as the *Egesteans* putting the *Athenians* in minde of their former League with the *Leontines*, made by *Laches*, prayed them to send a Fleet thither in their ayde, alleaging amongst many other things, this as principall, That
C if the *Syracusians* who had driuen the *Leontines* from their seat, should passe without reuenge taken on them, and so proceed by consuming the rest of the allies of the *Athenians* there, to get the whole power of *Sicily* into their hands, it would be dangerous, lest hereafter some time or other, being *Dorians*, they should with great Forces ayde the *Dorians* for affinity, and being a Colonie of the *Peloponnesians*, ioyne with the *Peloponnesians*, that sent them out, to pull downe the *Athenian* Empire. That it were wisdome therefore, with those Confederates they yet retain, to make head
D against the *Syracusians*, and the rather, because for the defraying of the Warre, the *Egesteans* would furnish money sufficient, of themselues. Which things when the *Athenians* had often heard in their Assemblies, fro the mouthes of the *Egestean* Ambassadours, and of their Aduocates and Patrons, they decreed to send Ambassadors to *Egesta*, to see first, whether there were in their Treasury & Temples so much wealth as they said there was, and to bring word in what termes the War stood betweene that City & the *Selinuntians*. & Ambassadors were sent into *Sicily* accordingly.

The cause and pretence of the *Athenians* to inuade it.

E The same Winter the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates, all but the *Corinthians*, hauing drawn out their forces into

The *Lacedæmonians* waste part of *Argolis*, and put the Outlawes of *Argos* into *Orneæ*.

into the Territory of the *Argiues*, wasted a small part of their fields, and carried away certaine Cart-loades of their Corne. Thence they went to *Ornea*, and hauing placed there the *Argiue* Outlawes, left with them a few others of the rest of the Armie, and then making a composition for a certaine time, that they of *Ornea* and those *Argiues* should not wrong each other, they carried their Armie home. But the *Athenians* arriuing not long after with 30. Gallies, and 600. men of Armes, the people of *Argos* came also forth with their whole power, and ioyning with them, sate downe betimes in the morning before *Ornea*. But when at night the Army went somewhat farre off to lodge, they within fled out, and the *Argiues* the next day perceiuing it, pulled *Ornea* to the ground, and went home; and so also did the *Athenians* not long after with their Gallies,

The *Athenians* warre vpon *Macedonia*.

Also the *Athenians* transported certaine Horsemen by Sea, part of their owne, and part *Macedonian* fugitiues, that liued with them, into *Methone*, and ratuaged the Territorie of *Perdiccas*. And the *Lacedæmonians* sent vnto the *Chalcideans* vpon *Thrace*, who held Peace with the *Athenians* from ten dayes to ten dayes, appointing them to ayde *Perdiccas*. But they refused. And so ended the Winter, and the sixteenth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

THE SEVENTEENTH YEERE.

The *Athenians* decree the Voyage of *Sicily*, and *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, and *Lamachus* for Generals,

The next Summer, early in the Spring, the *Athenian* Ambassadours returned from *Sicily*, and the Ambassadors of *Egesta* with them, and brought, in siluer vncoined, sixtie Talents, for a moneths pay of sixtie Gallies, which they would intreat the *Athenians* to send thither. And the *Athenians* hauing called an Assembly, and heard both from the *Egestæans* and their own Ambassadors, amongst other perswasiue, but vntrue Allegations, touching their Money, how they had great store ready, both in their Treasurie and Temples, decreed the sending of sixtie Gallies into *Sicily*, and *Alcibiades* the sonne of *Clinias*, *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, and *Lamachus* the sonne of *Xenophanes*, for Commanders, with authority absolute, the which were to ayde the people of *Egesta* against the *Selinuntians*, and withall, if they had time spare, to plant the *Leontines* anew in their Citie, and to order all other the affaires of *Sicily*, as they should thinke most for the profit of the *Athenians*.

Fiue

A Fiue dayes after this the people assembled againe, to consult of the meanes how most speedily to put this *Armada* in readinesse, and to decree such things as the Generals should further require for the Expedition. But *Nicias* hauing heard that himselfe was chosen for one of the Generals, and conceiuing that the State had not well resolued, but affected the Conquest of all *Sicily*, a great matter vpon small and superficiall pretences, stood forth, desiring to haue altred this the *Athenians* purpose, and spake as followeth.

B

THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

THough this Assembly was called to deliberate of our preparation, & of the maner how to set forth our Fleet for Sicily; *yet to me it seemeth, that we ought rather, once again, to consult, whether it be not better, not to send it at all, then vpon a short deliberation in so weighty an affaire, and vpon the credit of strangers, to draw vpon our selues an impertinent Warre. For my owne part,*
C *I haue honour by it; and for the danger of my person, I esteeme it the least of all men, not but that I thinke him a good member of the Common-wealth, that hath regard also to his owne person and estate: for such a man especially will desire the publike to prosper, for his owne sake. But as I haue neuer spoken heretofore, so nor now will I speake any thing that is against my conscience, for gaining to my selfe a prehominence of honour; but that onely which I apprehend for the best. And although I am sure, that if I goe about to perswade you to preserue what you already hold, and not to hazard things certaine, for vncertaine and future, my words will bee too*
D *weake to preuaile against your humour; yet this I must needes let you know, that neither your haste is seasonable, nor your desires easie to be atchieued. For I say, that going thither, you leaue many Enemies heere behinde you, and more you endeuour to draw hither. You perhaps thinke that the League will bee firme, that you haue made with the* Lacedæmonians, *which though as long as you stir not, may continue a League in name, (for so some haue made it of our owne side) yet if any considerable forces of ours chance to miscary, our enemies will soone renew the Warre, as hauing made the peace, constrained by calamities, and vpon termes of more dishonor*
E *and necessity then our selues. Besides, in the League it selfe, we haue many things controuerted; and some there be, that refuse vtterly*

*The Corinthians.
*The Bœotians.

to accept it, and they none of the weakest, whereof * some are now in open Warre against vs, and * others, because the Lacedæmonians stir not, maintaine onely a Truce with vs from ten to ten dayes, and so are contented yet to hold their hands. But peraduenture when they shall heare that our power is distracted (which is the thing wee now hasten to doe) they will bee glad to ioyne in the Warre with the Sicilians against vs, the confederacy of whom they would heretofore haue valued aboue many other. It behoueth vs therefore to consider of these things, and not to run into new dangers, when the state of our owne Citie hangeth vnsettled, nor seeke a new dominion, before we assure that which we already haue. For the Chalcideans of Thrace, after so many yeeres reuolt, are yet vnreduced: and from others in diuers parts of the Continent, we haue but doubtfull obedience. But the Egestæans, being forsooth our Confederates, and wronged, they in all haste must be ayded; though to right vs on those by whom we haue a long time our selues beene wronged, that wee deferre. And yet if we should reduce the Chalcideans into subiection, wee could easily also keepe them so. But the Sicilians, though wee vanquish them, yet being many, and farre off, wee should haue much adoe to hold them in obedience. Now it were madnesse to inuade such, whom conquering, you cannot keepe, and failing, should lose the meanes for euer after to attempt the same againe. As for the Sicilians, it seemeth vnto me, at least, as things now stand, that they shall bee of lesse danger to vs, if they fall vnder the Dominion of the Syracusians, then they are now; And yet this is it that the Egestæans would most affright vs with: for now the States of Sicily in seuerall, may perhaps be induced, in fauour of the Lacedæmonians, to take part against vs: whereas then, being reduced into one, it is not likely they would hazard with vs state against state. For by the same meanes that they, ioyning with the Peloponnesians may pull downe our Dominion, by the same it would bee likely that the Peloponnesians would subuert theirs. The Grecians there will feare vs most, if we goe not at all; next, if we but shew our Forces, and come quickly away. But if any misfortune befall vs, they will presently despise vs, and ioyne with the Grecians here to inuade vs. For wee all know, that those things are most admired which are farthest off, and which least come to giue proofe of the opinion conceiued of them. And this (Athenians) is your owne case now with the Lacedæmonians, and their Confederates, whom because beyond your hope you haue ouercome, in those things for which at first you feared them, you now in contempt of them, turne your Armes vpon Sicily. But we ought not to be puft vp vpon the misfortunes of our enemies, but to bee confident then

A *then onely, when we haue mastered their designes. Nor ought wee to thinke that the* Lacedæmonians *set their mindes on any thing else, but how they may yet for the late disgrace, repaire their reputation, if they can, by our ouerthrow, and the rather because they haue so much, and so long laboured to win an opinion in the world of their valour. The question with vs therfore (if we be well aduised) will not be of the* Egestæans *in* Sicily, *but how we may speedily defend our Citie against the insidiation of them that fauour the* Oligarchy. *Wee must remember also that we haue had now some short recreation from a late great Plague, and great Warre, and thereby are improued both*
B *in men and money; which it is most meet we should spend here vpon our selues, and not vpon these Outlawes which seeke for aide. Seeing it maketh for them, to tell vs a specious lye; who contributing onely words, whilest their friends beare all the danger, if they speed well, shal be disobliged of thankes, if ill, vndoe their friends for company. Now if there be any * man here; that, for ends of his owne, as being glad to be Generall, especially being yet too yong to haue charge in chiefe, shall aduise the expedition, to the end he may haue admiration for his expence vpon horses, and helpe from his place to defray that expence, suffer him not to purchase his priuate honour and splendor with the*
C *danger of the publike fortune. Beleeue rather that such men though they robbe the publique, doe neuertheless consume also their priuate wealth. Besides, the matter it selfe is full of great difficulties, such as it is not fit for a yong man to consult of; much lesse hastily to take in hand. And I seeing those now that sit by and abette the same man, am fearefull of them, and doe on the other side exhort the elder sort (if any of them sit neere those other) not to be ashamed to deliuer their minds freely; as fearing, that if they giue their voyce against the Warre, they should be esteemed cowards; nor to doate, (as they doe) vpon things absent, knowing that by passion, the fewest actions*
D *and by reason the most doe prosper; but rather for the benefit of their Countrey, which is now cast into greater danger, then euer before, to hold vp their hands on the other side, and decree,* That the *Sicilians*, within the limits they now enioy, not misliked by you, and with liberty to saile by the shoare, in the *Ionian* Gulfe, and in the maine of the *Sicilian* Sea, shall possesse their owne, and compound their differences within themselues. *And for the* Egestæans, *to answer them in particular, thus*; That as without the *Athenians* they had begun the War against the *Selinuntians*, so they should without them
E likewise end it. *And*, that we shall no more hereafter, as wee haue vsed to doe, make such men our Confederates, as when

* He glanceth at Alcibiades.

when they doe iniury, we muſt maintaine it, and when we require their aſsiſtance, cannot haue it. *And you the Preſident, (if you thinke it your office to take care of the Common-wealth, and deſire to be a good member of the ſame) put theſe things once more to the queſtion, and let the Athenians ſpeake to it againe. I thinke (if you be afraid to infringe the orders of the Aſſembly) that before ſo many witneſſes, it will not be made a crime, but that you ſhall be rather thought a Phyſitian of your Country that hath ſwallowed down euill councell. And he truely diſchargeth the duty of a Preſident, who laboureth to doe his Country the moſt good, or at leaſt will not willingly doe it hurt.* Thus ſpake *Nicias*.

The motiues of *Alcibiades* to further his voyage.

But the moſt of the *Athenians* that ſpake after him, were of opinion, that the voyage ought to proceed, the Decree already made, not to be reuerſed. Yet ſome there were that ſaid to the contrary. But the expediton was moſt of all preſſed by *Alcibiades the ſonne of Clinias*, both out of deſire he had to croſſe *Nicias*, with whom he was likewiſe at oddes in other points of State, and alſo for that he had glanced at him inuidiouſly in his Oration, but principally for that he affected to haue charge, hoping that himſelfe ſhould be the man, to ſubdue both *Sicily* and *Carthage*, to the State of *Athens*, and withall, if it ſucceeded, to increaſe his owne priuate wealth and glory. For being in great eſtimation with the Citizens, his deſires were more vaſte, then for the proportion of his eſtate, both in maintaining of horſes, and other his expences, was meet. Which proued afterwards none of the leaſt cauſes of the ſubuerſion of the *Athenian* Common-wealth. For moſt men fearing him, both for his exceſſe in things that concerned his perſon, and forme of life, and for the greatneſſe of his ſpirit, in euery particular action he vndertooke, as one that aſpired to the Tyranny, they became his enemy; And although for the publique, he excellently managed the Warre, yet euery man priuately diſpleaſed with his courſe of life, gaue the charge of the Warres to others, and thereby, not long after, ouerthrew the State; *Alcibiades* at this time ſtood forth, and ſpake to this effect.

THE

A

THE ORATION OF ALCIBIADES.

MEN of Athens, *It both belongeth vnto me, more then to any other, to haue this charge, and withall, I thinke my selfe (for I must needs begin with this, as hauing beene touched by* Nicias,*) to be worthy of the same. For those things, for which I am so much spoken of, doe indeed purchase glory to my progenitors, and my selfe, but to the Common-wealth, they conferre both*
B *glory and profit. For the* Grecians *haue thought our Citie, a mighty one, euen aboue the truth, by reason of my braue appearance at the* Olympian Games*; whereas before they thought easily to haue warred it downe. For I brought thither seuen Chariots, and not onely wonne the first, second, and fourth prize, but carried also in all other things, a magnificence worthy the honour of the victory. And in such things as these, as there is honour to be supposed, according to the Law; so is there also a power conceiued, vpon sight of the thing done. As for my* expences in the Citie, vpon setting forth of shewes, or whatsoeuer else is remarkeable in me, though*
C *naturally it procure enuy in other Citizens, yet to Strangers, this also is an Argument of our greatnesse. Now, it is no vnprofitable course of life, when a man shall at his priuate cost, not onely benefit himselfe, but also the Common-wealth. Nor doth he that beareth himselfe high vpon his owne worth, and refuseth to make himselfe fellow with the rest, wrong the rest: for if he were in distresse, he should not finde any man that would share with him in his calamity. Therefore, as we are not so much as saluted when we be in misery; so let them likewise be content to be contemned of vs when we flourish; or if they require equality, let them also giue it. I know that*
D *such men, or any man else, that excelleth in the glory of any thing whatsoeuer, shall as long as he liueth be enuied, principally of his equals, and then also of others, amongst whom he conuerseth; but with posterity, they shall haue kindred claimed of them, though there be none; and his Country will boast of him, not as of a stranger, or one that had been a man of leud life, but as their owne Citizen, and one that had atchieued worthy and laudable acts. This being the thing I ayme at, and for which I am renowned, consider now whether I administer the publique the worse for it or not. For hauing reconciled vnto you the*
E *most potent States of* Peloponnesus *without much, either danger, or cost, I compelled the* Lacedæmonians *to stake all that euer they had, vpon the Fortune of one day of* Mantinea.

* χορηγίαι, the exhibition of maskes, Games or other festiuall spectacles.

And

And this hath my youth and Madnesse, supposed to haue beene very mad esse, with familiar and fit words, wrought vpon the power of the Peloponnesians, and shewing reason for my passion, made my madnesse now no longer to be feared. But as long as I flourish with it, and Nicias is esteemed fortunate, make you vse of both our seruices. And abrogate not your Decree touching the voyage into Sicily, as though the power were great you are to encounter withall. For, the number wherewith their Cities are populous, is but of promiscuous Nations, easily shifting, and easily admitting new commers; and consequently not sufficiently armed any of them for the defence of their bodies, nor furnished, as the custome of the place appointeth, to fight for their Countrey. But what any of them thinkes hee may get by faire speech, or snatch from the Publike by sedition, that onely he lookes after, with purpose if he faile, to runne the Countrey. And it is not likely, that such a rabble, should either with one consent giue eare to what is told them, or vnite themselues for the administration of their affaires in common; but if they beare of faire offers, they will one after one be easily induced to come in; especially, if there be seditions amongst them, as we heare there are. And the truth is, there are neither so many men of Armes as they boast of; nor doth it appeare, that there are so many Grecians there in all, as the seuerall Cities haue euery one reckoned for their owne number. Nay, euen Greece hath much holpen it selfe, and was scarce sufficiently armed in all this Warre past. So that the businesse there, for all that I can by Fame vnderstand, is euen as I haue told you, and will yet bee easier. For wee shall haue many of the Barbarians, vpon hatred of the Syracusians, to take our parts against them there, and if wee consider the case aright, there will bee nothing to hinder vs at home. For our Ancestors hauing the same Enemies which they say we leaue behinde vs now in our voyage to Sicily, and the Persian besides, did neuertheless erect the Empire wee now haue, by our onely oddes of strength at Sea. And the hope of the Peloponnesians against vs, was neuer lesse then now it is, though their power were also as great as euer; for they would bee able to inuade our Land, though wee went not into Sicily, and by Sea they can doe vs no harme though wee goe, for we shall leaue a Navie sufficient to oppose theirs, behinde vs. What therefore can wee alleadge with any probability for our backwardnesse? or what can wee pretend vnto our Confederates, for denying them assistance? whom wee ought to defend, were it but because wee haue sworne it to them; without obiecting that they haue not reciprocally ayded vs. For wee tooke them not into League, that they

A *they should come hither with their aydes, but that by troubling our enemies there, they might hinder them from comming hither against vs. And the way whereby we, and whosoeuer else hath dominion, hath gotten it, hath euer beene the theerefull succouring of their associates that required it, whether they were* Greekes *or* Barbarians. *For if we should all sit still, or stand to make choyce, which were fit to be assisted, and which not, we should haue little wider our gouernment of the estates of other men, but rather hazzard our owne. For when one is growne mightier then the rest, men vse not onely to defend themselues against him, when he shall inuade, but to anticipate*
B *him, that he inuade not at all. Nor is it in our power to be our owne caruers, how much we will haue subiect to vs; but considering the case we are in, it is as necessary for vs to seeke to subdue those that are not vnder our Dominion, as to keepe so, those that are: Least if others be not subiect to vs, we fall in danger of being subiected vnto them. Nor are we to weigh quietnesse in the same ballance that others doe, vnlesse also the institution of this State, were like vnto that of other States. Let vs rather make reckoning by enterprising abroad, to encrease our power at home, and proceed in our voyage, that we may*
C *cast downe the haughty conceit of the* Peloponnesians, *and shew them the contempt and slight account we make of our present ease, by vndertaking this our expedition in to* Sicily. *Wherby, either conquering those States, wee shall become masters of all* Greece, *or weaken the* Syracusians, *to the benefit of our selues, and our confederates. And for our security to stay, (if any City shall come to our side) or to come away (if otherwise) our Gallies will afford it. For in that, we shall be at our owne liberty, though all the* Sicilians *together were against it. Let not the speech of* Nicias, *tending onely to lazinesse, and to the stirring of debate betweene the yong men and the old, auert you from it; but with the same decency wherewith your Ancestors consul-*
D *ting yong and old together, haue brought our Dominion to the present height, endeauour you likewise to enlarge the same. And thinke not that youth, or age, one without the other, is of any effect, but that the simplest, the middle sort, and the exactest iudgements tempred together, is it that doth the greatest good; and that a State, as well as any other thing, will, if it rest, weare out of it selfe, and all mens knowledge decay; whereas by the exercise of Warre, experience will continually increase, and the Citie will get a habit of resisting the enemy, not with words, but action. In summe this is my opinion, that a State accustomed to*
E *bee active, if it once grow idle, will quickely be subiected by the change; and that they of all men are most surely*

planted, that with most vnity obserue the present Lawes and customes, A
though not alwaies of the best. Thus spake Alcibiades.

The Athenians, when they had heard him, together with the Egestæans and Leontine Outlawes, who being then presency entreated, and (obiecting to them their Oath) begged their helpe in forme of Suppliants, were farre more earnestly bent vpon the Iourny then they were before. But Nicias, when he saw he could not alter their resolution with his Oration, but thought hee might perhaps put them from it by the greatnesse of the prouision, if he should B
require it with the most, stood forth againe, and said in this manner.

THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

MEN of Athens, *Forasmuch as I see you violently bent to this Expedition, such effect may it take, as is desired. Neuertheless I shall now deliuer my opinion vpon the matter, as it yet standeth. As farre as we vnderstand by report, we set out against* C
great Cities, not subiect one to another, nor needing innouation, whereby they should be glad, out of hard seruitude, to admit of easier Masters; nor such as are likely to preferre our gouernment before their owne liberty; but many, (as for one Iland) and those Greeke *Cities. For besides* Naxus *and* Catana, *(which two I hope will ioyne with vs, for their affinity with the* Leontines,) *there are other seuen, furnished in all respects after the manner of our owne Army, and especially those two, against which wee bend our Forces most,* Selinus, *and* Syracuse. *For there are in them, many men of Armes, many Archers, many Darters, besides many Gallies, and a multitude of men* D
to man them. They haue also store of money, both amongst priuate men, and in their Temples. This haue the Selinuntians. *The* Syracusians *haue a Tribute beside, comming in from some of the* Barbarians. *But that wherein they exceed vs most, is this, that they abound in Horses, and haue Corne of their owne, not fetcht in from other places. Against such a power, we shall therefore needs, not a Fleet only, and with it a small Army, but there must great Forces goe along of Land-souldiers, if we meane to do any thing worthy our designe, and not to be kept by their many horsemen from landing; especially if the Cities there, terrified by vs, should now hold all together, & none but the* Ege- E
stæans *proue our friends, & furnish vs with a Cauallery to resist them.*

And

A And it would be a shame either to come backe with a repulse, or to send for a new supply afterwards, as if wee had not wisely considered our enterprize at first. Therefore we must goe sufficiently prouided from hence, as knowing that we goe farre from home, and are to make War in a place of disaduantage, and not as when we went as Confederates, to ayde some of our Subiects here at home, where wee had easie bringing in of necessaries to the Campe, from the Territories of Friends. But we goe farre off, and into a Countrey of none but strangers, and from whence in Winter, there can hardly come a messenger vnto vs in so little as foure moneths. Wherefore I am of opinion, that we ought
B to take with vs many men of Armes, of our owne, of our Confederates, and of our Subiects, and also out of Peloponnesus as many as wee can get, either for loue or money: and also many Archers and Slingers, whereby to resist their Cauallery; and much spare Shipping, for the more easie bringing in of prouision. Also our corne, I meane, Wheate and Barly parched, we must carry with vs from hence in * Ships; and Bakers from the Milles, hired, and made to worke by turnes, that the Armie, if it chance to be weather-bound, may not be in want of victu-
C all. For being so great, it will not bee for euery Citie to receiue it. And so for all things else, we must as much as wee can, prouide them our selues, and not rely on others.

Aboue all, we must take hence as much money as we can; for as for that which is said to bee ready at Egesta, thinke it ready in words, but not in deed: For although wee go thither with an Army not onely equall vnto theirs, but also, (excepting their men of Armes for Battell) in euery thing exceeding it, yet so shall we scarce be able, both to ouercome them, and withall to preserue our owne. We must also make account, that wee goe to inhabite some City in that forraigne and hostile Countrey, and either the first day we come thither, to bee presently Masters of the Field, or failing, bee assured to finde all in hostility a-
D gainst vs. Which fearing, and knowing that the businesse requires much good aduice, and more good fortune (which is a hard matter, being we are but men) I would so set forth, as to commit my selfe to Fortune as little as I may, and take with me an Armie, that in likelihood should be secure. And this I conceiue to be both the surest course for the Citie in generall, and the safest for vs that goe the Voyage. If any man be of a contrary opinion, I resigne him my place.

Thus spake *Nicias*, imagining that either the *Athenians* would, vpon the multitude of the things required, abandon
E the Enterprize: or if he were forced to goe, he might goe thus with the more security.

* Ὁλκάδας Ships of the round building, going onely with sayles, without oares after the fashion of our Ships. In distinction from Gallies.

The *Athenians* vpon this speech, made to desire them from the enterprize, are the more encouraged to it.

But the *Athenians* gaue not ouer the desire they had of the voyage, for the difficulty of the preparation, but were the more inflamed thereby to haue it proceed; and the cõtrary fell out of that which he before expected. For they approued his counsell, and thought now there would be no danger at all, and euery one alike fell in loue with the enterprize. The old men, vpon hope to subdue the place they went to, or that at least, so great a power could not miscarry; and the yong men, vpon desire to see a forraigne Countrey, and to gaze, making little doubt but to returne with safety.

As for the common sort, and the Souldiers, they made account to gaine by it, not onely their wages for the time, but also so to amplifie the State in power, as that their stipend should endure for euer. So that through the vehement desire thereunto of the most, they also that liked it not, for feare (if they held vp their hands against it) to be thought euill affected to the State, were content to let it passe.

And in the end a certaine *Athenian* stood vp, and calling vpon *Nicias*, said, he ought not to shift off, nor delay the businesse any longer, but to declare there before them all, what forces he would haue the *Athenians* to decree him. To which, vnwillingly, he answered, and said, hee would consider of it first with his fellow-Commanders; Neuertheless, for so much as he could iudge vpon the sudden, he said, there would need no lesse then 100 Gallies; whereof for transporting of men of Armes, so many of the *Athenians* owne, as they themselues should thinke meet, and the rest to be sent for to their Confederates. And that of men of Armes, in all, of their owne, and of their Confederates, there would be requisite no lesse then 5000 but rather more, if they could be gotten, and other prouision proportionable. As for Archers, both from hence, and from *Crete*, and Slingers, and whatsoeuer else should seeme necessary, they would prouide it themselues, and take it with them.

When the *Athenians* had heard him, they presently decreed that the Generals should haue absolute authority, both touching the greatnesse of the preparation, and the whole voyage, to doe therein, as should seeme best vnto them for the Common-wealth. And after this, they went

in

A in hand with the preparation accordingly, and both sent vnto the Confederates, and enrolled Souldiers at home. The City had by this time recouered her selfe from the sickneſſe, and from their continuall Warres, both in number of men fit for the Warres, growne vp after the ceasing of the Plague, and in ſtore of money gathered together by meanes of the Peace; whereby they made their prouiſions with much eaſe. And thus were they employed in preparation for the voyage.

In the meane time the *Mercuries* of Stone, throughout
B the whole City of *Athens*, (now there were many of theſe of ſquare-ſtone, ſet vp, by the Law of the place, and many in the porches of priuate houſes, & in the Temples) had in one night, moſt of them their faces pared, and no man knew who had done it. And yet great rewards out of the Treaſury had been propounded to the diſcouerers; and a Decree made that if any man knew of any other profanation, he might boldly declare the ſame, were he Citizen, Stranger, or Bondman. And they tooke the fact exceedingly to heart, as ominous to the expedition, and done withall, vpon
C conſpiracy, for alteration of the State, and diſſolution of the *Democracie*.

The faces of all the Images of *Mercury*, throughout *Athens*, pared plaine.

Hereupon, certaine Strangers dwelling in the City, and certaine Seruing-men, reuealed ſomething, not about the *Mercuries*, but of the paring of the Statues of ſome other of the *Gods*, committed formerly, through wantonneſſe, and too much Wine, by yong men, and withall, how they had in priuate houſes, acted the Myſteries of their Religion, in mockery; amongſt whom they alſo accuſed *Alcibiades*. This, they that moſt enuyed *Alcibiades*, becauſe he ſtood in
D their way, that they could not conſtantly beare chiefe ſway with the people, making account to haue the Primacy, if they could thruſt him out, tooke hold of, and exceedingly aggrauated, exclaiming, that both the mockery of the Myſteries, and the paring of the *Mercuries*, tended to the depoſing of the People; and that nothing therein was done without him, alleaging for argument, his other exceſſe, in the ordinary courſe of his life, not conuenient in a popular eſtate. He, at that preſent, made his Apologie, and was there ready, if he had done any ſuch thing, to an-
E ſwer it, before he went the voyage, (for by this time, all their preparation was in readineſſe) and to ſuffer Iuſtice, if he

Alcibiades accuſed for hauing in mockery, acted the celebration of the Myſteries of their Religion.

he were guilty, and if abſolued, to reſume his charge. Pro- A
teſting againſt all accuſations to bee brought againſt him
in his abſence, and preſsing to be put to death then preſent-
ly, if he had offended, and ſaying, that it would not be diſ-
creetely done, to ſend away a man accuſed of ſo great
crimes, with the charge of ſuch an Armie, before his
tryall. But his enemies fearing leſt if he came then to his
Tryall, he ſhould haue had the fauour of his Armie, and
leſt the people which loued him, becauſe the *Argiues* and
ſome of the *Mantineans* ſerued them in this Warre, onely
for his ſake, ſhould haue beene mollified, put the matter B
off, and haſtned his going out, by ſetting on other Orators
to aduiſe, that for the preſent he ſhould goe, and that the
ſetting forward of the Fleet ſhould not bee retarded, and
that at his returne he ſhould haue a day aſsigned him for
his Tryall. Their purpoſe being, vpon further accuſation,
which they might eaſily contriue in his abſence, to haue
him ſent for backe, to make his anſwer. And thus it was
concluded that *Alcibiades* ſhould goe.

He deſires to come to his Tryall before his going forth, but is not ſuffered.

After this, the Summer being now halfe ſpent, they
put to Sea for *Sicily*. The greateſt part of the Confede- C
rates, and the Ships that carried their Corne, and all the
leſſer veſſels, and the reſt of the prouiſion that went along,
they before appointed to meet vpon a day ſet, at *Corcyra*,
thence all together to croſſe ouer the *Ionian* Gulfe, to the
Promontory of *Iapigia*. But the *Athenians* themſelues, and
as many of their Confederates as were at *Athens*, vpon the
day appointed, betimes in the morning, came downe into
Peiræus, and went aboard to take Sea. With them came
downe in a manner the whole multitude of the City,
aſwell Inhabitants as ſtrangers: The Inhabitants, to fol- D
low after ſuch as belonged vnto them, ſome their friends,
ſome their kinſmen, and ſome their children; filled both
with hope, and lamentations; hope of conquering what
they went for, and lamentation, as being in doubt whe-
ther euer they ſhould ſee each other any more, conſidering
what a way they were to goe from their owne Territory.
And now when they were to leaue one another to danger,
they apprehended the greatneſſe of the ſame, more then
they had done before, when they decreed the Expedition.
Neuertheleſſe their preſent ſtrength, by the abundance of E
euery thing before their eyes prepared for the Iourney,
gaue

The *Athenian* Fleet putteth to Sea.

The deſcription of the ſetting forth of the Fleet.

A gaue them heart againe in beholding it. But the ſtrangers & other multitude came only to ſee the ſhow, as of a worthy and incredible Deſigne. For this preparation, being the firſt *Grecian* Power, that euer went out of *Greece* from one onely Citie, was the moſt ſumptuous, and the moſt glorious of all that euer had been ſet forth before it, to that day. Neuertheleſſe for number of Gallies, and men of Armes, that which went out with *Pericles* to *Epidaurus*, and that which *Agnon* carried with him to *Potidæa*, was not inferiour to it. For there went foure thouſand men of Armes,
B three hundred Horſe, and one hundred Gallies, out of *Athens* it ſelfe; and out of *Lesbos* and *Chios* fiftie Gallies, beſides many confederates that accompanied him in the voyage. But they went not farre, and were but meanely furniſhed. Whereas this Fleet, as being to ſtay long abroad, was furniſhed for both kinds of ſeruice, in which of them ſoeuer it ſhould haue occaſion to be employed, both with ſhipping, and Land-Souldiers.

For the ſhipping, it was elaborate with a great deale of coſt, both of the Captaines of Gallies, and of the Citie.
C For the State allowed a Drachma a day to euery Mariner, the * empty Gallies which they ſent forth, being of nimble ones 60. and of ſuch as carried their men of Armes, 40. more. And the Captaines of Gallies both put into them the moſt able ſeruants, and beſides the wages of the State, vnto the [vppermoſt banke of Oares, called the] * *Thranitæ*, and to the ſeruants, gaue ſomewhat of their owne; and beſtowed great coſt otherwiſe euery one vpon his owne Gallie, both in the * Badges, and other rigging, each one ſtriuing to the vtmoſt, to haue his Gally, both in
D ſome ornament, and alſo in ſwiftneſſe, to exceed the reſt.

And for the Land-forces, they were leauied with exceeding great choice, and euery man endeuoured to excell his fellow in the brauery of his Armes, and vtenſiles that belonged to his perſon. Inſomuch as amongſt themſelues, it begate quarrell about precedencie, but amongſt other *Grecians*, a conceit, that it was an oſtentation rather of their power and riches, then a preparation againſt an Enemie. For if a man enter into account of the expence, as well of the publike, as of priuate men that went the voyage,
E namely, of the publike, what was ſpent already in the buſineſſe, and what was to be giuen to the Commanders to carry

* empty, *in reſpect of thoſe that carried prouiſion.*

* Spatiȝ. *There being three bankes of Oares, one aboue another, the vppermoſt were called* Thranitæ, *the middlemoſt* Zeugitæ, *and the loweſt* Thalamitæ, *whereof the* Thranitæ *managed the longeſt Oare, and therefore in reſpect of their greater labour, might deſerue a greater pay.*

* ἐπωτίδα. *The Images which being ſet on the fore-part of the Gallie, did giue it the name for the moſt part.*

carry with them; and of priuate men, what euery one had A
beſtowed vpon his perſon, and euery Captaine on his Gallie, beſides what euery one was likely, ouer and aboue his allowance from the State, to beſtow on prouiſion for ſo long a Warfare, and what the Merchant carried with him for Traffique, he will finde the whole ſumme carrried out of the Citie, to amount to a great many Talents. And the Fleet was no leſſe noyſed amongſt thoſe againſt whom it was to goe, for the ſtrange boldneſſe of the attempt, and glorioufneſſe of the ſhow, then it was for the exceſſiue report of their number, for the length of the voyage, B
and for that it was vndertaken with ſo vaſt future hopes, in reſpect of their preſent power.

After they were all aboard, and all things laid in, that they meant to carry with them, ſilence was commanded by the Trumpet; and after the Wine had beene carried about to the whole Army, and All, aſwell the Generals as the Souldiers, had* drunke a health to the Voyage, they made their prayers, ſuch as by the Law were appointed for before their taking Sea; not in euery Galley apart, but all together, the Herald pronouncing them: And the C
company from the ſhoare, both of the Citie, and whoſoeuer elſe wiſhed them well, prayed with them. And when they had ſung the *Pean*, and ended the Health, they put forth to Sea. And hauing at firſt gone out in a long File, Gally after Gally, they after went a vie by *Ægina*. Thus haſted theſe to be at *Corcyra*; to which place alſo the other Armie of the Confederates were aſſembling.

At *Syracuſe* they had aduertiſement of the Voyage from diuers places; neuertheleſſe it was long ere any thing would be beleeued. Nay, an Aſſembly beeing there cal- D
led, Orations were made, ſuch as follow, on both parts, aſwell by them that beleeued the report touching the *Athenian* Armie to be true, as by others that affirmed the contrary. And *Hermocrates* the ſonne of *Hermon*, as one that thought hee knew the certainety, ſtood forth, and ſpake to this effect.

THE E

* *σπονδοφορίας.* It was a forme amongſt the Grecians, and other Nations then, both before great Enterprizes to wiſh good fortune; and at the making of League and Peace, to ratifie what they did, by drinking one to another.

The *Syracuſians*, vpon the fame of their comming, doe ſome beleeue it, and ſome not.

A

THE ORATION OF HERMOCRATES.

CONcerning the truth of this Inuaſion, though perhaps I ſhall bee thought as well as other men, to deliuer a thing incredible, and though I know that ſuch as bee either the Authors or relaters of matter incredible, ſhall not onely not perſwade, but bee alſo accounted fooles; neuertheleſſe I will not for feare thereof, hold my tongue, as long as the Common wealth is in danger; being confident that I know the truth heereof ſomewhat more certainely then others doe. The

B *Athenians are bent to come, euen againſt vs, (which you verily wonder at) and that vvith great Forces, both for the Sea and Land, vvith pretence indeed to ayde their Confederates, the* Egeſtæans, *and to replant the* Leontines, *but in truth they aſpire to the dominion of all* Sicily, *and eſpecially of this Citie of ours, vvhich obtained, they make account to get the reſt vvith eaſe. Seeing then they will preſently bee vpon vs, aduiſe vvith your preſent means, how you may vvith moſt honour make head againſt them, that you may not bee taken vnprouided through contempt, nor be careleſſe through incredulity; and that ſuch as beleeue it, may not be diſmayed with their audaciouſnes and power. For*

C *they are not more able to doe hurt vnto vs, then we be vnto them, neither indeed is the greatnes of their Fleet without ſome aduantage vnto vs. Nay, it will be much the better for vs, in reſpect of the reſt of the* Sicilians; *for being terrified by them, they will the rather league with vs. And if we either vanquiſh or repulſe them without obtaining what they come for (for I feare not at all the effecting of their purpoſe) verily it will bee a great honour to vs, and in my opinion not vnlikely to come to paſſe. For in truth there haue beene few great Fleets, whether of* Grecians *or* Barbarians, *ſent far from home, that haue not proſpered ill. Neither are theſe that come againſt vs, more in num-*

D *ber then our ſelues, and the neighbouring Cities for ſurely we ſhall all hold together vpon feare. And if for want of neceſſaries in a ſtrange Territorie they chance to miſcarry, the honour of it will be left to vs againſt whom they bend their councels, though the greateſt cauſe of their ouerthrow ſhould conſiſt in their owne errours. Which was alſo the caſe of theſe very* Athenians, *who raiſed themſelues by the miſfortune of the* Medes, *(though it happened for the moſt part contrary to reaſon) becauſe in name they went only againſt the* Athenians. *And that the ſame ſhall now happen vnto vs, is not without probability.*

Let vs therefore with courage put in readineſſe our owne forces,

E *let vs ſend to the* Siculi, *to confirme thoſe we haue, and to make peace and league with others; and let vs ſend Ambaſſadors to the reſt of Si-*

cily, to shew them that it is a common danger; and into Italy, to get them into our League, or at least that they receiue not the Athenians. And in my iudgement, it were our best course to send also to Carthage; for euen they are not without expectation of the same danger. Nay, they are in a continuall feare, that the Athenians will bring the Warre vpon them also, euen to their Citie. So that vpon apprehension that if they neglect vs, the trouble will come home to their owne doore, they will perhaps, either secretly, or openly, or some way assist vs. And of all that now are, they are the best able to doe it, if they please. For they haue the most gold and siluer, by which both the Wars, and all things else are the best expedited. Let vs also send to Lacedæmon and to Corinth, praying them not onely to send their succours hither with speed, but also to set on foot the Warre there. But that which I thinke the best course of all, though through an habit of sitting still, you will hardly be brought to it, I will neuertheless now tell you what it is. If the Sicilians all together, or if not all, yet if wee, and most of the rest, would draw together our whole Nauie, and with 2. moneths prouision goe and meet the Athenians at Tarentum, and the Promontory of Iapygia, and let them see, that they must fight for their passage ouer the Ionian Gulfe, before they fight for Sicily, it would both terrifie them the most, and also put them into a consideration, That we, as the watchmen of our Country, come vpon them out of an amicable Territory, (for we shall be receiued at Tarentum) whereas they themselues haue a great deale of Sea to passe with all their preparations, and cannot keepe themselues in their order for the length of the voyage. And that for vs, it will be an easie matter to assaile them, comming vp as they doe, slowly and thinne. Againe, if lightning their Gallies, they shall come vp to vs more nimbly, and more close together, we shall charge vpon them already wearied, or we may, if we please, retire againe into Tarentum. Whereas they, if they come ouer but with a part of their prouisions, as to fight at Sea, shall bee driuen into want of victuals in those desart parts, and either staying be there besieged, or attempting to go by, leaue behind them the rest of their prouision, and be dieected, as not assured of the Cities, whether they will receiue them or not. I am therefore of opinion, that dismaid with this reckoning, they will either not put ouer at all from Corcyra, or whilest they spend time in deliberating, and in sending out to explore, how many, and in what place wee are, the season will bee lost, and Winter come; or deterred with our vnlooked for opposition, they will giue ouer the Voyage. And the rather, for that (as I heare) the man of most experience amongst their Commanders, hath the charge against his will, and would take a light occasion to returne, if he

A he saw any considerable stop made by vs, in the way. And I am verie sure, we should be voyced amongst them to the vtmost. And such reports are, so are mens minds; and they feare more such as they heare will begin with them, then such as giue out, that they will no more but defend themselues. Because then they think the danger equall. Which would be now the ease of the Athenians. For they come against vs with an opinion that we will not fight, deseruedly contemning vs, because we ioyned not with the Lacedæmonians to put them downe. But if they should see vs once bolder then they looke for, they would be terrified more with the vnexpectednes, then with
B the truth of our power it selfe. Be perswaded therfore, principally to dare to doe this; or if not this, yet speedily to make your selues otherwise ready for the War, and euery man to remember, that though to shew contempt of the enemy be best in the heate of fight, yet those preparations are the surest, that are made with feare and opinion of danger. As for the Athenians, they come, and I am sure are already in the way, and want onely, that they are not now here. Thus spake Hermocrates.

But the people of Syracuse were at much strife amongst themselues, some contending, that the Athenians would by
C no meanes come, and that the reports were not true; and others, that if they came, they would doe no more harme, then they were likely againe to receiue. Some contemned and laughed at the matter: but some few there were that beleeued Hermocrates, and feared the euent. But Athenagoras, who was chiefe Magistrate of the People, and at that time most powerfull with the Commons, spake as followeth.

THE ORATION OF ATHENAGORAS.

D He is either a Coward, or not well affected to the State, whosoeuer he be, that wisheth the Athenians not to be so mad, as comming hither, to fall into our power. As for them that report such things as these, and put you into feare, though I wonder not at their boldnesse, yet I wonder at their folly, if they thinke their ends not seene. For they that are afraid of any thing themselues, will put the Citie into affright, that they may shadow their owne with the Common feare. And this may the reports doe at this time, not raised by chance, but framed on purpose, by such as alwaies
E trouble the State. But if you meane to deliberate wisely, make not your reckoning by the reports of these men,

but by that which wisemen, and men of great experience, (such as I hold the Athenians to bee) are likely to doe. For it is not probable, that leauing the Peloponnesians, and the Warre there not yet surely ended, they should willingly come hither to a new Warre, no lesse then the former; Seeing, in my opinion, they may bee glad that wee inuade not them, so many, and so great Cities, as wee are. And if indeed they come, (as these men say they will) I thinke Sicily more sufficient to dispatch the Warre, then Peloponnesus, as being in all respects better furnished: and that this our owne Citie, is much stronger then the Armie which they say is now comming, though it were twice as great as it is. For I know, they neither bring Horses with them, nor can get any heere, saue onely a few from the Egestæans, nor haue men of Armes, so many as wee, in that they are to bring them by Sea. For it is a hard matter to come so farre as this by Sea, though they carried no men of Armes in their Gallies at all, if they carry with them all other their necessaries; which cannot be small against so great a Citie. So that I am so far from the opinion of these others, that I thinke the Athenians, though they had here another Citie as great as Syracuse, and confining on it, and should from thence make their Warre, yet should not be able to escape from being destroyed euery man of them; much lesse now, when all Sicily is their enemie. For in their Campe, fenced with their Gallies, they shall becomped vp, and from their Tents, and forced munition, neuer be able to stirre farre abroad, without being cut off by our Horsemen. In short, I thinke they shall neuer be able to get landing; so much aboue their's do I value our own Forces. But these things, as I said before, the Athenians considering, I am very sure, will looke vnto their owne; and our men talke here of things that neither are, nor euer will bee; who I know haue desired, not onely now, but euer, by such reports as these, or by worse, or by their actions, to put the multitude in feare, that they themselues might rule the State. And I am afraid, lest attempting it often, they may one day effect it. And for vs, we are too poore-spirited, either to foresee it ere it be done, or fore-seeing to preuent it. By this meanes our Citie is seldome quiet, but subiect to sedition, and contention not so much against the enemie, as within it selfe; and sometimes also to Tyranny and Vsurpation. Which I will endeuour (if you will second me) so to preuent hereafter, as nothing more of this kinde shall befall you. Which must be done, first by gaining you the Multitude, and then by punishing the Authors of these Plots, not onely when I finde them in the action, (for it will bee a hard to take them so) but also for those things which they would, and cannot

doe.

A doe. For one must not onely take reuenge vpon an Enemie for what he hath already done, but strike him first for his euill purpose; For if a man strike not first, he shall first be stricken. And as for the Few, I shall in some what reproue them, in somewhat haue an eye to them, and in somewhat aduise them. For this I thinke will be the best course to auert them from their bad intentions. Tell me, forsooth, (I haue asked this question often) you that are the yonger sort, what would you haue? would you now beare office? the Law allowes it not. And the Law was made, because ye are not now sufficient for gouernment, not to disgrace you when you shall be sufficient. But
B forsooth, you would not be ranked with the multitude. But what Iustice is it, that the same men should not haue the same priuiledges? Some will say, that the Democracy is neither a well gouerned, nor a iust State, and that the most wealthy, are apteſt to make the best gouernment. But I answer first, Democracy is a name of the whole, Oligarchy, but of a part. Next, though the Rich are indeed fittest to keepe the Treasure, yet the wise are the best Counsellers, and the Multitude, vpon hearing, the best Iudge. Now in a Democracy all these, both iointly and seuerally participate equall priuiledges. But in the Oligarchy, they allow indeed to the Multitude, a
C participation of all dangers, but in matters of profit, they not onely incroach vpon the Multitude, but take from them, and keepe the whole. Which is the thing that you the Rich, and the Yonger sort affect, but in a great City cannot possibly embrace. But yet, O ye, the most vnwise of all men, vnlesse you know that what you affect, is euill, and if you know not that you are the most ignorant of all the Grecians I know; or, ye most wicked of all men, if knowing it, you dare doe this: yet I say, informe your selues better, or change your purpose, and help to amplifie the common good of the Citie, making account that the good amongst you, shall not onely haue an equall, but a greater share therin
D then the rest of the multitude. Wherein if you will needes haue all, you shall runne the hazzard of losing all. Away therefore with these rumours, as discouered, and not auoyded. For this City, though the Athenians come, will be able to defend it selfe with honour. And we haue Generals to looke to that matter. And if they come not, (which I rather beleeue) it will not, vpon the terrour of your reports, make choyce of you for Commanders, and cast it selfe into voluntary seruitude. But taking direction of it selfe, it both iudgeth your words, virtually as facts, and will not vpon words let goe her present liberty, but endeauour to preserue it, by not committing the same actually to
E your discretion. Thus said Archidamus.

Then

The speech of one of the *Syracusian* Generals.

Then one of their Generals rising vp, forbad any other to stand forth, and spake himselfe to the matter in hand, to this effect: A

It is no wisedome, neither for the speakers to vtter such calumnies one against another, nor for the hearers to receiue them. We should rather consider, in respect of these reports, how we may in the best manner, both euery one in particular, and the City in generall, be prepared to resist them when they come. And if there be no need, yet to furnish the Citie with Horses, and Armes, and other Habiliments of War can doe vs no hurt. As for the care hereof, and the musters, wee will looke to it, and will send men abroad, both to the Cities, and for spials, B *and doe whatsoeuer else is requisite. Somewhat we haue done already, and what more we shall hereafter find meet, we will from time to time report vnto you.* Which when the Generall had said, the *Syracusians* dissolued the Assembly.

The *Athenians* were now all in *Corcyra*, both they and their Confederates. And first the Generals tooke a view of the whole Army, and put them into the order wherein they were to Anchor, and make their Naual Campe, and hauing diuided them into three squadrons, to each squadron they assigned a Captaine by lot, to the end that being at sea, they might not come into want of water, or harbors, or any other necessaries, where they chanced to stay, & that they might otherwise be the more easie to be gouerned, when euery squadron had his proper Commander. After this they sent before them three Gallies, into *Italy*, and *Sicily*, to bring them word what Cities in those parts would receiue them, whom they appointed to come backe and meet them, that they might know whether they might be receiued or not, before they put in. This done, the *Athenians* with all their prouisions put out from *Corcyra*, towards *Sicily*, hauing with them in all 134 Gallies, and two *Rhodian* long-boats of fifty Oares a piece. Of these, a hundred were of *Athens* it selfe, whereof sixty were expedite the other forty, for transportation of Souldiers. The rest of the Nauy belonged to the *Chians*, and other the Confederates. Of men of Armes they had in all 5100. Of these, three were of the *Athenians* themselues 1500 enrolled, and 500 more of the poorer sort, called *Thetes*, hired for defence of the Gallies. The rest were of their Confederates, some of them being their subiects. Of *Argiues* there were 500. Of *Mantineans* and Mercinaries, 250.

The *Athenians* put out from *Corcyra*.

The quantity of the Army.

A 2,0. Their Archers in all, 480. Of which 80 were *Cretans*. *Rhodian* Slingers they had 700. Of Light-armed *Megarea*; fugitiues 120, and in one veſſell made for tranſportation of horſes, 30 horſemen. Theſe were the forces that went ouer to the Warre at firſt. With theſe went alſo 30 Ships, carrying neceſſaries, wherein went alſo the Bakers, and Maſons, and Carpenters, and all Tooles of vſe in fortification. And with theſe 30 Ships went 100 Boates, by conſtraint, and many other Ships and Boats that voluntarily followed the Army for Trade, which
B then paſſed altogether from *Corcyra* ouer the *Ionian* Gulfe. And the whole Fleet being come to the Promontory of *Iapygia*, and to *Tarentum*, and ſuch other places as euery one could recouer, they went on by the coaſt of *Italy*, neither receaued of the States there, into any Citie, nor allowed any Market, hauing onely the liberty of Anchorage and water, (and that alſo at *Tarentum*, and *Locri* denied them) till they were at *Rhegium*, where they all came together againe, and ſettled their Campe in the Temple of *Diana*, (for neither there were they ſuffered to come in) without
C the Citie, where the *Rhegians* allowed them a Market. And when they had drawne their Gallies to Land, they lay ſtill. Being here, they dealt with the *Rhegians*, who where *Chalcideans*, to aid the *Leontines*, *Chalcideans* likewiſe. To which was anſwered, that they would take part with neither, but what the reſt of the *Italians* ſhould conclude, that alſo they would doe. So the *Athenians* lay ſtill, meditating on their *Sicilian* buſineſſe, how they might carry it the beſt; and withall expected the returne from *Egeſta*, of the three Gallies which they had ſent before them, deſiring
D to know if ſo much money were there or not, as was reported by their meſſengers at *Athens*.

The *Syracuſians* in the meane time from diuers parts, and alſo from their ſpies, had certaine intelligence, that the Fleet was now at *Rhegium*, and therefore made their preparations with all diligence, and were no longer incredulous; but ſent vnto the *Siculi*, to ſome Cities, men to keepe them from reuolting; to others, Ambaſſadors; and into ſuch places as lay vpon the Sea, Garriſons; And examined the forces of their owne City, by a view taken of the
E Armes and Horſe, whether they were complete or not and ordered all things as for a Warre at hand, and onely not already preſent. The

The *Syracuſians* certainly knowing of their coming, prepare for their defence.

The hope of the *Athenians* of money from *Egeſta* fruſtrated.

The three Gallies ſent before to *Egeſta*, returned to the *Athenians* at *Rhegium*, and brought word, that for the reſt of the money promiſed there was none, onely there appeared thirty Talents. At this, the Generals were preſently diſcouraged, both becauſe this firſt hope was croſſed, and becauſe alſo the *Rhegians*, whom they had already begun to perſwade to their League, and whom it was moſt likely they ſhould haue wonne, as being of kinne to the *Leontines*, and alwayes heretofore fauourable to the *Athenian* State, now refuſed. And though to *Nicias* this newes from the *Egeſtæans* was no more then he expected, yet to the other two, it was extreme ſtrange. But the *Egeſtæans*, when the firſt Ambaſſadors from *Athens* went to ſee their Treaſure, had thus deceiued them. They brought them into the Temple of *Venus*, in * *Eryx*, and ſhewed them the holy Treaſure, Goblets, Flagons, Cenſers, and other Furniture, in no ſmall quantity, which being but ſiluer, appeared to the eye a great deale aboue their true value in money. Then they feaſted ſuch as came with them, in their priuate houſes, and at thoſe feaſtings exhibited all the gold and ſiluer veſſell they could get together, either in the Citie of *Egeſta* it ſelfe, or could borrow in other, as well *Phœnician*, as *Grecian* Cities, for their owne. So all of them in a manner, making vſe of the ſame Plate; and much appearing in euery of thoſe houſes, it put thoſe which came with the Ambaſſadors, into a very great admiration, in ſo much as at their returne to *Athens*, they ſtroue who ſhould firſt proclaime, what wealth they had ſeene. Theſe men, hauing both been abuſed themſelues, and hauing abuſed others, when it was told that there was no ſuch wealth in *Egeſta*, were much taxed by the Souldiers. But the Generals went to councell vpon the buſineſſe in hand.

The fraud of the *Egeſtæans*.

* Eryx *was a City neere* Egeſta, *and ſubiect to it.*

The ſeuerall opinions of the Generals, touching how to proceed. The opinion of *Nicias*.

Nicias was of this opinion, That it was beſt to goe preſently with the whole Fleet to *Selinus*, againſt which they were chiefly ſet forth; and if the *Egeſtæans* would furniſh them with money for the whole Army, then to deliberate further vpõ the occaſiõ, if not, then to require maintenance for the 60 Gallies ſet forth at their own requeſt, & ſtaying with them, by force or compoſition, to bring the *Selinuntians* and them to a Peace. And thence paſsing along by other of thoſe Cities, to make a ſhew of the power of the *Athenian* State, and of their readineſſe to helpe their friends

friends and Confederates, and so to goe home, vnlesse they could light on some quicke and vnthought of meanes, to doe some good for the *Leontines*, or gaine some of the other Cities to their owne League, and not to put the Commonwealth in danger at her owne charges.

The opinion of *Alcibiades*.

Alcibiades said it would not doe well to haue come out from *Athens* with so great a power, and then dishonourably without effect to goe home againe. But rather to send Heralds to euery City but *Selinus* and *Syracuse*, and assay to make the *Siculi* to reuolt from the *Syracusians*; and others to enter League with the *Athenians*, that they might ayde them with men and victuall. And first to deale with the *Messenians*, as being seated in the passage, and most opportune place of all *Sicily* for comming in; and hauing a Port and Harbour sufficient for their Fleet; and when they had gained those Cities, and knew what helpe they were to haue in the Warre, then to take in hand *Syracuse* and *Selinus*; vnlesse these would agree with the *Egestaeans*, and the other suffer the *Leontines* to be replanted.

The opinion of *Lamachus*.

But *Lamachus* was of opinion, that it was best to goe directly to *Syracuse*, and to fight with them as soone as they could, at their City, whilest they were yet vnfurnished, and their feare at the greatest. For that an Army is alwaies most terrible at first; But if it stay long ere it come in sight, men recollect their spirits, and contemne it the more when they see it. Whereas if it come vpon them suddenly, while they expect it with feare, it would the more easily get the Victory, and euery thing would affright them; as the sight of it (for then they would appeare most for number) and the expectation of their sufferings, but especially the danger of a present Battell. And that it was likely, that many men might be cut off in the Villages without, as not beleeuing they would come; and though they should be already gotten in, yet the Army being master of the Field, and sitting downe before the City, could want no money, and the other *Sicilians* would then neglect leaguing with the *Syracusians*, and ioyne with the *Athenians*, no longer standing off, and spying who should haue the better. And for a place to retire vnto, and Anchor in, he thought *Megara* most fit, being desart, and not far from *Syracuse*, neither by Sea nor Land. *Lamachus* said this, but came afterwards to the opinion of *Alcibiades*.

Alcibiades seeketh league with the *Messanians*, but is denyed.

After this, *Alcibiades* with his owne Gallie hauing passed ouer to *Messana*, and propounded to them a League, and not preuailed, they answering, that they would not let the Army in, but allow them onely a Market without the Walles, returned backe to *Rhegium*. And presently the Generals hauing out of the whole Fleet manned threescore Gallies, and taken prouision aboard, went along the shore to *Naxus*, hauing left the rest of the Armie with one of the Generals at *Rhegium*. The *Naxians* hauing receiued them into the City, they went on by the coast, to *Catana*.

The *Athenians* goe with part of their Fleet to *Naxus*.

And to *Catana*.

But the *Catanaeans* receiuing them not, (for there were some within that fauoured the *Syracusians*) they entred the Riuer of *Terias*, and hauing stayed there all that night, went the next day towards *Syracuse*, leasurely with the rest of their Gallies; but tenne they sent before into the great Hauen, not to stay, but to discouer if they had lanched any Fleet there, and to proclaime from their Gallies, that the *Athenians* were come to replant the *Leontines* on their owne, according to League and affinity, and that therefore such of the *Leontines* as were in *Syracuse*, should without feare goe forth to the *Athenians*, as to their friends and benefactors.

They send tenne Gallies to view *Syracuse*, and the Hauens.

And when they had thus proclaimed, and well considered the Citie, and the Hauens, and the region where they were to seate themselues for the Warre, they returned to *Catana*.

Catana surprized.

An Assembly being called at *Catana*, though they refused to receiue the Army, they admitted the Generals, and willed them to speake their minds. And whilest *Alcibiades*, was in his Oration, and the Citizens at the Assemblie, the Souldiers hauing secretly pulled downe a little Gate, which was but weakely built, entred the City, and were walking vp and downe in the Market. And the *Catanaeans*, such as fauoured the *Syracusians*, seeing the Army within, for feare stole presently out of the Towne, being not many. The rest concluded the League with the *Athenians*, and willed them to fetch in the rest of the Army from *Rhegium*. After this, the *Athenians* went backe to *Rhegium*, and rising from thence, came to *Catana* with their whole Army together.

The *Athenians* goe to *Camerina*, but are not receiued.

Now they had newes from *Camarina*, that if they would come

A come thither, the Camarinæans would by no meanes receiue them, and then the Syracusians, who had manned their Nauy, whereupon with the whole Army they went along the Coast, and to Syracuse, where not finding any Nauy manned, they went on to Camarina. And being come close vp to the shore, they sent a Herald vnto them, but the Camarinæans would not receiue the Army, alledging that they had taken an Oath, not to receiue the Athenians with more then one Gallie, vnlesse they should haue sent for more, of their owne accord. Hauing lost their labour, they departed, and
B landed in a part of the Territorie of Syracuse, and had got some booty. But the Syracusian Horsemen comming out, and killing some straglers of the light-armed, they returned againe to Catana.

Hether they finde the Gallie called Salaminia, come thither from Athens, both for Alcibiades, who was commanded to come home, to purge himselfe of such things as were laid to his charge by the State, and also for other Souldiers, that were with him, whereof some were accused for prophanation of the Mysteries, and some also
C for the Mercuries. For the Athenians, after the Fleet was put to Sea, proceeded neuertheless in the search of those that were culpable, both concerning the Mysteries, and the Mercuries. And making no enquirie into the persons of the informers, but through iealousie admitting of all sorts, vpon the report of euill men, apprehended very good Citizens, and cast them into prison. Choosing rather to examine the fact, and finde the truth by torments, then that any man, how good soeuer in estimation, being once accused, should escape vnquestioned.

Alcibiades called home, to answer about the *Mercuries*.

D For the People hauing by fame vnderstood, that the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* and his sonnes, was heauie in the latter end, and withall, that neither themselues, nor *Harmodius*, but the *Lacedæmonians* ouerthrew it, were euer fearefull, and apprehended euery thing suspiciously.

For the fact of *Aristogiton* and *Harmodius*, was vndertaken vpon an accident of loue, which vnfolding at large, I shall make appeare, that neither any other, nor the *Athenians* themselues, report any certainety, either of their owne Tyrants,
E or of the fact. For the old *Pisistratus* dying in the Tyranny, not *Hipparchus*, (as the most thinke) but *Hippias*, who was his

Digression touching the deposing of the Tyranny of *Pisistratus* and his sons.

his eldest sonne, succeeded in the gouernment. Now *Harmodius*, a man in the flower of his youth, of great beautie, was in the power of one *Aristogeiton*, a Citizen of a middle condition, that was his louer. This *Harmodius*, hauing beene solicited by *Hipparchus* the sonne of *Pisistratus*, and not yeelding, discouered the same vnto *Aristogiton*. He apprehending it (as louers vse) with a great deale of anguish, and fearing the power of *Hipparchus*, least hee should take him away by force, fell presently as much as his condition would permit, to a contriuing how to pull downe the Tyranny. In the meane time, *Hipparchus*, hauing againe attempted *Harmodius*, and not preuailed, intended, though not to offer him violence, yet in regret, as if forsooth he did it not for that cause, to doe him some disgrace. For neither was the gouernment otherwise heauy till then, but carried without their euill will. And to say the truth, these Tyrants held vertue and wisdome in great account for a long time, and taking of the *Athenians* but a twentieth part of their reuenues, adorned the Citie, managed their Warres, and administred their religion worthily. In other points they were gouerned by the Lawes formerly established, saue that these tooke a care euer, to preferre to the Magistracy, men of their owne adherence. And amongst many that had the annuall office of *Archon*, *Pisistratus* also had it, the sonne of *Hippias*, of the same name with his Grandfather, who also when he was *Archon*, dedicated the Altar of the twelue *Gods* in the Market-place, and that other in the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*. And though the People of *Athens*, amplifying afterwards that Altar which was in the Market-place, thereby defaced the Inscription, yet that vpon the Altar that is in the Temple of *Apollo Pythius*, is to bee seene still, though in Letters somewhat obscure, in these words.

PISISTRATVS *the sonne of* HIPPIAS
erected this to stand
In the Temple of Apollo Pythius,
witnesse of his command.

And that *Hippias* being the elder Brother, had the gouernment, I can affirme, as knowing it by a more exact relati-

A relation then other men. And it may be knowne also by this, It appeares that of all the legitimate children, this onely had children, as is both signified by the Altar, and also by that Pillar, which for a testimony of the iniustice of the Tyrants, was erected in the *Athenian* Cittadell. In which there is no mention of any sonne of *Thessalus*, or of *Hipparchus*, but of fiue sonnes of *Hippias*, which he had by *Myrrhine*, the daughter of *Callias the sonne of Hyperochidas*. For it is probable that the eldest was first married, and in the forepart of the Pillar, his name after his fathers, was B the first, not without reason, as being both next him in age, and hauing also inioyed the Tyranny. Nor indeed could *Hippias* haue easily taken on him the gouernment on a sudden, if his brother had dyed, seazed of the Tyranny, and he been the same day to settle it on himselfe. Whereas he retained the same with abundant security, both for the customary feare in the people, and diligence in the Guard; and was not to seeke, like a younger brother, to whom the gouernment had not continually been familiar. But *Hipparchus* came to be named for his mis-fortune, and C thereby grew an opinion afterwards, that he was also Tyrant.

This *Harmodius* therefore that had denyed his sute, hee disgraced, as he before intended. For when some had warned a sister of his, a Virgin, to be present, to carry a little Basket in a Procession, they reiected her againe when she came, and said, that they had neuer warned her at all, as holding her vnworthy the honour. This was taken heauily by *Harmodius*, but *Aristogiton*, for his sake, was farre more exasperated then he. Whereupon, with the rest of D the Conspirators he made all things ready for the execution of the designe. Onely, they were to stay the time of the Holiday, called the great *Panathenaea*, vpon which day onely, such Citizens as lead the Procession, might without suspition be armed in good number. And they were to begin the fact themselues, but the rest were to helpe them against the * Halbardiers.

Now the Conspirators for their better security, were not many; for they hoped that such also as were not priuie to it, if they saw it once vndertaken, being vpon this E occasion armed, would assist, in the recouery of their owne liberty. When this Holiday was come, *Hippias* was gone out

* *The Guard of* Hippias *the Tyrant.*

out of the Citie, into the place called *Ceramicum*, with his guard of Halbardiers, & was ordering the procession, how in was to goe. And *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*, with each of them a Dagger, proceeded to the fact. But when they saw one of the Conspirators familiarly talking with *Hippias* (for *Hippias* was very affable to all men) they were afraid, and beleeued that they were discouered, and must presently haue beene apprehended. They resolued therefore (if it were possible) to be reuenged first vpon him that had done them the wrong, and for whose sake they had vndergone all this danger; and furnisht as they were, ran furiously into the Citie, and finding *Hipparchus* at a place called *Leocorium*, without all regard of themselues, fell vpon him, and with all the anger in the world, one vpon iealousie, the other vpon disgrace, strooke, and slew him. *Aristogiton*, for the present, by meanes of the great confluence of people, escaped thorow the Guard, but taken afterwards, was vngently handled; but *Harmodius* was slaine vpon the place.

* *A street without the walls of* Athens, *where they vsed to bury the ir slaine in the Warres.* Lib. 1. *so named from* Κεραμευς, *a Potter, or as* Paus. *from one* Ceramus.

The newes being brought to *Hippias*, in the * *Ceramicum*, he went not towards the place where the fact was committed, but presently vnto those that were armed for the solemnity of the shewes, and were farre off, that he might be with them before they heard of it, and composing his countenance, as well as he could, to dissemble the calamity, pointed to a certaine place, and commanded them to repaire thither, without their Armes. Which they did accordingly, expecting that he would haue told them somewhat. But hauing commanded his Guard to take those Armes away, he then fell presently to picking out of such as he meant to question, and whosoeuer else was found amongst them with a Dagger. For with Shields and Speares, to be in the head of the Procession, was of custome.

Thus was the enterprize first vndertaken vpon quarrell of Loue, and then vpon a sudden feare, followed this vnaduised aduenture of *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton*. And after this time the Tyranny grew sorer to the *Athenians*, then it had been before. And *Hippias* standing more in feare, not onely put many of the Citizens to death, but also cast his eye on the States abroad, to see if he might get any security from them, in this alteration at home. Hee therefore afterwards

A afterwards (* though an *Athenian*, and to a *Lampſacen*) gaue his daughter *Archedice* vnto *Æantidas the ſonne of Hippocles*, Tyrant of *Lampſacus*, knowing that the *Lampſacens* were in great fauour with King *Darius*. And her Sepulchre is yet to be ſeene, with this Inſcription.

Archedice, *the Daughter of King* Hippias,
who in his time,
Of all the Potentates of Greece *was prime,*
this duſt doth hide.
B *Daughter, Wife, Siſter, Mother vnto Kings ſhe was,*
yet free from pride.

And *Hippias*, after he had raigned three yeeres more in *Athens*, and was in the fourth depoſed by the *Lacedæmonians*, and the exiled * *Alcmæonides*, went vnder Truce to *Sigeum*, and to *Æantides*, at *Lampſacus*, and thence to King *Darius*, from whence twenty yeeres after in his old age, he came to *Marathon* with the *Medan* Army.

The People of *Athens* bearing this in minde, and remem-
C bring all that they had heard concerning them, were extremely bitter, and full of iealouſie towards thoſe that had been accuſed of the *Myſteries*, and thought all to haue been done vpon ſome *Oligarchicall* or *Tyrannicall* Conſpiracy. And whileſt they were paſſionate vpon this ſurmiſe, many worthy men had already been caſt in priſon, and yet they were not likely ſo to giue ouer, but grew daily more ſauage, and ſought to apprehend more ſtill. Whileſt they were at this paſſe, a priſoner that ſeemed moſt to be guil-
D ty, was perſwaded by one of his fellow priſoners, to accuſe ſome body, whether it were true or not true, (for it is but conjecturall on both ſides, nor was there euer, then, or after, any man that could ſay certainly, who it was that did the deed) who brought him to it by telling him, that though he had not done it, yet he might be ſure to ſaue his owne life, and ſhould deliuer the City from the preſent ſuſpition. And that he ſhould be more certaine of his owne ſafety, by a free confeſſion, then by comming to his tryall, if he denied it. Hereupon, he accuſed both himſelfe and others for the *Mercuries*.
E The people of *Athens*, gladly receiuing the certainty (as they thought) of the fact: and hauing been much vexed

* *A Gentleman of Athens, a Citie flouriſhing for letters and ciuility, to a man of* Lampſacus, *a Citie infamous for barbarity and effeminacy.*

* *A Family deſcended from a noble Citizen of* Athens, *named* Alcmæon, *who being in exile, ſolicited the* Lacedæmonians *to expoſe the Tyrants of* Athens.
* *He had ſixe dayes giuen him to be gone out of the State of* Athens.
The iealouſie and paſſionate fury of the people, in enquiry after the authors of the offences, touching the Myſteries and *Mercuries*.

One of the priſoners is perſwaded by a fellow-priſoner, to appeach ſome man, whether true or not true, and doth ſo.

Diuers men accuſed of the paring of the *Mercuries*.

* But only to some few of the Great men.

vexed before, to thinke that the Conspirators should * neuer perhaps, be discouered to their *Multitude*, presently set at liberty the accuser, and the rest with him, whom he had not appeached, but for those that were accused, they appointed Iudges, and all they apprehended, they executed. And hauing condemned to dye, such as fled, they ordayned a summe of money to be giuen to those that should slay them. And though it were all this while vncertaine, whether they suffered iustly, or vniustly, yet the rest of the Citie had a manifest ease for the present. But touching *Alcibiades*, the *Athenians* tooke it extreme ill, through the instigation of his enemies, the same that had opposed him before he went. And seeing it was certaine (as they thought) for the *Mercuries*, the other crime also concerning the *Mysteries*, whereof he had beene accused, seemed a great deale the more to haue bin committed by him vpon the same reason, and conspiracy against the people.

Presumptions against *Alcibiades*.

Forit fell out withall, whilest the City was in a tumult about this, that an Army of the *Lacedæmonians*, was come as farre as the *Isthmus*, vpon some designe against the *Bœotians*.

These therefore they thought were come thither, not against the *Bœotians*, but by appointment of him, and that if they had not first apprehended, the persons appeached, the Citie had been betrayed. And one night they watched all night long in their Armes, in the Temple of *Theseus*, within the Citie. And the friends of *Alcibiades* in *Argos*, were at the same time suspected of a purpose, to set vpon the People there, whereupon the *Athenians* also deliuered vnto the *Argiue People*, those * Hostages which they held of theirs in the Ilands, to be slaine. And there were presumptions against *Alcibiades*, on all sides. Insomuch, as purposing by Law to put him to death, they sent, as I haue said, the Gally called *Salaminia*, into *Sicily*, both for him, and the rest with him, that had been accused: But gaue command to those that went, not to apprehend him, but to bid him follow them, to make his purgation; because they had a care, not to giue occasion of stirre, either amongst their owne, or the enemies Souldiers, but especially, because they desired, that the *Mantineans*, and the *Argiues*, who they thought followed the Warre by his persuasion, might not depart from the Army. So hee, and

* 300 *in number. lib. 5.*

Alcibiades sent for home.

the

A the rest accused with him in his owne Gallie, in companie of the *Salaminia*, left *Sicily*, and set saile for *Athens*. But being at *Thuria*, they followed no further, but left the Gally, and were no more to be found: fearing indeed to appeare to the accusation. They of the *Salaminia* made search for *Alcibiades* and those that were with him for a while, but not finding him, followed on their course for *Athens*. *Alcibiades*, now an Out-law, passed shortly after in a small Boat from *Thuria* into *Peloponnesus*, and the *Athenians* proceeding to iudgement vpon his not appearing, condemned both B him and them to death.

Alcibiades flyeth.

After this, the *Athenian* Generals that remained in *Sicily*, hauing diuided the Armie into two, and taken each his part by lot, went with the whole towards *Selinus*, and *Egesta*, with intention both to see if the *Egestæans* would pay them the money, and withall to get knowledge of the designes of the *Selinuntians*, and learne the state of their controuersie with the *Egestæans*. And sayling by the Coast of *Sicily*, hauing it on their left hand, on that side which lyeth to the *Tyrrhene* Gulfe, C they came to *Himera*, the onely *Grecian* Citie in that part of *Sicily*: which not receiuing them, they went on, and by the way tooke *Hyccara*, a little Towne of the *Sicanians*, Enemie to the *Egestæans*, and a Sea-Towne; and hauing made the inhabitants Slaues, deliuered the Towne to the *Egestæans*, whose Horse-forces were there with them.

The *Athenian* Generals in *Sicily* goe to *Selinus* and *Egesta*.

They take *Hyccara*.

Thence the *Athenians* with their Landmen returned through the Territory of the *Siculi*, to *Catana*; and the Gallies went about with the Captiues. *Nicias* going with D the Fleet presently from *Hyccara* to *Egesta*, when hee had dispatched with them his other businesse, and receiued thirty Talents of Money, returned to the Armie. The Captiues they ransomed, of which they made 120. Talents more. Then they sailed about to their Confederates of the *Siculi*, appointing them to send their Forces; and with the halfe of their owne they came before *Hybla*, in the Territory of *Gela*, an Enemy City, but tooke it not, and so ended this Summer.

The end of the seuenteenth Summer.

The next Winter the *Athenians* fell presently to make E preparation for their iourney against *Syracuse*. And the *Syracusians* on the other side prepared to inuade the *Athenians*.

The *Syracusians* contemne the *Athenians*.

nians. For ſeeing the *Athenians* had not preſently vpon the A
firſt feare, and expectation of their comming, falne vpon
them, they got euery day more and more heart. And
becauſe they went far from them into thoſe other parts of
Sicily, and aſſaulting *Hybla*, could not take it, they contem-
ned them more then euer: and prayed their Commanders,
(as is the manner of the multitude when they bee in cou-
rage) ſeeing the *Athenians* came not vnto them, to conduct
them to *Catana*. And the *Syracuſian* Horſemen, which
were euer abroad for Scowts, ſpurring vp to the Campe of
the *Athenians*, amongſt other ſcornes, asked them, whe- B
ther they came not rather to dwell in the Land of another,
then to reſtore the *Leontines* to their owne?

Nicias his ſtratagem to get eaſie landing and encamping by *Syracuſe*.

The *Athenian* Generals hauing obſerued this, and being
deſirous to draw forth the *Syracuſians* whole power as farre
as might bee from the Citie, to bee able in the meane
time, without empeachment, going thither in the night,
by Sea, to ſeaze on ſome conuenient place to encampe in;
for they knew they ſhould not bee able to doe it ſo well in
the face of an Enemie prepared, nor if they were knowne
to march by Land, for that the *Syracuſian* Horſemen be- C
ing many, would greatly annoy the light-armed, and o-
ther multitude, they themſelues hauing no Horſemen
there: whereas thus they might poſſeſſe themſelues of
a place where the Horſe could not doe them any hurt at
all to ſpeake of, (how the *Syracuſian* Outlawes that were
with them, had told them of a place neere the Temple
Olympieum, which alſo they ſeazed) I ſay, the *Athenian*
Generals, to bring this their purpoſe to effect, contriued
the matter thus: They ſend a man, of whoſe fidelity they
were well aſſured, and in the opinion of the *Syracuſian* Com D
manders, no leſſe a friend of theirs.

This man was a *Catanean*, and ſaid he came from *Ca-*
tana, from ſuch and ſuch, whoſe names they knew, and
knew to bee the remnant of their wel-willers in that City.
He told them that the *Athenians* lay euery night within the
Towne, and far from their Armes, and that if with the
whole power of their Citie, at a day appointed, betimes in
a morning, they would come to their Campe, thoſe friends
of the *Syracuſians* would ſhut the *Athenians* in, and ſet fire on
their Gallies, by which meanes, the *Syracuſians* aſſaulting E
the Palizado, might eaſily winne the Campe. And that
the

A the *Catanæans* that were to helpe them herein were many, and thoſe he came from, already prepared for it.

The *Syracuſian* Commanders hauing beene alſo otherwiſe encouraged, and hauing intended a preparation to goe againſt *Catana*, though this Meſſenger had not come, did ſo much the more vnaduiſedly beleeue the man, and ſtraight wayes being agreed of the day, on which they were to bee there, ſent him away. Theſe Commanders (for by this time the *Selenuntians*, and ſome other their Confederates were come in) appointed the *Syracuſians*, vniuerſally to ſet
B forwards by a day. And when all their neceſsaries were in readineſſe, and the day at hand in which they were to be there, they ſet forwards toward *Catana*, and encamped the night following vpon the banckes of the Riuer *Symethus*, in the Territory of the *Leontines*. The *Athenians* vpon aduertiſement that they were ſet forth, riſing with their whole Armie, both themſelues, and ſuch of the *Siculi*, and others as went with them, and going aboard their Gallies and Boates in the beginning of the night, ſet ſayle for *Syracuſa*. In the morning betimes, the *Athenians* disbarked ouer a-
C gainſt *Olympieum*, to make their Campe. And the *Syracuſian* Horſemen, who were at *Catana* before the reſt, finding the Campe riſen, came backe to the Foot, and told them. Whereupon they went all together backe to the ayde of the Citie. In the meane time, the way the *Syracuſians* had to goe being long, the *Athenians* had pitched their Campe at leaſure in a place of aduantage, wherein it was in their owne power to beginne Battell when they liſt, and where, both in and before the Battell, the *Syracuſian* Horſemen could leaſt annoy them. For on one ſide, there were
D Walles, and Houſes, and Trees, and a Lake that kept them off; on the other ſide ſteepe Rockes; and hauing felled Trees hard by, and brought them to the Sea-ſide, they made a Palizado both before their Gallies, and toward *Daſcon*. And on that part that was moſt acceſsible to the Enemy, they made a Fort with ſtone, (the beſt they could finde, but vnwrought) and with Wood, and withall pulled downe the Bridge of the Riuer *Anapus*.

The *Athenians* land, pitch their Campe, and entrench themſelues ere the *Syracuſians* returne.

Whileſt this was doing, there came none to empeach them from the Citie. The firſt that came againſt them,
E were the *Syracuſian* Horſemen, and by and by after, all the Foot together. And though at firſt they came vp

The *Syracuſian* Army commeth backe.

neere vnto the Campe of the *Athenians*, yet after, seeing the *Athenians* came not out against them, they retired againe, and crossing to the other side of the *Helorine* high-way, stayed there that night.

The *Athenians* and *Syracusians* prepare to fight.

The next day the *Athenians* and their Confederates prepared to fight, and were ordered thus: The *Argiues* and the *Mantineans* had the right Wing, the *Athenians* were in the middle, and the rest of their Confederates in the other Wing. That halfe of the Army which stood foremost, was ordered by eight in File, the other halfe towards their Tents, ordered likewise by eights, was cast into the forme of a long square, and commanded to obserue diligently, where the rest of the Army was in distresse, and to make specially thither. And in the middest of these so arranged, were receiued such as carried the * Weapons and Tooles of the Army.

The *Syracusians* arranged their men of Armes, who were *Syracusians* of all conditions, and as many of their Confederates as were present, by sixteene in File. They that came to ayde them, were chiefly the *Selinuntians*, and then the Horse-men of the *Geloans*, about two hundred; and of the *Camarineans*, about twenty Horsemen, and fifty Archers. The Cauallery they placed in the right point of the Battell, being in all no lesse then a thousand two hundred, and with them the Darters. But the *Athenians* intending to begin the Battell, *Nicias* went vp and downe the Army, from one Nation to another, to whom, and to all in generall, he spake to this effect.

THE ORATION OF NICIAS to his Army.

WHat neede I, sirs, to make a long exhortation, when this Battell is the thing for which we all came hither? For in my opinion, the present preparation is more able to giue you encouragement, then any Oration, how well soeuer made, if with a weake Armie. For where we are together, Argiues, Mantineans, Athenians, *and the best of the Ilanders, how can we choose, amongst so many and good Confederates, but conceiue great hope of the victory? especially against tagge and ragge, and not chosen men, as wee are our selues, and against* Sicilians, *who though they contemne vs, cannot stand against vs; their skill not being answerable*

A *rable to their courage. It muſt bee remembred alſo, that wee be farre from our owne, and not neere to any amicable Territory, but ſuch as we ſhall acquire by the ſword. My exhortation to you (I am certaine) is contrary to that of the enemy. For they ſay to theirs, You are to fight for your Countrey, I ſay to you, You are to fight out of your Countrey, where you muſt either get the victory, or not eaſily get away. For many Horſemen will be vpon vs. Remember therefore euery man his owne worth, and charge valiantly, and thinke, the preſent neceſsity, and ſtreight we are in, to be more formidable then the enemy.*

B

Nicias, hauing thus exhorted the Army, led it preſently to the charge. The *Syracuſians* expected not to haue fought at that inſtant, and the Citie being neere, ſome of them were gone away; and ſome, for haſte, came in running; and though late, yet euery one, as he came, put himſelfe in, where was the greateſt number. For they wanted neither willingneſſe, nor courage, either in this, or any other battell, being no leſſe valiant, ſo farre forth as they had experience, then the *Athenians*. But the want of this, made C them, euen againſt their wils, to abate alſo ſomewhat of their courage.

The battell betweene the *Athenians* and *Syracuſians*.

Neuertheleſſe, though they thought not the *Athenians* would haue begun the battell, and were thereby conſtrained to fight on a ſudden, yet they reſumed their Armes, and came preſently forward to the encounter.

And firſt, the Caſters of Stones, and Slingers, and Archers of either ſide, skirmiſhed in the middeſt betweene the Armies, mutually chaſing each other, as amongſt the Light-armed, was not vnlikely.

D After this, the Southſayers brought forth their ſacrifices according to the Law of the place, and the Trumpets inſtigated the men of Armes to the battell. And they came on to fight, the *Syracuſians* for their Countrey, and their liues for the preſent, and for their liberty in the future. On the otherſide, the *Athenians*, to win the Country of another, and make it their owne, and not to weaken their owne by being vanquiſhed. The *Argiues*, and other free Confederates, to helpe the *Athenians* to conquer the Countrey they came againſt, and to returne to their owne E with Victory. And their Subiect-confederates came alſo on with great courage, principally, for their better ſafe-

ty,

ty, as deſperate, if they ouercame not, and withall vpon the A
by, that by helping the *Athenians* to ſubdue the Coun-
trie of another, their owne ſubiection might be the eaſier.

After they were come to handſtroakes, they fought long on both ſides. But in the meane time there hapned ſome claps of Thunder, and flaſhes of Lightning, toge-
ther with a great ſhowre of Raine; inſomuch as it added to the feare of the *Syracuſians* that were now fighting their firſt battell, and not familiar with the Warres; whereas to the other ſide that had more experience, the ſeaſon of the yeere ſeemed to expound that accident; and their grea- B
teſt feare proceeded from the ſo-long reſiſtance of their enemies, in that they were not all this while ouercome. When the *Argiues* firſt, had made the Left Wing of the *Syracuſians*, to giue ground, and after them, the *Athenians* alſo had done the like to thoſe that were arranged againſt them, then the reſt of the *Syracuſian* Army was preſently broken, and put to flight. But the *Athenians* purſued them not farre, (becauſe the *Syracuſian* Horſemen being many, and vnvanquiſhed, whenſoeuer any men of Armes ad-
uanced farre from the body of the Army, charged vpon C
them, and ſtill draue them in againe) but hauing followed as farre as ſafely they might in great troopes, they retyred againe, and erected a Trophie. The *Syracuſians* hauing rallyed themſelues in the *Helorine* way, and recouered their order, as well as they could for that time, ſent a guard into *Olympieum*, leſt the *Athenians* ſhould take the treaſure there, and returned with the reſt of the Army into the Citie. The *Athenians* went not to aſſault the Temple, but gathe-
ring together their dead, laid them vpon the funerall fire, and ſtayed that night vpon the place. The next day they D
gaue Truce to the *Syracuſians* to take vp their dead (of whom, and of their Confederates, were ſlaine about 260.) and gathered vp the bones of their owne. Of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, there dyed about fifty. And thus, hauing rifled the bodies of their dead enemies, they retur-
ned to *Catana*. For it was now Winter, and to make War there, they thought it yet vnpoſsible, before they had ſent for Horſemen to *Athens*, and leuyed other amongſt their Confederates there in *Sicily*; to the end they might not bee altogether ouer maſtered in Horſe, and before they had alſo E
both leuyed mony there, and receiued more from *Athens*,

and

The *Athenians* haue the victory.

A and made League with certaine Cities, which they hoped after this Battell, would the more eaſily hearken thereunto; and before they had likewiſe prouided themſelues of victuals, and other things neceſſary, as intending the next Spring to vndertake *Syracuſe* againe. With this mind they went to winter at *Naxus* and *Catana*.

Hermocrates encourageth the *Syracuſians*, and is choſen Generall with two more.

The *Syracuſians*, after they had buried their dead, called an Aſſembly, and *Hermocrates* the ſonne of *Hermon*, a man not otherwiſe ſecond to any in wiſdome, and in warre, both able for his experience, and eminent for his valour, ſtan-
B ding forth, gaue them encouragement, and would not ſuffer them to be diſmayed with that which had hapned. *Their courage*, he ſaid, *was not ouercome, though their want of order had done them hurt. And yet in that, they were not ſo farre inferiour, as it was likely they would haue beene. Eſpecially being (as one may ſay) home-bred artificers, againſt the moſt experienced in the Warre of all the* Grecians. *That they had alſo beene hurt by the number of their Generals and Commanders, (for there were fifteene that commanded in chiefe) and by the many ſupernumerary Souldiers vnder no command at all. Whereas, if they would make*
C *but a few and skilfull Leaders, and prepare Armour this Winter, for ſuch as want it, to encreaſe as much as might be, the number of their men of Armes, and compell them in other things to the exerciſe of Diſcipline, in all reaſon they were to haue the better of the Enemie. For valour they had already, and to keepe their order, would be learnt by practice; and both of theſe would ſtill grow greater; Skill, by practiſing with danger; and their Courage would grow bolder of it ſelfe, vpon the confidence of Skill. And for their Generals, they ought to chuſe them few and abſolute, and to take an Oath vnto them, to let them lead the Armie whitherſoeuer they*
D *thought beſt. For by this meanes, both the things that require ſecrecie would the better be concealed, and all things would be put in readineſſe with order, and leſſe tergiuerſation.*

The *Syracuſians*, when they had heard him, decreed all that he aduiſed, and elected three Generals, *Him*, *Heraclides* the ſonne of *Lyſimachus*, and *Sicanus* the ſonne of *Execeſtus*. They ſent alſo Ambaſſadours to *Corinth* and *Lacedæmon*, as well to obtaine a League with them, as alſo to perſwade the *Lacedæmonians* to make a hotter Warre a-
E gainſt the *Athenians*, and to declare themſelues in the quarrell of the *Syracuſians*, thereby eyther to withdraw them from

The *Syracuſians* ſend for ayde into *Peloponneſus*.

from *Sicily*, or to make them the lesse able to send supply to their Army which was there already. A

The *Athenians* attempt *Messana*, but faile.

The *Athenian* Army at *Catana*, sayled presently to *Messana*, to receiue it by Treason of some within, but the plot came not to effect. For *Alcibiades* when hee was sent for from his charge, being resolued to fly, and knowing what was to bee done, discouered the same to the friends of the *Syracusians* in *Messana*, who with those of their Faction slew such as were accused, and being armed vpon occasion of the Sedition, obtained to haue the *Athenians* kept out. And the *Athenians*, after 13 dayes stay, troubled with tempestuous weather, prouision also failing, and nothing succeeding, returned againe to *Naxus*; and hauing fortified their Campe with a Palizado, they wintred there, and dispatched a Gallie to *Athens* for money, and Horsemen to be with them early in the Spring. B

The *Syracusians* enlarge the compasse of their Welles, and burne the Tents of the *Athenians* by *Catana*.

* The ground belonging to the Temple of Apollo.

The *Syracusians* this Winter raised a Wall before their Citie, all the length of the side towards *Epipolæ*, including **Temenitis*; to the end, if they chanced to bee beaten, they might not bee so easily enclosed, as when they were in a narrower compasse. And they put a Guard into *Megara*, and another into *Olympieum*: and made Palizadoes on the Sea-side, at all the places of landing. And knowing that the *Athenians* wintred at *Naxus*, they marched with all the power of the Citie vnto *Catana*, and after they had wasted the Territory, and burnt the Cabines and Campe where the *Athenians* had lodged before, returned home. C

Ambassadors both from the *Athenians* and *Syracuse* vnto *Camarina*, for the friendship of that City.

And hauing heard that the *Athenians* had sent Ambassadours to *Camarina*, according to a League made before in the time of *Laches*, to try if they could win them to their side, they also sent Ambassadours to oppose it. For they suspected that the *Camarineans* had sent those succors in the former Battell with no great good will, and that now they would take part with them no longer, seeing the *Athenians* had the better of the day, but would rather ioyne with the *Athenians* vpon the former League. *Hermocrates* therefore and others, being come to *Camarina* from the *Syracusians*, and *Euphemus* and others from the *Athenians*, when the Assembly was met, *Hermocrates* desiring to increase their enuy to the *Athenians*, spake vnto them to this effect. D

E

THE

A

THE ORATION OF HERMOCRATES.

MEN of Camarina, *we come not hither, vpon feare that the Forces of the* Athenians *here present may affright you, but leſt their Speeches which they are about to make, may ſeduce you, before you haue alſo heard what may be ſaid by vs. They are come into* Sicily *with that pretence indeed which you heare giuen out, but with that intention which wee all ſuſpect. And to me they ſeeme not*
B *to intend the replantation of the* Leontines, *but rather our ſupplantation; for ſurely it holdeth not in reaſon, that they who ſubuert the Cities yonder, ſhould come to plant any Citie heere; nor that they ſhould haue ſuch a care of the* Leontines, *becauſe* Chalcideans, *for kindreds ſake, when they keepe in ſeruitude the* Chalcideans *themſelues of* Eubœa, *of whom theſe heere are but the Colonies. But they both hold the Cities there, and attempt thoſe that are here in one and the ſame kind. For when the* Ionians, *and the reſt of the Confederates, their owne Colonies, had willingly made them their Leaders in the Warre, to auenge them of the* Medes, *the* Athenians
C *laying afterwards to their charge, to ſome, the not ſending of their Forces, to ſome, their Warre amongſt themſelues, and ſo to the reſt the moſt colourable criminations they could get, ſubdued them all to their obedience. And it was not for the liberty of the* Grecians, *that theſe men, nor for the liberty of themſelues, that the* Grecians *made head againſt the* Medes; *but the* Athenians *did it, to make them ſerue, not the* Medes, *but them, and the* Grecians *to change their Maſter, as they did, not for one leſſe wiſe, but for one worſe-wiſe. But intruth we come not to accuſe the* Athenian *State (though it be obnoxious enough) before you that know ſufficiently the iniuries*
D *they haue done; but farre rather to accuſe our ſelues, who though we haue the examples before our eyes, of the* Grecians *there, brought into ſeruitude for want of defending themſelues; and though wee ſee them now, with the ſame ſophiſtry of replanting the* Leontines, *and their kindred, and ayding of their Confederates the* Egeſtæans, *prepare to doe the like vnto vs, doe not yet vnite our ſelues, and with better courage, make them to know, that we be not* Ionians, *nor* Helleſpontines, *nor* Ilanders, *that changing, ſerue alwaies the* Mede, *or ſome other Maſter; but that wee are* Doriens, *and free-men, come to dwell here in* Sicily *out of* Peloponneſus, *a free Country.*
E *Shall we ſtand ſtill till we be taken Citie after Citie? when we know, that that only way we are conquerable, and when we find them whol-*

ly bent to this, that by drawing some from our alliance with their words, and causing some to weare each other out with Warre, upon hope of their Confederacie, and winning others by other fit language, they may haue the power to doe vs hurt. But we thinke, though one of the same Iland perish, yet if he dwell far off, the danger will not come to vs, and before it arriue, we count vnhappy onely him that suffereth before vs. If any therefore be of this opinion, that it is not he, but the Syracusian, that is the Athenians Enemie, and thinketh it a hard matter, that he should endanger himselfe for the Territorie that is mine, I would haue him to consider, that he is to fight not chiefly for mine, but equally for his owne in mine, and with the more safety, for that I am not destroyed before, and he thereby destitute of my helpe, but stand with him in the Battell. Let him also consider, that the Athenians come not hither to punish the Syracusians for being enemies to you, but by pretence of me, to make himselfe the stronger by your friendship. If any man heere enuieth, or also feareth vs, (for the strongest are still lyable vnto both) and would therefore wish that the Syracusians might be weakned, to make them more modest, but not vanquished for their owne safeties sake, that man hath conceiued a hope beyond the power of man. For it is not reasonable, that the same man should be the disposer both of his desires, and of his fortune. And if his ayme should faile him, he might, deploring his owne misery, peraduenture wish to enioy my prosperity againe. But this will not bee possible to him that shall abandon me, and not vndertake the same dangers, though not in title, yet in effect the same that I doe. For though it be our power in title, yet in effect it is your own safety you shall defend. And you men of Camarina, that are our borderers, and likely to haue the second place of danger, you should most of all haue foreseene this, and not haue aided vs so dully. You should rather haue come to vs, and that which if the Athenians had come first against Camarina, you should in your need haue implored at our hands, the same you should now also haue beene seene equally to hearten vs withall, to keepe vs from yeelding. But as yet neither you, nor any of the rest haue beene so forward. Perhaps vpon feare, you meane to deale euenly betweene vs both, and alledge your League with the Athenians. You made no League against your friends, but against your enemies, in case any should inuade you: and by it you are also tyed to ayde the Athenians when others wrong thē, but not when (as now) they wrong their neighbour. For euen the Rhegians, who are Chalcideans, refuse to helpe thē in replanting the Leontines, though these also be Chalcideans. And then it were a hard case, if they suspecting a bad action vnder a faire iustification, are wise without a reason, and you, vpon pretence of reason,

A reason, should ayde your naturall enemies, and helpe them that most hate you, to destroy your more naturall kindred.

But this is no iustice; to fight with them is iustice, and not to stand in feare of their preparation. Which, if wee hold together, is not terrible, but is, if contrarily (which they endeuour) we bee disvnited. For neither when they came against vs being none but our selues, and had the vpper hand in Battell, could they yet effect their purpose, but quickly went their wayes. There is no reason therefore wee should bee afraid, when wee are all together, but that wee should haue the better will to v-
B nite our selues in a League. And the rather, because wee are to haue ayde from Peloponnesus, who euery way excell these men in Militarie sufficiencie. Nor should you thinke that your purpose to ayde neither, as being in League with both, is either iust in respect of vs, or safe for your selues. For it is not so iust in substance, as it is in the pretence. For if through want of your ayde, the assailed perish, and the assailant become Victor, what doe you by your neutrality, but leaue the safety of the one vndefended, and suffer the other to doe euill? Whereas it were more noble in you, by ioyning with the wronged, and with your kindred,
C both to defend the Common good of Sicily, and keepe the Athenians, as your friends, from an act of iniustice. To be short, wee Syracusians say, That to demonstrate plainely, to you, or to any other, the thing you already know, is no hard matter; but wee pray you, and withall, if you reiect our words, wee protest, that whereas the Ionians, who haue euer beene our enemies, doe take counsell against vs, you that are Doriens as well as wee, betray vs. And if they subdue vs, though it bee by your counsels that they doe it, yet they onely shall haue the honour of it. And for the prize of their victory, they will haue none other but e-
D uen the Authors of their victory. But if the victory fall vnto vs, euen you also, the cause of this our danger, shall vndergoe the penalty. Consider therefore now, and take your choice, whether you will haue seruitude without the present danger, or saiing your selues with vs, both auoyd the dishonour of hauing a Master, and escape our enmity, which is likely otherwise to be lasting.

Thus spake *Hermocrates*.

After him, *Euphemus*, Ambassadour from the *Athenians*, spake thus.

E

THE ORATION OF EVPHEMVS.

THough our comming were to renew our former League, yet seeing wee are touched by the Syracusian, it will bee necessary wee speake something heere of the right of our Dominion. And the greatest testimonie of this right he hath himselfe giuen, in that he said the Ionians were euer enemies to the Dorians. And it is true. For being Ionians, we haue euer endeuoured to finde out some meanes or other, how best to free our selues from subiection to the Peloponnesians, that are Dorians, more in number then wee, and dwelling neere vs. After the Medan Warre, hauing gotten vs a Nauie, wee were deliuered thereby from the command and leading of the Lacedæmonians; there beeing no cause why they should rather bee Leaders of vs, then wee of them, saue onely that they were then the stronger. And when wee were made Commanders of those Grecians which before liued vnder the King, vvee tooke vpon vs the gouernment of them, because wee thought, that hauing power in our hands to defend our selues, vve should thereby be the lesse subiect to the Peloponnesians. And to say truth, vvee subiected the Ionians and Ilanders, (whom the Syracusians say we brought into bondage, being our kindred) not without iust cause: for they came with the Medes against ours their Mother Citie, and for feare of losing their wealth, durst not reuolt, as wee did, that abandoned our very Citie. But as they were content to serue, so they would haue imposed the same condition vpon vs. For these causes, vvee tooke vpon vs our dominion ouer them, both as worthy of the same, in that wee brought the greatest Fleet, and promptest courage to the seruice of the Grecians: whereas they, with the like promptnesse in fauour of the Medes, did vs hurt: and also as being desirous to procure our selues a strength against the Peloponnesians. And follow any other wee will not, seeing wee alone haue pulled downe the Barbarian, (and therefore haue right to command) or at least haue put our selues into danger more for the liberty of the Peloponnesians, then of all the rest of Greece, and our owne besides. Now to seeke meanes for ones owne preseruation is a thing vnblameable. And as it is for our owne safeties cause that vvee are now heere, so also wee finde that the same will be profitable for you. Which vvee will make plaine, from those very things which they accuse, and you, as most formidable, suspect vs of; being assured, that such as suspect vvith vehement feare, though they may be wonne for the present with

the

A the sweetnesse of an Oration, yet when the matter comes to performance, will then doe as shall be most for their turne. Wee haue told you that wee hold our Dominion yonder vpon feare, and that vpon the same cause wee come hither now, by the helpe of our friends, to assure the Cities heere, and not to bring you into subiection, but rather to keepe you from it.

And let no man obiect, that we be sollicitous for those that are nothing to vs. For as long as you be preserued, and able to make head against the Syracusians, wee shall be the lesse annoyed by their sending of Forces to the Peloponnesians: and in this point you are
B very much vnto vs. For the same reason, it is meete also, that wee replant the Leontines, not to subiect them, as their kindred in Eubœa, but to make them as puissant as wee can; that being neere, they may from their owne Territory, weaken the Syracusians in our behalfe. For as for our Warres at home, wee are a match for our enemies, without their helpe. And the Chalcidean, (whom hauing made a slaue yonder, the Syracusian said, wee absurdly pretend to vindicate into liberty heere) is most beneficiall to vs there, without Armes, paying money onely; but the Leontines, and other our friends heere, are the most profitable to vs, when they are most in
C liberty.

Now to a Tyrant or Citie that raigneth, nothing can bee thought absurd if profitable, nor any man a friend, that may not bee trusted to. Friend or Enemy he must bee, according to the seuerall occasions. But here it is for our benefit not to weaken our friends, but by our friends strength to weaken our enemies. This you must needs beleeue, in as much as yonder also, wee so command ouer our Confederates, as euery of them may bee most vsefull to vs. The Chians and Methymnæans redeeme their liberty, with prouiding vs some Gallies: the most of the rest, with a Tribute of money, somewhat more pressing.
D Some againe of our Confederates are absolutely free, notwithstanding that they be Ilanders, and easie to be subdued. The reason whereof is this: they are scituate in places commodious about Peloponnesus. It is probable therefore, that heere also, we will so order our affaires, as shall be most for our owne turne, and most according to our feare (as we told you) of the Syracusians. For they affect a dominion ouer you, and hauing by aduantage of your suspicion of vs, drawne you to their side, will themselues by force, or (if we goe home without effect) by your want of friends, haue the sole command of Sicily. Which, if you ioyne with them, must of necessity come to passe. For neither
E will it be easie for vs to bring so great Forces againe together, nor will the Syracusians want strength to subdue you, if we bee absent.

Him

Him that thinketh other wise, the thing it selfe commeth: for when you called vs in, to ayde you, at the first, the feare you pretended was onely this, that if we neglected you, the Syracusians would subdue you, and we thereby should participate of the danger. And it were vniust, that the argument you would needs haue to preuaile then with vs, should now haue no effect with your selues; or that you should be iealous of the much strength we bring against the power of the Syracusians, when much rather you should giue the lesse eare vnto them. We cannot so much as stay here without you; and if becomming perfidious, we should subdue these States, yet we are vnable to hold them, both in respect of the length of the voyage, and for want of meanes of guarding them, because they be great, and prouided after the manner of the Continent. Whereas they, not lodged neere you in a Campe, but inhabiting neere you in a Citie of greater power then this of ours, will be alwayes watching their aduantages against you: And when an opportunity shall be offered against any of your Cities, will be sure not to let it slip. This they haue already made to appeare, both in their proceedings against the Leontines, and also otherwise. And yet haue these the face to moue you against vs that hinder this, and that haue hitherto kept Sicily from falling into their hands. But we on the other side, inuite you to a farre more reall safety, and pray you not to betray that safety, which we both of vs hold from one another at this present, but to consider, that they by their owne number haue way to you alwayes, though without Confederates, whereas you shall seldome haue so great an ayde againe to resist them. Which if through your iealousie, you suffer to goe away without effect, or if it miscarry, you will hereafter wish for the least part of the same, when their comming can no more doe you good. But (Camarinæans) bee neither you nor others, moued with their calumnies. We haue told you the very truth, why wee are suspected; and summarily wee will tell it you againe, claiming to preuaile with you thereby. We say, we command yonder, lest else we should obey, and we assert into liberty the Cities here, lest else we should be harmed by them. Many things vvee are forced to be doing, because many things vve haue to bevvare of. And both novv, and before, vve came not vncalled, but called, as Confederates to such of you as suffer vvrong. Make not your selues Iudges of vvhat vve doe, nor goe about as Censors (vvhich vvere novv hard to doe) to diuert vs; but as farre as this busie humour, and fashion of ours, may be for your ovvne seruice, so farre take, and vse it. And thinke not the same hurtfull alike to all, but that the greatest part of the Grecians haue good by it. For in all places, though vve be not of any side, yet both he that looketh to be wronged, and hee that

contriueth

A *continueth to doe the wrong, by the obliuionesse of the hope that the one hath of our ayd, and of the feare that the other hath of their owne danger, if we should come, are brought by necessity, the one to moderation against his will, the other into safety, without his trouble. Refuse not therefore, the security now present, common both to vs that require it, and to your selues. But doe as others vse to doe; come with vs, and in stead of defending your selues alwayes against the* Syracusians, *take your turne once, and put them to their guard, as they haue done you.* Thus spake *Euphemus.*

B The *Camarineans* stood thus affected: They bare good will to the *Athenians*, saue that they thought they meant to subiugate *Sicily*; And were euer at strife with the *Syracusians* about their borders. Yet because they were afraid that the *Syracusians* that were neere them, might as well get the victory, as the other, they had both formerly sent them some few horse, and also now resolued for the future, to helpe the *Syracusians*, but vnderhand, and as sparingly as was possible; and withall, that they might no lesse seeme to fauour the *Athenians*, then the *Syracusians*, C especially after they had worne a battell, to giue for the present an equall answer vnto both. So after deliberation had, they answered thus: *That for as much as they that warred, were both of them their Confederates, they thought it most agreeable to their oath, for the present, to giue ayde to neither.* And so the Ambassadours of both sides went their wayes. And the *Syracusians* made preparation for the Warre by themselues.

The resolution of the *Camarineans* for Newtrality.

The *Athenians* being encamped at *Naxus*, treated with the *Siculi*, to procure as many of them as they might, to D their side. Of whom, such as inhabited the Plaine, and were subiect to the *Syracusians*, for the most part, held off; but they that dwelt in the most inland parts of the Iland, being a free people, and euer before dwelling in Villages, presently agreed with the *Athenians*; and brought Corne into the Army, and some of them also money. To those that held off, the *Athenians* went with their Army, and some they forced to come in, and others they hindred from receiuing the aydes, and garrisons of the *Syracusians*. And hauing brought their Fleet from *Naxus*, where it had been E all the Winter till now, they lay the rest of the Winter at *Catana*, and re-erected their Campe formerly burne by the *Syracusians*. They

The *Athenians* seeke to winne the *Siculi*.

They bring their Fleet to *Catana*.

They send for ayde to *Carthage*, and into *Hetruria*:

And prepare to besiege *Syracuse*.

The *Syracusians* pray ayde of the *Corinthians* and *Lacedæmonians*.

* Corinth *was the mother City of* Syracuse.

Alcibiades at *Lacedæmon*, instigateth the *Lacedæmonians* against his Country.

They sent a Gally also to *Carthage*, to procure amity, A
and what helpe they could from thence. And into *Hetruria*, becauſe ſome Cities there had of their owne accord promiſed to take their parts. They ſent likewiſe to the *Siculi* about them, and to *Egeſta*, appointing them to ſend in all the Horſe they could, and made ready Brickes, and Iron, and whatſoeuer elſe was neceſſary for a Siege, and euery other thing they needed, as intending to fall in hand with the Warre early the next Spring.

The Ambaſſadours of *Syracuſe*, which were ſent to *Co-* B
rinth and *Lacedæmon*, as they ſailed by, endeauoured alſo to moue the *Italians* to a regard of this action of the *Athenians*. Being come to *Corinth*, they ſpake vnto them, and demanded ayde, vpon the * Title of conſanguinity. The *Co-*
rinthians hauing forthwith, for their owne part, decreed cheerefully to ayde them, ſent alſo Ambaſſadours from themſelues, along with theſe to *Lacedæmon*, to helpe them to perſwade the *Lacedæmonians*, both to make a more open Warre againſt the *Athenians*, at home, and to ſend ſome forces alſo into *Sicily*.

At the ſame time that theſe Ambaſſadours were at C
Lacedæmon, from *Corinth*, *Alcibiades* was alſo there, with his fellow fugitiues; who preſently vpon their eſcape, paſſed ouer from *Thuria*, firſt to *Cyllene*, the Hauen of the *Eleans*, in a Ship, and afterwards went thence to *Lacedæmon*, ſent for by the *Lacedæmonians* themſelues, vnder publique ſecurity. For he feared them for his doings about *Mantinea*. And it fell out, that in the Aſſembly of the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Corinthians*, *Syracuſians*, and *Alcibiades*, made all of them the ſame requeſt. Now the *Ephori* and Magiſtrates, though intending to ſend Ambaſſadours to *Syracuſe*, to hinder them D
from compounding with the *Athenians*, being yet not forward to ſend them ayde, *Alcibiades* ſtood foorth, and ſharpned the *Lacedæmonians*, inciting them with words to this effect:

THE ORATION OF ALCIBIADES.

IT will be neceſſary that I ſay ſomething firſt concerning mine E
owne accuſation, leſt through iealouſie of me, you bring a preiu-
dicate eare to the common buſineſſe. My Anceſtors hauing on

a

A a certaine quarrell renounced the * office of receiuing you, I was the man that restored the same againe, and shewed you all possible respect, both otherwise, and in the * matter of your losse at Pylus. Whilest I persisted in my good will to you, being to make a Peace at Athens, by treating the same with my aduersaries, you inuested them with authority, and me with disgrace. For which cause, if in applying my selfe afterwards to the Mantineans, and Argiues, or in any thing else I did you hurt, I did it iustly. And if any man heere were causelessly angry with mee then, when hee suffered, let him bee now content againe, when hee knowes the true cause of the
B same. Or if any man thinke the worse of mee for enclining to the People, let him acknowledge, that therein also hee is offended without a cause. For wee haue beene alwayes Enemies to Tyrants, and what is contrary to a Tyrant, is called the People; and from thence hath continued our adherence to the multitude. Besides, in a City gouerned by Democracie, it was necessary in most things to follow the present course; neuertheless wee haue endeuoured to bee more moderate, then suteth with the now headstrong humour of the People. But others there haue beene, both formerly and now, that haue incited the Common People to worse things then I, and they are
C those that haue also driuen out mee. But as for vs, when wee had the charge of the whole, wee thought it reason, by what forme it was growne most great and most free, and in which we receiued it, in the same to preserue it. For though such of vs as haue iudgement, doe know well enough what the Democracie is, and I no lesse then another, (insomuch as I could inueigh against it; But of confessed madnesse nothing can be said that's new) yet wee thought it not safe to change it, when you our Enemies were so neere vs. Thus stands the matter touching my own accusation. And concerning what we are to consult of both you and I, If I know any thing, which your selues doe not, heare
D it now. We made this voyage into Sicily, first, (if we could) to subdue the Sicilians; after them the Italians; after them, to assay the dominion of Carthage, & Carthage it selfe. If these or most of these enterprizes succeeded, then next wee would haue vndertaken Peloponnesus, with the accession both of the Greeke Forces there, and with many mercenarie Barbarians, Iberians, and others of those parts, confessed to bee the most warlike of the Barbarians that are now. We should also haue built many Gallies, besides these which we haue already, (there being plenty of Timber in Italy) with the which besieging Peloponnesus round, and also taking the
E Cities thereof with our Land-forces, vpon such occasions as should arise from the Land, some by assault, and some by siege, wee hoped

* ἀναίδω. The Lacedæmonian Ambassadours that came at any time to Athens, were entertained by his Ancestors; This was the office which they after vpon a quarrell renounced, and Alcibiades sought to repaire.

* (i.) he fauoured their prisoners taken there, and imprisoned at Athens.

easily to haue debelled it, and afterwards to haue gotten the dominion of all Greece. As for Money and Corne to facilitate some points of this, the places wee should haue conquered there, besides what heere wee should haue found, would sufficiently haue furnished vs. A

Thus, from one that most exactly knoweth it, you haue heard what is the Designe of the Fleete now gone, and which the Generals there, as farre as they can, will also put in execution.

Vnderstand next, that vnlesse you ayde them, they yonder cannot possibly hold out. For the Sicilians, though inexpert, if many of them vnite, may well subsist; but that the Syracusians alone, with their whole power already beaten, and withall kept from the vse of the Sea, should withstand the Forces of the Athenians already there, is a thing impossible. And if their Citie should be taken, all Sicily is had, and soone after Italy also, and the danger from thence, which I foretold you, would not be long ere it fell vpon you. Let no man therefore thinke, that hee now consulteth of Sicily onely, but also of Peloponnesus, vnlesse this bee done with speed. Let the Armie you send bee of such, as being aboord, may row, and landing, presently be armed. And (which I thinke more profitable then the Armie it selfe) send a Spartan for Commander, both to traine the Souldiers already there, and to compell vnto it such as refuse. For thus will your present friends bee the more encouraged, and such as bee doubtfull, come to you with the more assurance. It were also good to make Warre more openly vpon them heere, that the Syracusians seeing your care, may the rather hold out, and the Athenians bee lesse able to send supply to their Armie. You ought likewise to fortifie Decelea in the Territory of Athens, a thing which the Athenians themselues most feare, and reckon for the onely euill they haue not yet tasted in this Warre. And the way to hurt an Enemie most, is to know certainely what he most feareth, and to bring the same vpon him. For in reason a man therefore feareth a thing most, as hauing the preciseſt knowledge of what will most hurt him. As for the commodities which your selues shall reape, and depriue the Enemie of, by so fortifying, letting much passe, I will summe you up the principall. Whatsoeuer the Territory is furnished withall, will come most of it vnto you, partly taken, and partly of its owne accord. The reuenue of the Siluer Mines in Laurium, and whatsoeuer other profit they haue from their Land, or * from their Courts of Iustice, will presently be lost. And, which is worst, their Confederates will be remisse in bringing in their reuenue, and will care little for the Athenians, if they beleeue once that you follow the Warre to the vtmost. B C D E

That

* As Fees, and Fines, which would cease in the Townes abroad, the Enemy continually lying vpon them, or not be able to be conueyed to the City.

A That any of these things be put in act, speedily and earnestly, (Men of Lacedæmon) it resteth onely in your selues: for I am confident, and I thinke I erre not, that all these things are possible to bee done. Now I must craue this, that I bee neither the worse esteemed, for that hauing once beene thought a louer of my Countrey, I goe now amongst the greatest Enemies of the same, against it; nor yet mistrusted, as one that speaketh with the zeale of a Fugitiue. For though I flye from the malice of them that draue mee out, I shall not (if you take my counsell) fly your profit. Nor are you enemies so much,
B who haue hurt but your enemies, as they are, that haue made enemies of friends. I loue not my Countrey, as wronged by it, but as hauing liued in safety in it. Nor doe I thinke, that I doe heerein goe against any Countrey of mine, but that I farre rather seeke to recouer the Countrey I haue not. And hee is truely a louer of his Countrey, not that refuseth to inuade the Countrey hee hath wrongfully lost, but that desires so much to bee in it, as by any meanes hee can, hee will attempt to recouer it. I desire you therefore, (Lacedæmonians) to make vse of my seruice, in whatsoeuer danger or labour, con-
C fidently, seeing you know, (according to the common saying) if I did hurt you much when I was your enemie, I can helpe you much when I am your friend. And so much the more, in that I know the state of Athens, and but coniectured at yours. And considering you are now in deliberation vpon a matter of so exceeding importance, I pray you thinke not much to send an Armie both into Sicily and Attica, as well to preserue the great matters that are there, with the presence of a small part of your Force, as also to pull downe the power of the Athenians, both present and to come; and afterwards to dwell in safety your
D selues, and to haue the leading of all Greece; not forced, but voluntary, and with their good affection.

Thus spake *Alcibiades*.

And the *Lacedæmonians*, thuogh before this they had a purpose of their own accord, to send an Army against *Athens*, but had delayed and neglected it, yet when these particulars were deliuered by him, they were a great deale the more confirmed in the same, conceiuing that what they had heard, was from one that euidently knew it. Insomuch as
E they had set their minds already vpon the fortifying at *Decelea*, and vpon the sending of some succours into *Sicily*,

The *Lacedæmonians* resolue to send *Gylippus* into *Sicily*.

for the present. And hauing assigned *Gylippus* the sonne of *Cleandridas*, vnto the *Syracusian* Ambassadours for chiefe Commander, they willed him to consider, both with them and the *Corinthians*, how best (for their present meanes) and with greatest speed, some helpe might bee conueyed vnto them in *Sicily*. He thereupon appointed the *Corinthians* to send him two Gallies presently to *Asine*, and to furnish the rest they meant to send, and to haue them ready to saile when occasion should serue. This agreed vpon, they departed from *Lacedæmon*.

The *Athenians* resolue to send prouision and Horsemen.

In the meane time the Gallie arriued at *Athens*, which the Generals sent home for money and Horsemen. And the *Athenians* vpon hearing, decreed to send both prouision and Horsemen to the Armie. So the Winter ended, and the seuenteenth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

THE EIGHTEENTH YEERE.

The *Athenians* burne the Fields of certaine Townes of the *Siculi*, and take *Centoripa*.

In the very beginning of the next Spring, the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, departed from *Catana*, and sailed by the Coast to *Megara* of *Sicily*. The inhabitants whereof, in the time of the Tyrant *Gelon*, the *Syracusians*, (as I mentioned before) had driuen out, and now possesse the Territory themselues. Landing heere, they wasted the Fields, and hauing assaulted a certaine small Fortresse of the *Syracusians*, not taking it, they went presently backe, part by Land, and part by Sea, vnto the Riuer *Tereas*. And landing againe in the plaine Fields, wasted the same, and burnt vp their Corne; and lighting on some *Syracusians*, not many, they slew some of them; and hauing set vp a Trophie, went all againe aboard their Gallies. Thence they returned to *Catana*, and tooke in victuall. Then with their whole Army they went to *Centoripa*, a small Citie of the *Siculi*, which yeelding on composition, they departed, and in their way, burnt vp the Corne of the *Inessæans* and the *Hyblæans*. Being come againe to *Catana*, they find there 250 Horsemen, arriued from *Athens*, without Horses, though not without the furniture, supposing to haue Horses there; and 30 Archers on horseback, and 300 Talents of siluer.

They receiue money and Horsemen from *Athens*.

The same Spring the *Lacedæmonians* led forth their Army against *Argos*, and went as far as to *Cleonæ*; But an Earthquake hapning, they went home againe. But the *Argiues* inuaded the Territory of *Thyrea*, confining on their owne, and tooke a great Booty from the *Lacedæmonians*, which they sold for no lesse then *25 Talents.

The *Lacedæmonians* inuade *Argia*.

The *Argiues* take a great Booty in *Thyreatis*.

*4717 pound, 10 shillings sterling.

Not

A. Acradina. B. Nasos. C. Sycha or Tycha. D. Temenitis. E. Epipolæ. F. The q[uarter] Pag[e]
and Prison. G. The fort of Iabdalum. H. Euryalus. I. The Campe of y[e] Athenia[ns]
K. The walles made by the Athenians to beseege the Citty. L. Heapes of Sto[nes]
Layd ready for y[e] finishing of the wall. M. The Marishes. N. The wall made
The Syracusians. O. Ieon. P. Trogilus. Q. Thapsus. R. The great Hauen
S. The little Hauen. T. Plemmyrium. V. Dascon. W. Olympiæum
X. The high way to Helorus. Y. The riuer Anapus. Z. The lake
Lysimelia.

Pag. 405
SYRACVSE
BESEEGED BY
the Athenians

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A Not long after, the Commons of *Thespiæ* set vpon them that had the gouernment, but not preuailing, were part apprehended, and part escaped to *Hipa*, the *Athenians* hauing also ayded them.

The Commons of *Thespiæ* set vpon the *Few*, but with ill successe.

The *Syracusians* the same Summer, when they heard that the *Athenians* had Horsemen sent to them from *Athens*, and that they were ready now to come against them, conceiuing, that if the *Athenians* gat not *Epipolæ*, a rocky ground, and lying iust against the City, they would not bee able, though Masters of the Field, to take in the City with a
B Wall; intended therefore, lest the Enemie should come secretly vp, to keepe the passages by which there was accesse vnto it, with a Guard. For the rest of the place is to the outside high and steepe, falling to the City by degrees, and on the inside wholly subiect to the eye. And it is called by the *Syracusians*, *Epipolæ*, because it lyeth aboue the leuell of the rest. The *Syracusians* comming out of the Citie with their whole power, into a Meddow by the side of the Riuer *Anapus*, betimes in the morning, (for *Hermocrates* and his fellow-Commanders had already receiued their
C charge) were there taking a view of their Armes; but first they had set apart 600. men of Armes vnder the leading of *Diomilus*, an Outlaw of *Andros*, both to guard *Epipolæ*, and to be ready together quickly, vpon any other occasion wherein there might be vse of their seruice. The *Athenians*, the day following, hauing beene already mustred, came from *Catana* with their whole Forces, and landed their Souldiers at a place called *Leon* (6 or 7 furlongs from *Epipolæ*) vnperceiued, and layed their Nauie at Anchor vnder *Thapsus*. *Thapsus* is almost an Iland, lying out into
D the Sea, and ioyned to the Land with a narrow *Isthmus*, not farre from *Syracuse*, neither by Sea nor Land. And the nauall Forces of the *Athenians* hauing made a Palizado acrosse the said *Isthmus*, lay there quiet. But the Land-Souldiers marched at high speed toward *Epipolæ*, & gat vp by *Euryalus*, before the *Syracusians* could come to them from out of the Meddow, where they were musteringe. Neuertheless they came on, euery one with what speed hee could, not onely *Diomilus* with his 600, but the rest also. They had no lesse to goe from the Meddow, then 25 Furlongs, before
E they could reach the Enemy: The *Syracusians* therefore comming vp in this manner, and thereby defeated in Battell

Epipolæ a high ground before the City of *Syracuse*.

Diomilus slaine.

tell at Epipolæ, withdrew themselues into this Citie. But A
Diomilus was slaine, and two of the rest. Then *Athenians* after this erected a Trophie, and deliuered to the *Syracusians* the bodies of their dead vnder Truce, and came downe the next day to the Citie. But when none came out to giue them battell, they retired againe, and built a Fort vpon *Labdalum*, in the very brinke of the precipices of *Epipolæ*, on the side that looketh towards *Megara*, for a place to keepe their Vtensiles and Money in, when they went out either to fight or to worke.

The *Athenians* fortifie *Labdalum*.

Not long after, there came vnto them from *Egesta* three B
hundred Horsemen: and from the *Siculi*, namely the *Naxians*, and some others, about one hundred: and the *Athenians* had of their owne two hundred and fifty; for which they had Horses, part from the *Egestæans* and *Catanæans*, and part they bought. So that they had together in the whole, sixe hundred and fiftie Horsemen. Hauing put a Guard into *Labdalum*, the *Athenians* went downe to *Syca*, and raised there a Wall in circle, very quickly, so that they strooke a terrour into the *Syracusians* with the celerity of the worke. Who therefore comming forth, intended C
to haue giuen them Battell, and no longer to haue neglected the matter. But when the Armies were one set against the other, the *Syracusian* Generals perceiuing their owne to bee in disarray, and not easily to bee embattailed, led them againe into the Citie, saue onely a certaine part of their Horsemen, which staying, kept the *Athenians* from carrying of Stone, and straggling farre abroad from their Campe. But the *Athenians* with one Squadron of men of Armes, together with their whole number of Horse, charged the Horsemen of the *Syracusians*, and put them to D
flight. Of whom they slew a part, and erected a Trophy for this Battell of Horse.

* Tyca, or Tycha, *it was a Temple of Fortune, part of the City of* Syracusa.

The next day the *Athenians* fell to worke vpon their Wall, to the North side of their circular Wall, some building, and some fetching Stone and Timber, which they still laid down toward the place called *Trogilus*, in the way by which the Wall should come, with the shortest compasse from the great Hauen to the other Sea. The *Syracusians*, by the perswasion of their Generals, and principally of *Hermocrates*, intended not to hazard Battell with their E
whole power against the *Athenians* any more, but thought fit

The *Athenians* begin to build on the North side of the Fortification wherein they lay, the Wall wherewith to begirt the City.

A fit rather in the way where the *Athenians* were to bring their wall, to raise a counterwall, which if they could but doe, before the wall of the *Athenians* came on, it would exclude their further building. And if the *Athenians* should set vpon them as they were doing it, they might send part of the Army to defend it, and pre-occupate the accesses to it with a Palizado. And if they would come with their whole Army to hinder them, then must they also be forced to let their owne worke stand still. Therefore they came out, and beginning at their owne Citie, B drew a crosse wall beneath the circular Fortification of the *Athenians*, and set woodden Turrets vpon it, made of the Oliue-trees, which they felled in the ground belonging to the Temple. The *Athenian* Nauy was not yet come about into the great Hauen, from *Thapsus*, but the *Syracusians* were masters of the places neere the Sea; and the *Athenians* brought their prouision to the Army from *Thapsus*, by land.

The *Syracusians*, when they thought both their Palizadoe, and wall sufficient, and considering that the *Athenians* C came not to empeach them in the worke, as they that feared to diuide their Army, and to be therby the more easie to be fought withall, & that also hasted to make an end of their owne wall, wherewith to encompasse the Citie, left one squadron for a guard of their workes, and retyred with the rest, into the Citie. And the *Athenians* cut off the Pipes of their Conduits, by which their water to drinke was conueyed vnder-ground into the Towne.

And hauing obserued also, that about noone the *Syracusians* kept within their Tents, and that some of them were D also gone into the Citie, and that such as were remaining at the Palizado, kept but negligent watch, they commanded three hundred chosen men of Armes, and certaine other picked out and Armed from amongst the vnarmed, to runne suddenly to that Counterwall of the *Syracusians*. The rest of the Army diuided in two, went one part with one of the Generals, to stop the succour which might be sent from the Citie, and the other with the other Generall, to the Palizado, next to the Gate of the Counterwall. The three hundred assaulted and tooke E the Palizado; the guard whereof forsaking it, fled within the wall into the Temple ground, and with them entred also

The *Syracusians* make a crosse wall in their way.

also their pursuers, but after they were in, were beaten out againe by the *Syracusians*, and some slaine; both of the *Argiues* and *Athenians*, but not many. Then the whole Army went backe together, and pulled downe the wall, and plucked vp the Palizado, the Pales whereof they carried with them to their Campe, and erected a Trophie. A

The *Athenians* build from their owne Fortification, to the Cragges, towards the great Hauen.

The next day, the *Athenians* beginning at their Circular wall, built onwards to that Cragge ouer the Marishes, which on that part of *Epipolæ*, looketh to the great Hauen, and by which, the way to the Hauen, for their wall to come through the Plaine and Marish, was the shortest. As this was doing, the *Syracusians* came out againe, and made another Palizado, beginning at the Citie, through the middle of the Marish, and a Ditch at the side of it, to exclude the *Athenians* from bringing their wall to the Sea. But the *Athenians*, when they had finished their worke, as farre as to the Cragge, assaulted the Palizado and Trench of the *Syracusians* againe. And hauing commanded their Gallies to be brought about from *Trapsus*, into the great Hauen of *Syracusa*, about breake of day, went straight downe into the Plaine; and passing through the Marish, where the ground was Clay, and firmest, and partly vpon Boards, and Plankes, won both the Trench and Palizado, all but a small part, betimes in the morning, and the rest not long after. And here also they fought; and the victory fell to the *Athenians*. The *Syracusians*, those of the Right-wing, fled to the City, and they of the Left, to the Riuer. The three hundred chozen *Athenians*, desiring to cut off their passage, marched at high speed towards the * Bridge; but the *Syracusians* fearing to be preuented (for most of the Horsemen were in this number) set vpon these three hundred, and putting them to flight, draue them vpon the right Wing of the *Athenians*, and following, affrighted also the formost guard of the Wing. *Lamachus* seeing this, came to aide them with a few *Archers* from the left Wing of their owne, and with all the *Argiues*; and passing ouer a certaine Ditch, hauing but few with him, was deserted and slaine, with some sixe or seuen more. These the *Syracusians* hastily snatched vp, and carried into a place of safety, beyond the Riuer. And when they saw the rest of the *Athenian* Army comming towards them, they departed. In the meane time they that fled at first to the

The *Athenians* take their Palizado againe.

* *The Bridge of the Riuer* Anapus.

Lamachus slaine.

B C D E

A the Citie, seeing how things went, tooke heart againe, and reimbattailed themselues against the same *Athenians* that stood ranged against them before, and withall sent a certaine portion of their Armie against the circular Fortification of the *Athenians* vpon *Epipolæ*, supposing to finde it without defendants, and so to take it. And they tooke and demolished the out-worke tenne * Plethers in length; but the Circle it selfe was defended by *Nicias*, who chanced to be left within it for infirmity. For he commanded his seruants to set fire on all the Engines, and whatsoeuer
B woodden matter lay before the Wall, knowing there was no other possible meanes to saue themselues, for want of men. And it fell out accordingly. For by reason of this fire, they came no neerer, but retired. For the *Athenians* hauing by this time beaten backe the Enemie below, were comming vp to relieue the Circle, and their Gallies withall (as is before mentioned) were going about from *Thapsus*, into the great Hauen. Which they aboue perceiuing, speedily made away, they, and the whole Armie of the *Syracusians*, into the Citie, with opinion that they could no
C longer hinder them, with the strength they now had, from bringing their Wall through vnto the Sea. After this the *Athenians* erected a Trophie, and deliuered to the *Syracusians* their dead, vnder Truce; and they on the other side deliuered to the *Athenians*, the body of *Lamachus*, and of the rest slaine with him. And their whole Armie, both Land and Sea-forces being now together, they began to incloze the *Syracusians* with a double Wall, from *Epipolæ* and the Rockes, vnto the Sea-side. The necessaries of the Army were supplyed from all parts of *Italy*: and many of the
D *Siculi*, who before stood aloofe to obserue the way of Fortune, tooke part now with the *Athenians*, to whom came also three Penteconteri [long-boates of 50. Oares apiece] from *Hetruria*; and diuers other wayes their hopes were nourished. For the *Syracusians* also, when there came no helpe from *Peloponnesus*, made no longer account to subsist by Warre, but conferred, both amongst themselues, and with *Nicias*, of composition: for *Lamachus* being dead, the sole command of the Armie was in him. And though nothing were concluded, yet many things (as was likely
E with men perplexed, and now more straitely besieged then before) were propounded vnto *Nicias*, and more amongst them-

Nicias assaulted in his Campe, defendeth it.

* *Ten Plethers, 680. cubits, a Plether containing, according to Suidas, 68. cubits.*

The *Syracusians* change their Generals.

themselues. And the present ill successe, had also bred some iealousie amongst them, one of another. And they discharged the Generals, vnder whose conduct this happned, as if their harme had come, either from their vnluckinesse, or from their perfidiousnesse, and chose *Heraclides*, *Eucles*, and *Tellias* in their places.

Gylippus despaireth of *Sicily*, and seekes to saue *Italy*.

Whilest this passed, *Gylippus* of *Lacedæmon*, and the *Corinthian* Gallies were already at *Leucas*, purposing with all speed to goe ouer into *Sicily*. But when terrible reports came vnto them from all hands, agreeing in an vntruth, That *Syracuse* was already quite enclosed, *Gylippus* had hope of *Sicily* no longer, but desiring to assure *Italy*, he, and *Pythen*, a *Corinthian*, with two *Laconicke* and two *Corinthian* Gallies, with all speede crossed the *Ionique* Sea to *Tarentum*. And the *Corinthians* were to man tenne Gallies of their owne, two of *Leucas*, and three of *Ambracia*, and come after. *Gylippus* went first from *Tarentum* to *Thuria*, as Ambassadour, by his Fathers right, who was free of the Citie of *Tarentum*; but not winning them to his side, hee put out againe, and sailed along the Coast of *Italy*. Passing by the *Terinæan* Gulfe, hee was put from the shore (by a wind which in that quarter bloweth strongly against the North) and driuen into the maine Sea; and after another extreme Tempest, brought in againe, into *Tarentum*, where he drew vp such of his Gallies as had beene hurt by the weather, and repaired them.

Nicias despiseth the comming of *Gylippus*.

Nicias hearing that hee came, contemned the small number of his Gallies, as also the *Thurians* had before, supposing them furnished as for Piracie, and appointed no Watch for them yet.

About the same time of this Summer, the *Lacedæmonians* inuaded the Territory of *Argos*, they and their Confederates, and wasted a great part of their Land. And the *Athenians* ayded the *Argiues* with thirty Gallies, which most apparantly broke the Peace betweene them and the *Lacedæmonians*. For before, they went out from *Pylus* with the *Argiues* and *Mantineans*, but in the nature of Freebooters; and that also not into *Laconia*, but other parts of *Peloponnesus*. Nay, when the *Argiues* haue often entreated them, but onely to Land with their Armes in *Laconia*, and hauing wasted neuer so little of their Territory, to returne, they would not. But now, vnder the Conduct of *Pythodorus*,

A *Pythodorus*, *Læspodius*, and *Demaratus*, they landed in the Territory of *Epidaurus Limera*, and in *Prasia*, and there and in other places wasted the Countrey, and gaue vnto the *Lacedæmonians* a most iustifiable cause to fight against the *Athenians*. After this, the *Athenians* being departed from *Argos* with their Gallies, and the *Lacedæmonians* gone likewise home, the *Argiues* inuaded *Phliasia*, and when they had wasted part of their Territory, and killed some of their men, returned.

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E

THE SEVENTH BOOKE OF THE HISTORIE OF *THVCYDIDES.*

The principall Contents.

Gylippus *arriueth at* Syracuſe, *checketh the fortune of the* Athenians, *and cutteth off their workes with a Counterwall. The* Lacedæmonians *inuade* Attica, *and fortifie* Decelea. *The Confederates of each ſide are ſollicited for ſupplies to be ſent to* Syracuſe. *Two battels fought in the great Hauen; in the firſt of which the* Syracuſians *are beaten, in the ſecond, ſuperiour;* Demoſthenes *arriueth with a new Army, and attempting the workes of the enemy in* Epipolæ *by night, is repulſed with great ſlaughter of his men. They fight the third time, and the* Syracuſians *hauing the Victory, blocke vp the Hauen with Boats. A Catalogue of the Confederates on each ſide. They fight againe at the Barres of the Hauen, where the* Athenians *loſing their Gallies, prepare to march away by land. In their march they are afflicted, beaten, and finally ſubdued by the* Syracuſians; *The death of* Nicias *and* Demoſthenes, *and miſery of the Captiues in the Quarry; which hapned in the ninteenth yeere of this Warre.*

Gylippus and Pythen reſolue to goe to Syracuſe.

GYlippus, and *Pythen*, hauing repaired their Gallies, from *Tarentum*, went along the Coaſt to *Locri Epizephyrij*. And vpon certaine intelligence now, that *Syracuſe* was not wholly enclozed, but that comming with an Army, there was entrance ſtill by *Epipolæ*, they conſulted whether it were better to take *Sicily* on their right hand, and aduenture into the Towne by Sea, or on the left, and

ſo firſt to goe to *Himera*, and then taking along both them and as many other as they could get to their ſide, to goe into it by Land. And it was reſolued to goe to *Himera*; the rather, becauſe the foure *Attique* Gallies, which *Nicias* (though he contemned them before) had now when he heard they were at *Locri*, ſent to wait for them, were not arriued yet at *Rhegium*. Hauing preuented this guard, they croſſed the Streight, and touching at *Rhegium*, and *Meſſana* by the way, came to *Himera*. Being there, they preuailed ſo farre with the *Himeræans*, that they not onely followed them to the War themſelues, but alſo furniſhed with Armour, ſuch of *Gylippus* and *Pythens* Mariners as wanted. For at *Himera* they had drawne their Gallies to Land. They likewiſe ſent to the *Selinuntians*, to meet them at a place aſsigned with their whole Army. The *Geloans* alſo, and other of the *Siculi*, promiſed to ſend them Forces, though not many; being much the willinger to come to the ſide, both for that *Archonidas* was lately dead, who raigning ouer ſome of the *Siculi* in thoſe parts, and being a man of no meane power, was friend to the *Athenians*, and alſo for that *Gylippus* ſeemed to come from *Lacedæmon* with a good will to the buſineſſe. *Gylippus* taking with him, of his owne Mariners, and Sea-Souldiers, for whom he had gotten Armes, at the moſt 700. and *Himeræans* with Armour, and without, in the whole 1000. and 100 Horſe, and ſome Light-armed *Selinuntians*, with ſome few Horſe of the *Geloans*, and of the *Siculi* in all, about 1000. marched with theſe towards *Syracuſe*.

They tooke the ayde of the men of *Himera*.

In the meane time, the *Corinthians*, with the reſt of their Gallies, putting to Sea from *Leucas*, made after, as they were, euery one with what ſpeed he could, and *Gongylus*, one of the *Corinthian* Commanders, though the laſt that ſet forth, arriued firſt at *Syracuſe* with one Gallie, and but a little before the comming of *Gylippus*. And finding them ready to call an Aſſembly about an end of the Warre, he hindred them from it, and put them into heart, relating both how the reſt of the Gallies were comming, and alſo *Gylippus the ſonne of Cleandridas* for Generall, ſent vnto them by the *Lacedæmonians*. With this the *Syracuſians* were reconfirmed, and went preſently out with their whole Army to meet him; for they vnderſtood now that he was neere. He, hauing taken *Iëgas*, a Fort in his way

The *Corinthian* Gallies left by *Gylippus*, make haſte after him, and *Gongylus* arriuing firſt, keepeth the *Syracuſians* from compounding.

A way as he paſſed through the Territory of the *Siculi*, and imbattelled his men, commeth to *Epipolæ*, and getting vp by *Euryalus*, where alſo the *Athenians* had gotten vp before, marched together with the *Syracuſians*, towards the wall of the *Athenians*. At the time when he arriued, the *Athenians* had finiſhed a double wall, of ſeuen or eight furlongs towards the great Hauen, ſaue onely a little next the Sea, which they were yet at worke on. And on the other ſide of their Circle, towards *Trogilus*, and the other Sea, the Stones were for the moſt part laid ready vpon the place, B and the worke was left in ſome places halfe, and in ſome wholly finiſhed. So great was the danger that *Sycrauſe* was now brought into.

Gylippus arriueth at *Syracuſe*.

The *Athenians*, at the ſodaine comming on of *Gylippus*, though ſomewhat troubled at firſt, yet put themſelues in order to receiue him. And he, making a ſtand when he came neere, ſent a Herald to them, ſaying, That if they would abandon *Sicily* within fiue dayes, with bagge and baggage, he was content to giue them Truce. Which the *Athenians* contemning, ſent him away without any anſwer. C After this, they were putting themſelues into order of battell, one againſt another; but *Gylippus* finding the *Syracuſians* troubled, and not eaſily falling into their rankes, led backe his Army in a more open ground. *Nicias* led not the *Athenians* out againſt him, but lay ſtill, at his owne Fortification. And *Gylippus* ſeeing he came not vp, withdrew his Army, into the top called *Temenites*, where he lodged all night. The next day, he drew out the greateſt part of his Army, and imbattelled them before the Fortification of the *Athenians*, that they might not ſend ſuccour to any D other place, but a part alſo, they ſent to the Fort of *Labdalum*, and tooke it, and ſlew all thoſe they found within it. For the place was out of ſight to the *Athenians*. The ſame day the *Syracuſians* tooke alſo an *Athenian* Gally, as it entred into the great Hauen.

Gylippus offereth the *Athenians* fiue dayes Truce to be gone in.

The *Syracuſians* win *Labdalum*.

After this, the *Syracuſians*, and their Confederates began a wall through *Epipolæ*, frō the City towards the ſingle croſſe wall vpwards; that the *Athenians*, vnleſſe they could hinder it, might be excluded frō bringing their owne wall any further on. And the *Athenians* by this time, hauing made E an end of their wall to the Sea, were come vp againe; and *Gylippus* (for ſome part of the wall was but weake) riſing with

The *Syracuſians* build a wall vpwards, through *Epipolæ*, to ſtop the proceeding of the Wall of the *Athenians*.

with his Army by night, went to assault it; but the *Athenians* also knowing it (for they lodged all night without the wall) went presently to relecue it; which *Gylippus* perceiuing, againe retired. And the *Athenians*, when they had built it higher, kept the watch in this part themselues, and diuided the rest of the Wall to the charge of their Confederates. A

The *Athenians* fortifie *Plemmyrium*.

Also it seemed good to *Nicias* to fortifie the place called *Plemmyrium*, (it is a Promontory ouer ouer against the Citie, which shooting into the entrance of the great Hauen, streightneth the mouth of the same) which fortified, he thoght, would facilitate the bringing in of necessaries to the Army. For by this meanes, their Gallies might ride neerer to the * Hauen of the *Syracusians*, and not vpon euery motion of the Nauy of the enemies, to be to come out against them, as they were before, from the bottome of the [great] Hauen. And he had his mind set chiefly now, vpon the Warre by Sea, seeing his hopes by Land deminished, since the arriuall of *Gylippus*. Hauing therefore drawne his Army, and Gallies to that place, he built about it three Fortifications, wherein he placed his baggage, and where now also lay at Road both his great vessels of Carriage, and the nimblest of his Gallies. Hereupon principally ensued the first occasion of the great losse of his Sea-Souldiers. For hauing but little water, and that farre to fetch, and his Mariners going out also to fetch in wood, they were continually intercepted by the *Syracusian* Horsemen, that were masters of the Field. For the third part of the *Syracusian* Cauallery, were quartered in a little Towne called * *Olympieum*, to keepe those in *Plemmyrium*, from going abroad to spoyle the Countrey. B C

* Viz. *the lesser Hauen.*

Nicias was aduertized moreouer of the comming of the rest of the *Corinthian* Gallies, and sent out a guard of twenty Gallies, with order to wait for them about *Locri*, and *Rhegium*, and the passage there, into *Sicily*. D

* *The Temple there and whole Towne was consecrate to* Iupiter Olympius.

Nicias sendeth 20 Gallies to lye in wait for the ayd comming from *Peloponnesus*.

Gylippus in the meane time, went on with the wall through *Epipolæ*, vsing the Stones laid ready there by the *Athenians*, and withall drew out the *Syracusians* and their Confederates beyond the point of the same, and euer as hee brought them forth, put them into their order; and the *Athenians* on the other side imbattelled themselues against them. *Gylippus*, when he saw his time, began the battell; and being come to hands, they fought betweene the Fortifications E

Gylippus goeth on with his wall, and fighteth with the *Athenians*, twice and in the latter battell hauing the Victory, he finished his wall, and vtterly excluded the proceeding of the wall of the *Athenians*.

A fications of them both, where the *Syracuſians* and their Confederates had no vſe at all of their Horſemen. The *Syracuſians* and their Confederates being ouercome, and the *Athenians* hauing giuen them Truce to take vp their dead, and erected a Trophie, *Gylippus* aſſembled the Armie, and told them, *That this was not theirs, but his owne fault, who by pitching the Battell ſo farre within the Fortifications, had depriued them of the vſe both of their Cauallery, and Darters; and that therefore hee meant to bring them on againe; and wiſhed them to conſider, that for Forces they were nothing inferi-*
B *our to the Enemie: and for courage, it were a thing not to be endured, that being* Peloponneſians *and* Doriens, *they ſhould not maſter, and driue out of the Countrey,* Ionians, Ilanders, *and a rabble of mixed Nations.*

After this, when he ſaw his opportunity, hee brought on the Armie againe. *Nicias* and the *Athenians*, who thought it neceſſary, if not to beginne the Battell, yet by no meanes to ſet light by the Wall in hand (for by this time it wanted little of paſsing the point of theirs, and proceeding,
C would giue the Enemie aduantage, both to winne, if hee fought, and not to fight, vnleſſe hee liſted) did therefore alſo ſet forth to meete the *Syracuſians*.

Gylippus, when hee had drawne his men of Armes further without the Walles than hee had done before, gaue the onſet. His Horſemen and Darters hee placed vpon the Flanke of the *Athenians*, in ground enough, to which neither of their Walles extended. And theſe Horſemen, after the fight was begunne, charging vpon the left Wing of the *Athenians* next them, put them to flight; by which
D meanes the reſt of the Armie was by the *Syracuſians* ouercome likewiſe, and driuen headlong within their Fortifications. The night following, the *Syracuſians* brought vp their Wall beyond the Wall of the *Athenians*, ſo as they could no longer hinder them, but ſhould bee vtterly vnable, though maſters of the Field, to encloze the City.

After this, the other 12 Gallies of the *Corinthians*, *Ambraciotes* and *Leucadians*, vndeſcryed of the *Athenian* Gallies that lay in waite for them, entred the Hauen, vnder the Com-
E mand of *Eraſinedes*, a *Corinthian*, and helped the *Syracuſians* to finiſh what remained, to the croſſe Wall.

The reſt of the Gallies come in from Peloponneſus, vnſeene of the *Athenians* that were ſet to watch them.

Gylippus goeth about *Sicily*, and sendeth into *Peloponnesus* for more ayde.

Now *Gylippus* went vp and downe *Sicily*, raysing Forces both for Sea and Land, and solliciting to his side all such Cities as formerly either had not beene forward, or had wholly abstained from the Warre. Other Ambassadours also, both of the *Syracusians* and *Corinthians*, were sent to *Lacedæmon* and *Corinth*, to procure new Forces to be transported either in Ships or Boats, or how they could, because the *Athenians* had also sent to *Athens* for the like. In the meane time the *Syracusians* both manned their Nauie, and made tryall of themselues, as intending to take in hand that part also, and were otherwise exceedingly encouraged.

Nicias writeth to *Athens* for supply, and to be eased of his charge.

Nicias perceiuing this, and seeing the strength of the Enemie, and his owne necessities dayly increasing, hee also sent Messengers to *Athens*, both at other times, and often, vpon the occasion of euery action that passed; and now especially, as finding himselfe in danger, and that vnlesse they quickly sent for those away that were there already, or sent a great supply vnto them, there was no hope of safety: and fearing lest such as hee sent, through want of vtterance or iudgement, or through desire to please the Multitude, should deliuer things otherwise then they were, hee wrote vnto them a Letter. Conceauing that thus the *Athenians* should best know his minde, whereof no part could now be suppressed by the Messenger, and might therefore enter into deliberation vpon true grounds.

With these Letters, and other their instructions, the Messengers tooke their Iourney; and *Nicias* in the meane time, hauing a care to the well guarding of his Campe, was wary of entring into any voluntarie dangers.

The *Athenians* besiege *Amphipolis*.

In the end of this Summer, *Euetion*, Generall for the *Athenians*, with *Perdiccas*, together with many *Thracians*, warring against *Amphipolis*, tooke not the Citie; but bringing his Gallies about into *Strymon*, besieged it from the Riuer lying at *Imeræum*: And so this Summer ended.

The end of the eighteenth Summer.

The next Winter, the Messengers from *Nicias* arriued at *Athens*; and hauing spoken what they had in charge, and answered to such questions as they were asked, they presented the Letter, which the *Clerke of the Citie*, standing

Adding foorth, read vnto the *Athenians*, containing as followeth.

THE LETTER OF NICIAS to the *People of Athens*.

ATHENIANS, *You know by many other my Letters, what hath paſſed formerly: nor is it leſſe needfull for you to bee informed of the ſtate we are in, and to take counſell vpon it at*
B *this preſent. When we had in many Battels beaten the* Syracuſians, *againſt whom we were ſent, and had built the Walles within which we now lye, came* Gylippus *a* Lacedæmonian, *with an Armie out of* Peloponneſus, *and alſo out of ſome of the Cities of* Sicily; *and in the firſt Battell was ouercome by vs; but in the ſecond, forced by his many Horſemen and Darters, we retired vvithin our Workes. Whereupon giuing ouer our vvalling vp of the Citie, for the multitude of our enemies, we now ſit ſtill. Nor can vve indeed haue the vſe of our vvhole Army, becauſe ſome part of the men of Armes are employed to defend our Walles. And they haue built a ſin-*
C *gle Wall vp to vs, ſo that now vve haue no more meanes to encloze it, except one ſhould come with a great Army, and vvinne that croſſe-wall of theirs by aſſault. And ſo it is, that wee vvho ſeemed to beſiege others, are beſieged our ſelues, for ſo much as concerneth the Land. For wee cannot goe farre abroad by reaſon of their Cauallery. They haue alſo ſent Ambaſſadours for another Armie into* Peloponneſus; *and* Gylippus *is gone amongſt the Cities of* Sicily, *both to ſollicite ſuch to ioyne with him in the Warre, as haue not yet ſtirred; and of others to get, if he can, both more Land-ſouldiers, and more munition for their Nauie. For they intend (as I haue beene informed)*
D *both to aſſault our Wall by Land with their Armie, and to make tryall what they are able to doe with their Nauy by Sea. For though our Fleet (vvhich they alſo haue heard) were vigorous at firſt, both for ſoundneſſe of the Gallies, and entireneſſe of the men; yet our Gallies are now ſoaked, with lying ſo long in the water, and our men conſumed. For vve vvant the meanes to hale aland our Gallies, and trim them, becauſe the Gallies of the Enemie, as good as ours, and more in number, doe keepe vs in a continuall expectation of aſſault, which they manifeſtly endeuour. And ſeeing it is in their owne choice to attempt or not, they haue therefore liberty to dry their Gallies at their*
E *pleaſure. For they lye not, as we, in attendance vpon others. Nay, vve could hardly doe it, though we had many Gallies ſpare, and vvere not*

conſtrained, as now, to keepe watch vpon them vvith our vvhole num- A
ber. For ſhould we abate, though but a little, of our obſeruance, vve
ſhould want prouiſion, vvhich as vve are, being to paſſe ſo neere their
Citie, is brought in vvith difficulty; and hence it is, that our Mari-
ners, both formerly haue beene, and are now vvaſted. For our Ma-
riners, fetching vvood and vvater, and forraging farre off, are inter-
cepted by the Horſemen; and our Slaues, now vvee are on equall
termes, runne ouer to the Enemie. As for ſtrangers, ſome of them
hauing come aboard by conſtraint, returne preſently to their Cities;
and others hauing beene leuied at firſt vvith great vvages, and thin-
king they came to enrich themſelues rather then to fight, now they ſee B
the Enemie make ſo ſtrong reſiſtance, both otherwiſe beyond their ex-
pectation, and eſpecially, with their Nauie, partly take pretext to bee
gone, that they may ſerue the Enemie, and partly, (Sicily beeing
large) ſhift themſelues away, euery one as hee can. Some there are
alſo, who hauing bought heere * Hyccarian ſlaues, haue gotten the
Captaines of Gallies to accept of them in the roome of themſelues, and
thereby deſtroyed the purity of our Nauall ſtrength. To you I vvrite,
who know how ſmall a time any Fleet continueth in the height of vi-
gour, and how few of the Mariners are skilfull, both how to haſten
the courſe of a Gallie, and how to containe the Oare. But of all, my C
greateſt trouble is this, that being Generall, I can neither make them
doe better, (for your natures are hard to be gouerned) nor get Mari-
ners in any other place, (vvhich the Enemy can doe from many places)
but muſt of neceſsity haue them from vvhence vvee brought both theſe
we haue, and thoſe we haue loſt. For our now Confederate Cities,
Naxus and Catana, are not able to ſupply vs. Had the Enemie
but this one thing more, that the Townes of Italy, that now ſend vs
prouiſion, ſeeing vvhat eſtate vve are in, and you not helpe vs, vvould
turne to them, the Warre vvere at an end, and vvee expugned, vvithout
another ſtroke. I could haue vvritten to you other things, more plea- D
ſing then theſe, but not more profitable, ſeeing it is neceſſary for you
to know certainely the affaires heere, vvhen you goe to councell vpon
them; vvithall, (becauſe I know your natures to bee ſuch, as though
you loue to heare the beſt, yet afterwards vvhen things fall not out ac-
cordingly, you vvill call in queſtion them that vvrite it) I thought beſt
to vvrite the truth for my owne ſafeties ſake. And now thinke thus,
that though vve haue carried our ſelues, both Captaines and Souldiers,
in that for vvhich vve came at firſt hither, vnblameably; yet ſince all
Sicily is vnited againſt vs, and another Army expected out of Pe-
loponneſus, you muſt reſolue (for thoſe we haue here, are not enow E
for the Enemies preſent forces) eyther to ſend for theſe away, or to ſend
hither

*Theſe were they, vvhich Nicias, vpon the taking of Hyccara, made ſale of, himſelfe.

A *hither another Army, both of Land and Sea-ſouldiers, no leſſe then the former, and money, not a little; and alſo a Generall to ſucceed me who am able no longer to ſtay heere, being troubled with the ſtone in the Kidney. I muſt craue your pardon. I haue done you many good ſeruices in the conducts of your Armies when I had my health. What you will doe, doe in the very beginning of Spring, and delay it not. For the Enemie will ſoone haue furniſhed himſelfe of his* Sicilian *aydes; And though thoſe from* Peloponneſus *will bee later, yet if you looke not to it, they will get hither partly vnſeene, as before, and partly by preuenting you with ſpeed.*

B Theſe were the Contents of the Letter of *Nicias*.

The *Athenians* conclude to ſend a new Army to *Syracuſe*.

The *Athenians*, when they had heard it read, though they releaſed not *Nicias* of his Charge, yet for the preſent till ſuch time as others choſen to be in Commiſsion might arriue, they ioyned with him two of thoſe that were already in the Armie, *Menander* and *Euthydemon*, to the end that hee might not ſuſtaine the whole burthen alone in his ſickneſſe. They concluded likewiſe to ſend another Armie, aſwell for the Sea as the Land, both of *Athenians* enrol-
C led, and of their Confederates. And for fellow-Generals with *Nicias*, they elected *Demoſthenes the ſonne of Alciſthenes*, and *Eurymedon the ſonne of Thucles*. *Eurymedon* they ſent away preſently for *Sicily*, about the time of the Winter Solſtice, with tenne Gallies, and twenty Talents of Siluer, to tell them there, that ayde was comming, and that there was care taken of them. But *Demoſthenes* ſtaying, made preparation for the Voyage, to ſet out early the next Spring; and ſent vnto the Confederates, appointing what Forces they ſhould prouide, and to furniſh himſelfe amongſt
D them, with Money, and Gallies, and men of Armes.

They ſend twenty Gallies to *Naupactus*, to keep the *Corinthians* from tranſporting their forces into *Sicily*.

The *Athenians* ſent alſo twenty Gallies about *Peloponneſus*, to watch that none ſhould goe ouer into *Sicily*, from *Corinth* or *Peloponneſus*. For the *Corinthians*, after the Ambaſſadours were come to them, and had brought newes of the amendment of the affaires in *Sicily*, thought it was well that they had ſent thither thoſe other Gallies before; but now they were encouraged a great deale more, and prepared men of Armes to be tranſported into *Sicily* in Ships, and the *Lacedæmonians* did the like for the reſt of *Peloponne-*
E *ſus*. The *Corinthians* manned fiue and twenty Gallies, to preſent Battell to the Fleet that kept watch at *Naupactus*, that

that the Ships with the men of Armes, whileſt the *Athenians* attended theſe Gallies ſo embattailed againſt them, might paſſe by vnhindered. A

The *Lacedæmonians* prepare to inuade *Attica*, and fortifie *Decelea*, ſuppoſing the *Athenians* to haue broken the Peace.

The *Lacedæmonians*, as they intended before, and being alſo inſtigated to it by the *Syracuſians* and *Corinthians*, vpon aduertiſement now of the *Athenians* new ſupply for *Sicily*, prepared likewiſe to inuade *Attica*, thereby to diuert them. And *Alcibiades* alſo importunately vrged the fortifying of *Decelea*, and by no meanes to warre remiſſely. But the *Lacedæmonians* were heartned thereunto principally, becauſe they thought the *Athenians* hauing in hand a double War, B one againſt them, and another againſt the *Sicilians*, would be the eaſilier pulled downe; and becauſe they conceiued the breach of the laſt Peace was in themſelues; for in the former Warre, the iniury proceeded from their own ſide, in that the *Thebans* had entred *Platæa* in time of peace, And becauſe alſo, whereas it was inſerted in the former Articles, that Armes ſhould not bee carried againſt ſuch as would ſtand to tryall of Iudgement, they had refuſed ſuch tryall when the *Athenians* offered it. And they thought all their misfortunes had deſeruedly befalne them for that C cauſe; remembring amongſt others, the calamity at *Pylus*. But when the *Athenians* with a Fleet of thirty Sayle had ſpoiled part of the Territory of *Epidaurus*, and of *Praſiæ*, and other places, and their Souldiers that lay in Garriſon in *Pylus*, had taken bootie in the Countrey about; And ſeeing that as often as there aroſe any controuerſie touching any doubtfull point of the Articles, the *Lacedæmonians* offering tryall by Iudgement, they refuſed it; Then indeed, the *Lacedæmonians* conceiuing the *Athenians* to bee in the ſame fault that themſelues had beene in before, be- D tooke themſelues earneſtly to the Warre. And this Winter they ſent about vnto their Confederates, to make ready Iron, and all Inſtruments of Fortification. And for the ayde they were to tranſport in Ships to the *Sicilians*, they both made prouiſion amongſt themſelues, and compelled the reſt of *Peloponneſus* to doe the like. So ended this Winter, and the eighteenth Yeere of the Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

THE NINETEENTH YEERE.

The *Peloponneſians* inuade *Attica*, and fortifie *Decelea*.

The next Spring, in the very beginning, earlier then e- E uer before, the *Lacedæmonians* and their Confederates entred with their Armie into *Attica*, vnder the command of

Agis

A *Agis* the sonne of *Archidamus*, their King. And first they wasted the Champaigne Countrey, and then went in hand with the Wall at *Decelea*, diuiding the worke amongst the Armie according to their Cities. This *Decelea* is from the Citie of *Athens*, at the most, but 120. Furlongs, and about as much, or a little more from *Bœotia*. This Fort they made in the plaine, and in the most opportune place that could bee, to annoy the *Athenians*, and in sight of the Citie. Now the *Peloponnesians* and their Confederates in *Attica* went on with their fortification.

B They in *Peloponnesus* sent away their Ships with the men of Armes about the same time into *Sicily*. Of which, the *Lacedæmonians*, out of the best of their *Helotes*, and men made newly free, sent in the whole sixe hundred, and *Eccritus* a *Spartan* for Commander. And the *Bœotians* three hundred, vnder the Conduct of *Xenon* and *Nicon*, *Thebans*, and *Hegesander* a *Thespian*. And these set foorth first, and put to Sea at *Tænarus* in *Laconia*. After them a little, the *Corinthians* sent away fiue hundred more, part from the Citie it selfe of *Corinth*, and part mercenarie *Arcadians*, and *Alexarchus* a *Corinthian* for Captaine. The *Sicyonians* also sent two hundred with them that went from *Corinth*, and *Sargeus* a *Sicyonian* for Captaine. Now the 25 *Corinthian* Gallies that were manned in Winter, lay opposite to the twenty Gallies of *Athens* which were at *Naupactus*, till such time as the men of Armes in the Ships from *Peloponnesus* might get away; for which purpose they were also set out at first, that the *Athenians* might not haue their mindes vpon these Ships, so much as vpon the Gallies.

The *Peloponnesians* send away their men of Armes for *Sicily*.

In the meane time also, the *Athenians*, whilest *Decelea* D was fortifying, in the beginning of the Spring, sent twenty Gallies about *Peloponnesus*, vnder the command of *Caricles* the sonne of *Apollodorus*, with order when hee came to *Argos*, to take aboord the men of Armes which the *Argiues* were to send them, according to League; and sent away *Demosthenes* (as they intended before) into *Sicily*, with threescore Gallies of *Athens*, and fiue of *Chios*, and one thousand two hundred men of Armes of the Roll of *Athens*, and as many of the Ilanders as they could get, prouided by their subiect Confederates of all other necessaries for the E Warre: But he had order to ioyne first with *Charicles*, and helpe him to make Warre first vpon *Laconia*. So *Demosthenes*

The *Athenians* send out *Demosthenes* toward *Sicily*.

moſthenes went to *Ægina*, and ſtayed there both for the remnant of his owne Army, if any were left behind, and for *Charicles* till he had taken aboord the *Argiues*.

Gylippus perſwadeth the *Syracuſians* to fight by Sea.

In *Sicily*, about the ſame time of the Spring, *Gylippus* alſo returned to *Syracuſe*, bringing with him from the Cities hee had dealt withall, as great forces as ſeuerally hee could get from them; And hauing aſſembled the *Syracuſians*, he told them, that they ought to man as many Gallies as they could, and make triall of a battell by Sea, and that he hoped thereby to performe ſomewhat to the benefit of the Warre, which ſhould be worthy the danger. *Hermocrates* alſo was none of the leaſt meanes of getting them to vndertake the *Athenians* with their Nauy, who told them, *That neither the* Athenians *had this skill by Sea, hereditary, or from euerlaſting, but were more Inland-men then the* Syracuſians, *and forced to become Sea-men by the* Medes: *And that to daring men, ſuch as the* Athenians *are, they are moſt formidable that are as daring againſt them. For wherewith they terrifie their neighbours, which is not alwayes the aduantage of power, but boldneſſe of enterprizing, with the ſame ſhall they in like manner be terrified by their enemies. He knew it,* he ſaid, *certainely, that the* Syracuſians *by their vnexpected daring to encounter the* Athenian *Nauy, would get more aduantage in reſpect of the feare it would cauſe, then the* Athenians *ſhould endammage them by their oddes of skill.* He bade them therefore, *to make triall of their Nauy, and to be afraid no longer.* The *Syracuſians* on theſe perſwaſions of *Gylippus* and *Hermocrates*, and others, if any were, became now extremely deſirous to fight by Sea, and preſently manned their Gallies.

The *Syracuſians* win *Plemmyrium*, but are beaten by Sea.

Gylippus, when the Nauy was ready, drew out his whole power of Land-Souldiers in the beginning of night, meaning to goe himſelfe and aſſault the Fortifications in *Plemmyrium*. Withall, the Gallies of the *Syracuſians*, by appointment, 35 of them came vp towards it, out of the great Hauen, and 45 more came about out of the little Hauen, where alſo was their Arſenall, with purpoſe to ioyne with thoſe within, and to goe together to *Plemmyrium*, that the *Athenians* might be troubled on both ſides. But the *Athenians* hauing quickly manned 60 Gallies to oppoſe them; with 25 of them, they fought with the 35 of the *Syracuſians* in the great Hauen, and with the reſt went

to

A to meete thoſe that came about from the little Hauen. And theſe fought preſently before the mouth of the great Hauen, and held each other to it for a long time; one ſide endeuouring to force, the other to defend the entrance. In the meane time *Gylippus* (the *Athenians* in *Plemmyrium* being now come downe to the water ſide, and hauing their mindes buſied vpon the fight of the Gallies) betimes in the morning, and on a ſudden aſſaulted the Fortifications, before they could come backe againe to defend them; and poſſeſſed firſt the greateſt, and afterwards the two leſ-
B ſer: for they that watched in theſe, when they ſaw the greateſt ſo eaſily taken, durſt ſtay no longer. They that fled vpon the loſing of the firſt Wall, and put themſelues into Boats, and into a certaine Ship, got hardly into the Campe; for whileſt the *Syracuſians* in the great Hauen, had yet the better in the fight vpon the water, they gaue them chaſe with one nimble Gally. But by that time that the other two Walles were taken, the *Syracuſians* vpon the water were ouercome, and the *Athenians* which fled from thoſe two Walles, got to their Campe with more
C eaſe. For thoſe *Syracuſian* Gallies that fought before the Hauens mouth, hauing beaten backe the *Athenians*, entred in diſorder, and falling foule one on another, gaue away the Victorie vnto the *Athenians*, who put to flight not onely them, but alſo thoſe other, by whom they had before beene ouercome within the Hauen, and ſunke eleuen Gallies of the *Syracuſians*, and ſlew moſt of the men aboord them, ſaue onely the men of three Gallies, whom they tooke aliue. Of their owne Gallies they loſt onely three.

D When they had drawne to Land the wrecke of the *Syracuſian* Gallies, and erected a Trophie in the little Iland ouer againſt *Plemmyrium*, they returned to their Campe. The *Syracuſians*, though ſuch were their ſucceſſe in the Battell by Sea, yet they wonne the Fortification in *Plemmyrium*, and ſet vp three Trophies, for euery Wall one. One of the two Walles laſt taken, they demoliſhed, but two they repayred, and kept with a Garriſon.

At the taking of theſe Walles, many men were ſlaine,
E and many taken aliue, and their goods, which all together was a great matter, were all taken. For the *Athenians*

The *Syracuſians* winne the workes of the *Athenians* in *Plemmyrium*.

The *Athenians* get the victory by water.

vſing theſe Workes for their ſtorehouſe, there was in them much wealth and Victuall, belonging vnto Merchants, and much vnto Captaines of Gallies: For there were Sayles within it for fortie Gallies, beſides other furniture, and three Gallies drawne to Land. And this loſſe of *Plemmyrium* was it that moſt and principally empayred the *Athenians* Army. For the entrance of their prouiſion was now no longer ſafe, (for the *Syracuſians* lying againſt them there with their Gallies, kept them out) and nothing could be brought in vnto them but by fight, and the Armie beſides was thereby otherwiſe terrified and deiected.

A

B

After this the *Syracuſians* ſent out twelue Gallies, vnder the command of *Agatharchus* a *Syracuſian*. Of which one carried Ambaſſadours into *Peloponneſus*, to declare what hope they had now of their buſineſſe, and to inſtigate them to a ſharper Warre in *Attica*. The other eleuen went into *Italy*, vpon intelligence of certaine Veſſels laden with commodities comming to the *Athenians* Army: which alſo they met with, and deſtroyed moſt of them; and the Timber which for building of Gallies, the *Athenians* had ready framed, they burned in the Territory of *Caulonia*.

C

After this they went to *Locri*, and riding heere, there came vnto them one of the Ships that carried the men of Armes of the *Theſpians*; whom the *Syracuſians*, tooke aboord, & went homeward by the Coaſt. The *Athenians* that watched for them with 20 Gallies at *Megara*, tooke one of them, and the men that were in her, but could not take the reſt: So that they eſcaped through to *Syracuſe*.

There was alſo a light Skirmiſh in the Hauen of *Syracuſe*, about the Piles which the *Syracuſians* had driuen downe before their old Harbour, to the end that the Gallies might ride within, and the *Athenians* not annoy them by aſſault. The *Athenians* hauing brought to the place a Ship of huge greatneſſe, fortified with Woodden Turrets, and couered againſt Fire, cauſed certaine men with little Boats, to goe and faſten Cords vnto the Piles, and ſo broke them vp with craning. Some alſo the Diuers did cut vp with Sawes. In the meane time the *Syracuſians* from the Harbour, and they from the great Ship, ſhot at each other, till in the end,

D

E

A end, the greateſt part of the Piles were by the *Athenians* gotten vp. But the greateſt difficulty was to get vp thoſe Piles which lay hidden; for ſome of them they had ſo driuen in, as that they came not aboue the Water. So that hee that ſhould come neere, was in danger to bee throwne vpon them as vpon a Rocke. But theſe alſo for reward the Diuers went downe, and ſawed aſunder. But the *Syracuſians* continually draue down other in their ſtead. Other deuices they had againſt each other, (as was not vnlikely betweene Armies ſo neere oppoſed) and many light
B Skirmiſhes paſſed, and attempts of all kindes were put in execution.

The *Syracuſians* moreouer ſent Ambaſſadours, ſome *Corinthians*, ſome *Ambraciotes*, and ſome *Lacedæmonians*, vnto the Cities about them, to let them know, that they had wonne *Plemmyrium*, and that in the Battell by Sea, they were not ouercome by the ſtrength of the Enemie, but by their own diſorder; and alſo to ſhew what hope they were in, in other reſpects, and to intreat their ayd both of Sea and Land-forces, forſomuch as the *Athenians* expecting another
C Army, if they would ſend ayde before it came, whereby to ouerthrow that which they had now there, the Warre would be at an end. Thus ſtood the affaires of *Sicily*.

Demoſthenes, as ſoone as his forces which he was to carry to the ſuccour of thoſe in *Sicily*, were gotten together, put to Sea from *Ægina*, and ſayling into *Peloponneſus*, ioyned with *Charicles*, and the 30. Gallies that were with him. And hauing taken aboord ſome men of Armes of the *Argiues*, came to *Laconia*, and firſt waſted part of the Territory of *Epidaurus Limera*. From thence, going to that part of
D *Laconia* which is ouer againſt the Iland *Cythera*, (where is a Temple of *Apollo*) they waſted a part of the Countrey, and fortified an Iſthmus there, both that the *Helots* might haue a refuge in it, running away from the *Lacedæmonians*, and that Freebooters from thence, as from *Pylus*, might fetch in Prizes from the Territory adioyning. As ſoone as the place was taken in, *Demoſthenes* himſelfe went on to *Corcyra*, to take vp the Confederates there, with intent to goe thence ſpeedily into *Sicily*. And *Charicles* hauing ſtaid to finiſh, and put a Garriſon into the Fortification, went af-
E terwards with his thirty Gallies to *Athens*; and the *Argiues* alſo went home.

Demoſthenes in his way to *Sicily*, fortifieth a necke of Land in *Laconia*.

The aydes of the *Thracians* come too late to goe into *Sicily*.

The incommodities which befell the *Athenians* by the fortification in *Decelea*.

The ſame Winter alſo came to *Athens* a thouſand and three hundred Targettiers, of thoſe called *Machærophori*, of the race of them that are called *Dij*, and were to haue gone with *Demoſthenes* into *Sicily*. But comming too late, the *Athenians* reſolued to ſend them backe againe into *Thrace*, as being too chargeable a matter to entertaine them onely for the Warre in *Decelea*; for their pay was to haue beene a Drachma a man by the day. For *Decelea* being this Summer fortified, firſt by the whole Army, & thē by the ſeueral Cities maintained with a Garriſon by turnes, much endamaged the *Athenians*, and weakned their eſtate, both by deſtroying their commodities, and conſuming of their men, ſo as nothing more. For the former inuaſions hauing beene ſhort, hindred them not from reaping the benefit of the earth for the reſt of the time; but now, the Enemy continually lying vpon them, and ſometimes with greater forces, ſometimes of neceſsity with the ordinary Garriſon making incurſions, and fetching in bootie, *Agis* the King of *Lacedæmon* being alwayes there in perſon, and diligently proſecuting the Warre, the *Athenians* were thereby very grieuouſly afflicted: for they were not onely depriued of the fruit of the Land, but alſo aboue twenty thouſand of their ſlaues fled ouer to the Enemy, whereof the greateſt part were Artificers.

Beſides, they loſt all their Sheepe and Oxen. And by the continuall going out of the *Athenian* Horſemen, making excurſions to *Decelea*, and defending the Countrey, their Horſes became partly lamed, through inceſſant labour in rugged grounds, & partly wounded by the Enemy. And their prouiſion, which formerly they vſed to bring in from *Eubœa* by *Oropus*, the ſhorteſt way, through *Decelea* by Land, they were now forced to fetch in by Sea, at great coſt, about the Promontory of *Sunium*. And whatſoeuer the City was wont to be ſerued withall from without, it now wanted, and in ſtead of a Citie was become as it were a Fort. And the *Athenians* watching on the Battlements of the Wall, in the day time by turnes, but in the night, both Winter and Summer, all at once, (except the Horſemen) part at the Walles, and part at the Armes, were quite tyred. But that which preſſed them moſt, was that they had two Warres at once. And yet their obſtinacie was ſo great, as no man would haue beleeued, till now they

A they ſaw it. For being beſieged at home, from the Fortification of the *Peloponneſians*, no man would haue imagined, that they ſhould not onely not haue recalled their Armie out of *Sicily*, but haue alſo beſieged *Syracuſe* there, a Citie of it ſelfe no leſſe then *Athens*, and therein ſo much haue exceeded the expectation of the reſt of the *Grecians*, both in power and courage, (who in the beginning of this Warre conceiued, if the *Peloponneſians* inuaded their Territory, ſome of them, that they might hold out two yeeres, others three, no man more) as that in the ſeuenteenth
B yeere after they were firſt inuaded, they ſhould haue vndertaken an expeditiõ into *Sicily*, & being euery way weakned already by the former Warre, haue vndergone another, not inferiour to that which they had before with the *Peloponneſians*. Now their Treaſure being by theſe Warres, and by the detriment ſuſtained from *Decelea*, and other great expences that came vpon them, at a very low ebbe, about this time they impoſed on ſuch as were vnder their dominion, a twentieth part of all goods paſsing by Sea, for a Tribute, by this meanes to improue their commings
C in. For their expences were not now as before, but ſo much greater, by how much the Warre was greater, and their reuenue beſides cut off.

The *Thracians* therefore, that came too late to goe with *Demoſthenes*, they preſently ſent backe, as being vnwilling to lay out money in ſuch a ſcarcity; and gaue the charge of carrying them backe to *Dijtrephes*, with command as he went along thoſe Coaſts, (for his way was through the * *Euripus*) if occaſion ſerued, to do ſomewhat againſt the Enemie. He accordingly landed them by *Tanagra*, and haſtily
D fetched in ſome ſmall booty. Then going ouer the *Euripus* from *Chalcis* in *Eubœa*, he disbarqued againe in *Bœotia*, and led his Souldiers towards *Mycaleſſus*, and lay all night at the Temple of *Mercury* vndiſcouered, which is diſtant from *Mycaleſſus* about ſixteene furlongs. The next day he commeth to the City, being a very great one, and taketh it. For they kept no Watch, nor expected that any man would haue come in and aſſaulted them, ſo farre from the Sea. Their Walles alſo were but weake, in ſome places falne downe, and in others low built, and their Gates o
E pen through ſecurity. The *Thracians* entring into *Mycaleſſus*, ſpoiled both Houſes and Temples, ſlew the people, without

The *Thracians* ſent backe, in their way ſacke the city of *Mycaleſſus*.

* *The ſtraight betweene* Eubœa *and* Bœotia.

The barbarous cruelty of the *Thracians*.

without mercy on old or young, but killed all they could A
light on, both women and children, yea, and the labouring Cattell, and whatſoeuer other liuing thing they ſaw. For the Nation of the *Thracians*, where they dare, are extreme bloody, equall to any of the *Barberians*. Inſomuch as there was put in practiſe at this time, beſides other diſorder, all formes of ſlaughter that could be imagined. They likewiſe fell vpon the Schoolehouſe (which was in the Citie a great one, and the children newly entred into it) and killed them euery one. And the calamity of the whole City, as it was as great as euer befell any, ſo alſo B
was it more vnexpected, and more bitter. The *Thebans* hearing of it, came out to helpe them; and ouertaking the *Thracians* before they were gone farre, both recouered the booty, and chaſed them to the *Euripus*, and to the Sea, where the Gallies lay that brought them. Some of them they killed, of thoſe moſt, in their going aboord. For ſwimme they could not; and ſuch as were in the ſmall Boats, when they ſaw how things went a-land, had thruſt off their Boats, and lay without the *Euripus*. In the reſt of the retreat, the *Thracians* behaued themſelues not vn- C
handſomely, againſt the *Theban* Horſemen, by whom they were charged firſt; but running out, and againe rallying themſelues in a circle, according to the manner of their Countrey, defended themſelues well, and loſt but few men in that action. But ſome alſo they loſt in the City it ſelfe, whileſt they ſtayed behind for pillage. But in the whole, of 1300, there were ſlaine, onely 250. Of the *Thebans* and others that came out to helpe the Citie, there were ſlaine Horſemen, and men of Armes, one with another, about 20, and amongſt them *Scirphondas* of *Thebis*, one of D
the Gouernours of *Bœotia*. And of the *Mycaleſsians* there periſhed a part. Thus went the matter at *Mycaleſſus*, the loſſe which it receiued, being for the quantity of the City, no leſſe to be lamented, then any that happened in the whole Warre.

Demoſthenes going from *Corcyra*, after his fortifying in *Laconia*, found a Ship lying in *Phia* of *Elis*, and in her certaine men of Armes of *Corinth*, ready to goe into *Sicily*. The Ship he ſunke, but the men eſcaped, and afterwards getting another Shippe, went on in their E
voyage.

After

A After this, *Demoſthenes* being about *Zacynthus*, and *Cephallenia*, tooke aboord their men of Armes, and ſent to *Naupactus* for the *Meſſenians*. From thence he croſſed ouer to the Continent of *Acarnania*, to *Alyzea*, and *Anactorium*, which belonged to the *Athenians*. Whileſt he was in theſe parts, he met with *Eurymedon* out of *Sicily*, that had been ſent in Winter vnto the Army with commodities, who told him amongſt other things, how he had heard by the way, after he was at Sea, that the *Syracuſians* had wonne *Plemmyrium*. *Conon* alſo the Captaine of *Nau-*
B *pactus* came to them, and related, that the 25 Gallies of *Corinth* that lay before *Naupactus*, would not giue ouer Warre, and yet delayed to fight, and therefore deſired to haue ſome Gallies ſent him, as being vnable with his 18 to giue battell to 25 of the enemy. Whereupon *Demoſthenes* and *Eurymedon* ſent 20 Gallies more to thoſe at *Naupactus*, the nimbleſt of the whole Fleet, by *Conon* himſelfe; And went themſelues about furniſhing of what belonged to the Army. Of whom *Eurymedon* went to *Corcyra*, & hauing appointed thē there to man 15 Gallies,
C leuyed men of Armes; for now giuing ouer his courſe to *Athens*, he ioyned with *Demoſthenes*, as hauing been elected with him, in the charge of Generall; and *Demoſthenes* tooke vp Slingers and Darters, in the parts about *Acarnania*.

Eurymedon commeth to *Demoſthenes* out of *Sicily*, and telleth him of the taking of *Plemmyrium*.

Demoſthenes and *Eurymedon* leuy forces for *Sicily*.

The Ambaſſadours of the *Syracuſians*, which after the taking of *Plemmyrium*, had been ſent vnto the Cities about, hauing now obtained, and leuyed an Army amongſt them, were conducting the ſame to *Syracuſe*. But *Nicias*, vpon intelligence thereof, ſent vnto ſuch Cities of the *Si-*
D *culi* as had the paſſages, and were their Confederates, the *Centoripines*, *Halicycæans*, and others, not to ſuffer the enemy to goe by, but to vnite themſelues and ſtop them; for that they would not ſo much as offer to paſſe any other way, ſeeing the *Agrigentines* had already denyed them. When the * *Sicilians* were marching, the * *Siculi*, as the *Athenians* had deſired them, put themſelues in Ambuſh in three ſeuerall places, and ſetting vpon them vnawares, and on a ſodaine, ſlew about eight hundred of them, and all the Ambaſſadours, ſaue onely one, a *Corinthian*, which
E conducted the reſt that eſcaped, being about 1500, to *Syracuſe*.

Nicias ouerthroweth the new ſupply going to *Syracuſe* from the neighbouring Cities, and killeth 800 of them.

* Σικελικοὶ. * Σικανοὶ.

About

About the ſame time, came vnto them, alſo the ayde of A
the *Camarinæans*, 500 men of Armes, 300 Darters, and 300 Archers. Alſo the *Geloans* ſent them men for fiue Gallies, beſides 400 Darters, and 200 Horſemen. For now all *Sicily* (except the *Agrigentines*, who were Newtrall) but all the reſt, who before ſtood looking on, came in, to the *Syracuſian* ſide againſt the *Athenians*. Neuertheleſſe, the *Syracuſians*, after this blow receiued amongſt the *Siculi*, held their hands, and aſſaulted not the *Athenians* for a while.

Demoſthenes and *Eurymedon* hauing their Army now ready, croſſed ouer from *Corcyra*, and the * Continent with B
the whole Army, to the Promontory of *Iapygia*. From thence they went to the *Charades*, Ilands of *Iapygia*, and here tooke in certaine *Iapygian* Darters, to the number of 250, of the *Meſſapian* Nation. And hauing renewed a certaine ancient alliance, with *Artas*, who raigned there, and granted them thoſe Darters, they went thence to *Metapontium*, a City of *Italy*. There by vertue of a League, they got two Gallies, and 200 Darters, which taken aboord they kept along the Shoare, till they came to the Territory of *Thuria*. Here they found the aduers faction C
to the *Athenians* to haue been lately driuen out in a ſedition. And becauſe they deſired to muſter their Army here, that they might ſee if any were left behind, and perſwade the *Thurians* to ioyne with them freely in the War, (and as things ſtood) to haue for friends and enemies, the ſame that were ſo to the *Athenians*, they ſtaied about that in the Territory of the *Thurians*.

* *The Continent about* Acarnania, *for there was* Demoſthenes; *and at* Corcyra *was* Eurymedon.

The *Peloponneſians*, and the reſt, who were at the ſame time in the 25 Gallies that for ſafegard of the Ships, lay oppoſite to the Gallies before *Naupactus*, hauing prepared D
themſelues for battell, and with more Gallies, ſo as they were little inferiour in number to thoſe of the *Athenians*, went to an Anchor vnder *Erineus* of *Achaia* in *Rhypica*. The place where they rid, was in forme like a halfe-Moone, and their Land forces they had ready on either ſide to aſſiſt them, both *Corinthians*, and other their Confederates of thoſe parts, embattelled vpon the points of the Promontory, and their Gallies made vp the ſpace betweene, vnder the command of *Polyanthes*, a *Corinthian*. Againſt theſe, the *Athenians* came vp, with 33 Gallies from *Naupactus*, E
commanded by *Diphilus*. The *Corinthians* at firſt lay ſtill, but

The battell by Sea, before *Naupactus*, betweene the *Corinthians* and *Athenians*.

A but afterwards when they saw their time, and the Signall
given, they charged the *Athenians*, and the fight began. They
held each other to it long. The *Athenians* sunke three
Gallies of the *Corinthians*. And though none of their
owne were sunke, yet seauen were made vnseruiceable,
which hauing encountred the *Corinthian* Gallies a-head,
were torne on both sides betweene the beake and the oares,
by the beakes of the *Corinthian* Gallies, made stronger for
the same purpose. After they had fought with equall
fortune, and so as both sides challenged the victory, though
B yet the *Athenians* were masters of the wrecks, as driuen by
the wind into the maine, and because the *Corinthians* came
not out to renew the fight) they at length parted. There
was no chasing of men that fled, nor a prisoner taken on ei-
ther side, because the *Peloponnesians* and *Corinthians* fighting
neere the Land, easily escaped; nor was there any Gally of
the *Athenians* sunke. But when the *Athenians* were gone
backe to *Naupactus*, the *Corinthians* presently set vp a Tro-
phie, as victors, in regard that more of the *Athenian* Gal-
lies were made vnseruiceable, than of theirs; and thought
C themselues not to haue had the worse, for the same reason
that the others thought themselues not to haue had the
better. For the *Corinthians* thinke they haue the better,
when they haue not much the worse, and the *Athenians*
thinke they haue the worse, when they haue not much
the better. And when the *Peloponnesians* were gone,
and their Armie by Land dissolued, the *Athenians* also
set vp a Trophie in *Achaia*, as if the victorie had beene
theirs; distant from *Erineus*, where the *Peloponnesians* rid, a-
bout twenty Furlongs. This was the successe of that bat-
D tell by Sea.

Demosthenes and *Eurymedon*, after the *Thurians* had put in
readinesse to goe with them, 700. men of Armes and 300.
Darters, comanded their Gallies to go along the Coast, to
Croton, and conducted their Land-souldiers, hauing first ta-
ken a muster of them all vpon the side of the Riuer *Sycaris*,
through the Territory of the *Thurians*. But comming to
the Riuer *Hylias*, vpon word sent them from the men of
Croton, that if the Army went thorow their Territory, it
should be against their will, they marched downe to the
E Sea side, and to the mouth of the Riuer *Hylias*, where they
stayed all that night, and were met by their Gallies.

Demosthenes and *Eurymedon* come along the shore of *Italy*, and take vp forces.

The next day imbarking, they kept along the shore, and touched at euery Towne hauing Lord, till they arriued at *Peria*, in the Territory of *Rhegium*.

The *Syracusians* make ready their Gallies to fight with the *Athenians* there, before the supply came.

The *Syracusians* in the meane time, vpon intelligence of this comming on, resolued to try againe what they could doe with their Nauy, and with their new supply of Landmen, which they had gotten together on purpose, to fight with the *Athenians*, before *Demosthenes* and *Eurymedon* should arriue. And they furnished their Nauie, both otherwise, according to the aduantages they had learnt in the last battell, and also made shorter the heads of their Gallies, and thereby stronger, and made beakes to them of a great thicknesse, which they also strengthned with rafters fastned to the sides of the Gallies, both within and without, of 5 cubits long, in such manner as the *Corinthians* had armed their Gallies a-head to fight with those before *Naupactus*. For the *Syracusians* made account, that against the *Athenian* Gallies, not so built, but weake before, as not vsing so much to meet the Enemie a-head, as vpon the side, by fetching a compasse, they could not but haue the better, and that so fight in the great Hauen, many Gallies in not much roome, was an aduantage to them, for that vsing to direct encounter, they should breake with their firme and thicke beakes, the hollow and infirme foreparts of the Gallies of their Enemies; and that the *Athenians* in that narrow roome, would want meanes both to goe about, and to goe through them, which was the point of Art they most relyed on. For as for their passing through, they would hinder it themselues as much as they could, and for fetching compasse, the straightnesse of the place would not suffer it. And that fighting a-head, which seemed before to be want of skill in the Masters [to doe otherwise,] was it they would now principally make vse of; for in this would bee their principall aduantage. For the *Athenians*, if ouercome, would haue no retiring, but to the Land, which was but a little way off, and little in compasse, neere their owne Campe, and of the rest of the Hauen themselues should be Masters, and the Enemie being prest, could not choose, thronging together into a little roome, and all into one & the same place, but disorder one another, (which was indeed the thing that in all their battells by Sea, did the *Athenians* the greatest hurt, hauing not, as the *Syracusians* had,

Their maner of strengthning their Gallies.

A had the liberty of the whole Hauen to retire vnto) and to goe about into a place of more roome, they hauing it in their power to ſet vpon them from the maine Sea, and to retire againe at pleaſure, they ſhould neuer be able; eſpecially hauing *Plemmyrium* for enemy, and the Hauens mouth not being large. The *Syracuſians* hauing deuiſed thus much ouer and aboue their former skill and ſtrength, and far more confident now ſince the former Battell by Sea, aſſaulted them both with their Army and with their Nauy at once. The Landmen from the City *Gylippus* drew ſooner out a
B little, and brought them to the Wall of the *Athenians* Campe, vpon the ſide towards the Citie; and from *Olympieum*, the men of Armes, all that were there, and the Horſemen and light-armed of the *Syracuſians*, came vp to the Wall on the other ſide. And by and by after came ſailing forth alſo the Gallies of the *Syracuſians*, and their Confederates. The *Athenians* that thought at firſt, they would haue made the attempt only with their Landmen, ſeeing alſo the Gallies on a ſudden comming towards them, were in confuſion, and ſome of them put them-
C ſelues in order vpon and before the Walles, againſt thoſe that came from the Citie, and others went out to meete the Horſemen and Darters, that were comming in great numbers, and with ſpeed from *Olympieum*, and the parts without. Others againe went aboord, and withall came to ayde thoſe aſhore; but when the Gallies were manned, they put off, being 75. in number, and thoſe of *Syracuſe* about 80. Hauing ſpent much of the day in charging and retiring, and trying each other, and performed nothing worth the mentioning, ſaue that the *Syracuſians* ſunke a
D Gallie or two of the *Athenians*, they parted againe, and the Land-ſouldiers retired at the ſame time from the Wall of the *Athenian* Campe. The next day the *Syracuſians* lay ſtill, without ſhewing any ſigne of what they meant to doe. Yet *Nicias* ſeeing that the Battell by Sea was with equality, and imagining that they would fight againe, made the Captaines to repaire their Gallies, ſuch as had beene torne, and 2 *great Ships* to be mored, without thoſe Piles which he had driuen into the Sea before his Gallies, to bee inſtead of a Hauen inclozed. Theſe Ships he placed about
E 2 acres breadth aſunder, to the end if any Gally chanced to bee preſſed, it might ſafely runne in, and againe goe

The *Athenians* and *Syracuſians* fight.

goe ſafely out at leaſure. In performing of this, the *Athenians* ſpent a whole day from morning vntill night. A

The *Athenians* and *Syracuſians* fight againe.

The next day the *Syracuſians* aſſaulted the *Athenians* againe with the ſame Forces both by Sea and Land, that they had done before, but begunne earlier in the morning, and being oppoſed Fleet againſt Fleet, they drew out a great part of the day, now againe, as before, in attempting vpon each other without effect. Till at laſt *Ariſton* the ſonne of *Pyrrhichus*, a *Corinthian*, the moſt expert Maſter that the *Syracuſians* had in their Fleet, perſwaded the Commanders of the Nauie, to ſend to ſuch in the Citie as B it belonged to, and command that the Market ſhould bee ſpeedily kept at the Sea-ſide, and to compell euery man to bring thither whatſoeuer hee had fit for meate, and there to ſell it, that the Mariners disbarking, might preſently dine by the Gallies ſides, and quickly againe vnlooked-for, aſſault the *Athenians* afreſh the ſame day.

The ſtratagem of *Ariſton*, a Maſter of a Gally.

This aduice being liked, they ſent a Meſſenger, and the Market was furniſhed. And the *Syracuſians* ſuddenly rowed a-ſterne, towards the Citie, and disbarking, dined thereright on the ſhore. The *Athenians* ſuppoſing they had C retired towards the Citie, as vanquiſhed, landed at leaſure, and amongſt other buſineſſe, went about the dreſsing of their dinner, as not expecting to haue fought againe the ſame day. But the *Syracuſians* ſuddenly going aboord, came towards them againe. And the *Athenians* in great tumult, and for the moſt part vndined, imbarking diſorderly, at length with much adoe went out to meete them. For a while they held their hands on both ſides, and but obſerued each other; But anon after, the *Athenians* thought not fit by longer dallying, to ouercome themD ſelues with their owne labour, but rather to fight as ſoone as they could; and thereupon at once with a ioynt ſhout, charged the Enemie, and the fight began. The *Syracuſians* receiued and reſiſted their charge; and fighting, as they had before determined, with their Gallies head to head with thoſe of the *Athenians*, and prouided with beakes for the purpoſe, brake the Gallies of the *Athenians* very much, between the heads of the Gallies and the oares. The *Athenians* were alſo annoyed much by the Darters from the Deckes, but much more by thoſe *Syracuſians*, who going a- E bout in ſmall Boats, paſſed vnder the rowes of the Oares

to

A of the Enemies Gallies, and comming cloſe to their ſides, threw their Darts at the Mariners from thence.

The *Syracuſians* hauing fought in this manner with the vtmoſt of their ſtrength, in the end gat the victory, and the *Athenians*, betweene the two *Ships*, eſcaped into their harbour. The *Syracuſian* Gallies chaſed them as farre as to thoſe *Ships*, but the *Dolphins* hanging from the Maſts ouer the entrance of the harbour, forbad them to follow any further. Yet there were two Gallies, which vpon a iollity after victory approached them, but were both loſt,

B of which one with her men and all was taken. The *Syracuſians*, after they had ſunke ſeuen Gallies of the *Athenians*, and torne many more, and of the men had taken ſome aliue, and killed others, retired, and for both the battels erected Trophies, and had already an aſſured hope, of being farre ſuperiour by Sea, and alſo made account to ſubdue the Army by Land. And they prepared to aſſault them againe in both kindes.

The *Syracuſians* haue the victory.

In the meane time *Demoſthenes*, and *Eurymedon* arriued with the *Athenian* ſupply, being about 73 Gallies, and men

C of Armes of their owne, and of their Confederates about 5000. Beſides Darters, as well *Barbarians* as *Greekes*, not a few, and Slingers, and Archers, and all other prouiſion ſufficient. For the preſent, it not a little daunted the *Syracuſians* and their Confederates, to ſee no end of their danger, and that notwithſtanding the fortifying in *Decelea*, another Army ſhould come now, equall, and like vnto their former, and that their power ſhould be ſo great in euery kind. And on the other ſide, it was a kind of ſtrengthening after weakeneſſe, to the *Athenian* Army that was

D there before. *Demoſthenes*, when hee ſaw how things ſtood, and thinking it vnfit to loyter, and fall into *Nicias* his caſe (For *Nicias*, who was formidable at his firſt comming, when he ſet not preſently vpon *Syracuſe*, but Wintred at *Catana*, both grew into contempt, and was preuented alſo by the comming of *Gylippus* thither, with an Army out of *Peloponneſus*. The which if *Nicias* had gone againſt *Syracuſe* at firſt, had neuer been ſo much as ſent for. For ſuppoſing themſelues to haue been ſtrong enough alone, they had at once both found themſelues too weake,

E and the City been encloſed with a Wall, whereby though they had ſent for it, it could not haue helped them, as it did)

Demoſthenes and *Eurymedon*, with a new Army arriue at *Syracuſe*.

Demoſthenes attempteth to win the Wall which the *Syracuſians* had built through *Epipolæ*, to exclude the proceeding of the Wall of the *Athenians*.

did) *Demoſthenes* I ſay conſidering this, and that he alſo, A
euen at the preſent, and the ſame day was moſt terrible to
the enemy, intended with all ſpeed to make vſe of this pre-
ſent terribleneſſe of the Army. And hauing obſerued
that the Croſſe-wall of the *Syracuſians*, wherewith they
hindred the *Athenians* from encloſing the Citie, was but
ſingle, and that if they could be Maſters of the aſcent to
Epipolæ, and againe of the Campe there, the ſame might
eaſily be taken, (for none would haue ſtood againſt
them) haſted to put it to triall, and thought it his ſhor-
teſt way to the diſpatching of the Warre. For either he B
ſhould haue ſucceſſe, he thought, and ſo winne *Syracuſe*,
or he would lead away the Army, and no longer without
purpoſe conſume, both the *Athenians* there with him, and
the whole State. The *Athenians* therefore went out, and
firſt waſted the Territory of the *Syracuſians*, about the Ri-
uer *Anapus*, and were the ſtronger as at firſt, both by Sea
and Land. For the *Syracuſians* durſt neither way goe out
againſt them, but onely with their Horſemen and Dar-
ters from *Olympieum*.

After this, *Demoſthenes* thought good to try the Wall, C
which the *Athenians* had built to encloſe the City withall,
with Engines, but ſeeing the Engines were burnt by the
Defendants fighting from the Wall, and that hauing aſ-
faulted it in diuers parts with the reſt of his army, he was,
notwithſtanding put backe, he reſolued to ſpend the time
no longer, but (hauing gotten the conſent of *Nicias*, and the
reſt in Commiſsion, thereunto) to put in execution his de-
ſigne for *Epipolæ*, as was before intended. By day, it was
thought impoſsible not to be diſcouered, either in their ap-
proach, or in their aſcent. Hauing therefore firſt com- D
manded to take fiue dayes prouiſion of Victuall, and all
the Maſons and Workmen, as alſo ſtore of Caſting Wea-
pons, and whatſoeuer they might need, if they ouercame,
for Fortification, He, and *Eurymedon*, and *Menander*, with
the whole Army, marched about midnight to *Epipolæ*, lea-
uing *Nicias* in the Campe. Being come to *Epipolæ* at *Eu-*
ryalus (where alſo the Army went vp before), they were
not onely not diſcouered by the *Syracuſians* that kept the
Watch, but aſcending, tooke a certaine Fortification of
the *Syracuſians* there, and killed part of them that kept it. E
But the greateſt number eſcaping, ranne preſently to the

Campes,

A Campes, of which there went in *Epipole* three walled about, without the City, one of *Syracusians*, one of other *Sicilians*, and one of Confederates, and carried the newes of their comming in, and told it to those 600 *Syracusians* that kept this part of *Epipole* at the first, who presently went forth to meet them. But *Demosthenes* and the *Athenians* lighting on them, though they fought valiantly, put them to flight, and presently marched on, making vse of the present heat of the Army, to finish what he came for, before it were too late. And others going on, in their first
B course tooke the Crosse-wall of the *Syracusians*, they flying that kept it, and were throwing downe the Battlements thereof. The *Syracusians* and their Confederates, and *Gylippus*, and those with him, came out to meet them, from their Campes, but because the attempt was vnexpected, and in the night, they charged the *Athenians* timorously, and were euen at first forced to retire. But as the *Athenians* aduanced more out of order, chiefly as hauing already gotten the victory, but desiring also, quickly to passe through all that remained yet vnfoughten with, (lest through
C their remissenesse in following, they might againe rally themselues,) the *Beotians* withstood them first, and charging, forced them to turne their backs. And here the *Athenians* were mightily in disorder, and perplexed, so that it hath been very hard to be informed of any side, in what manner each thing passed. For if in the day time, when things are better seene, yet they that are present cannot tell how all things goe, saue onely what euery man with much adoe seeth neere vnto himselfe: How then in a battell by night, (the onely one that hapned betweene
D great Armies in all this Warre) can a man know any thing for certaine? For though the Moone shined bright, yet they saw one another no otherwise then (as by Moonelight was likely) so as to see a body, but not be sure whether it were a friend, or not. And the men of Armes on both sides being not a few in number, had but little ground to turne in. Of the *Athenians*, some were already ouercome, others went on in their first way. Also a great part of the rest of the Army was already, part gotten vp, and part ascending, and knew not which way to
E march; For after the *Athenians* once turned their backes, all before them was in confusion; and it was hard to distinguish

distinguish of any thing for the noyse. For the *Syracusians* and their Confederates preuailing, encouraged each other, and receiued the assailants with exceeding great shouts, (for they had no other meanes in the night to expresse themselues.) And the *Athenians* fought each other, and tooke for Enemies all before them, though friends, and of the number of those that fled. And by often asking the *Word*, there being no other meanes of distinction, all asking at once, they both made a great deale of stirre amongst themselues, and reuealed the *Word* to the Enemie. But they did not in like manner know the *Word* of the *Syracusians*, because these, being victorious, and vndistracted, knew one another better. So that when they lighted on any number of the Enemie, though they themselues were more, yet the Enemy escaped, as knowing the Watch-word; but they, when they could not answer, were slaine. But that which hurt them most, was the tune of the * *Paan*, which being in both Armies the same, draue them to their wits end. For the *Argiues* and *Corcyraeans*, and all other of the *Dorique* Race on the *Athenians* part, when they sounded the *Paan*, terrified the *Athenians* on one side, and the Enemie terrified them with the like on the other side. Whereforo at the last falling one vpon another in diuers parts of the Armie, friends against friends, and Countreymen against Countreymen, they not onely terrified each other, but came to hand-strokes, and could hardly againe be parted.

* *A Hymne with Trumpets or other loud musique, both before and after battell.*

The *Athenians* fly.

As they fled before the Enemie, the way of the descent from *Epipolæ*, by which they were to goe backe, being but straite, many of them threw themselues downe from the Rockes, and dyed so: and of the rest that gate downe safely into the Plaine, though the greatest part, and all that were of the old Armie, by their knowledge of the Countrey escaped into the Campe, yet of these that came last, some lost their way, and straying in the Fields, when the day came on, were cut off by the *Syracusian* Horsemen that ranged the Countrey about.

The next day the *Syracusians* erected two Trophies, one in *Epipolæ* at the ascent, and another, where the first checke was giuen by the *Bœotians*. The *Athenians* receiued their dead vnder Truce, and many there were that dyed, both of themselues and of their Confederates. But the Armes

taken,

A taken, were more then for the number of the slaine: for of such as were forced to quit their Bucklers, and leape downe from the Rockes, though some perished, yet some there also were that escaped.

The *Syracusians* send for more supplies, and hope to winne the *Athenian* Campe.

After this, the *Syracusians* hauing by such vnlooked for prosperity recouered their former courage, sent *Sicanus* with fifteene Gallies to *Agrigentum* being in sedition, to bring that Citie if they could to their obedience. And *Gylippus* went againe to the *Sicilian* Cities by Land, to raise yet another Army, as being in hope to take the Campe of the
B *Athenians* by assault, considering how the matter had gone in *Epipolæ*.

The *Athenian* Commanders take councell what to doe.

In the meane time the *Athenian* Generals went to Councell vpon their late ouerthrow, and present generall weakenesse of the Army. For they saw, not onely that their designes prospered not, but that the Souldiers also were weary of staying. For they were troubled with sicknesse, proceeding from a double cause; this being the time of the yeere most obnoxious to diseases, and the place where they lay, moorish and noysome. And all things
C else appeared desperate.

The aduice of *Demosthenes*

Demosthenes thought fit to stay no longer; and since the execution of his Designe at *Epipolæ* had failed, deliuered his opinion *for going out of the Hauen whilest the Seas were open, and whilest, at least with this addition of Gallies, they were stronger then the Army of the Enemy. For it was better*, hee said, *for the Citie to make Warre vpon those which fortifie against them at home, then against the* Syracusians, *seeing they cannot now be easily ouercome; and there was no reason why they should spend much money in lying before the City.* This was
D the opinion of *Demosthenes*.

Nicias, though he also thought their estate bad, yet was vnwilling to haue their weakenesse discouered, and by decreeing of their departure openly with the Votes of many, to make knowne the same to the enemy. For if at any time they had a minde to bee gone, they should then bee lesse able to doe it secretly. Besides, the estate of the Enemie, in as much as hee vnderstood it better then the rest, put him into some hope that it might yet grow worse then their owne, in case they pressed the Siege, espe-
E cially beeing already Masters of the Sea, farre and neere, with their present Fleet. There was moreouer a party

for the *Athenians* in *Sycrause* that desired to betray the State into their hands, and that sent messengers vnto him, and suffered him not to rise and be gone. All which hee knowing, though hee were in truth doubtfull what opinion to be of, and did yet consider, neuertheless openly in his speech, hee was against the withdrawing of the Armie, and said, *That he was sure, the* People of Athens *would take it ill, if hee went thence without their order: For that they were not to haue such Iudges, as should giue sentence vpon their owne sight of things done, rather then vpon the report of Calumniators, but such as would beleeue whatsoeuer some fine speaker should accuse them of. That many, nay most of the Souldiers heere, who now cry out vpon their misery, will there cry out on the contrary, and say the Generals haue betrayed the State, and come away for a bribe. That hee would not therefore, knowing the nature of the* Athenians *so well, chuse to bee put to death vniustly, and charged with a dishonourable crime by the* Athenians, *rather then, if he must needes doe one, to suffer the same at the hand of the Enemy by his owne aduenture. And yet, he said, the State of the* Syracusians *was still inferiour to their owne: For paying much money to strangers, and laying out much more on Forts without and about the Citie, hauing also had a great Nauie a yeere already in pay, they must needs want money at last, and all these things faile them. For they haue spent already two thousand Talents, and are much in debt besides. And whensoeuer they shall giue ouer this course, and make pay no longer, their strength is gone, as being auxiliary, and not constrained to follow the Warre, as the* Athenians *are. Therefore it was fit,* he said, *to stay close to the Citie, and not to goe away, as if they were too weake in money, wherein they were much superiour.*

The opinion of *Nicias.*

Nicias, when he spake this, assured them of it, as knowing the state of *Syracuse* precisely, and their want of money; and that there were some that desired to betray the Citie to the *Athenians*, and sent him word not to goe. Withall hee had now confidence in the Fleet, which, as being before ouercome, he had not. As for lying where they did, *Demosthenes* would by no meanes heare of it. But if the Armie might not be carried away without order from the *Athenians*, but must needes stay in *Sicily*, then he said they might goe to *Thapsus*, or *Catana*, from whence by their Land men they might inuade, and

turne

A turne much of the Countrey to them, and wasting the Fields of the Enemies, weaken the *Syracusians*, and bee to fight with their Gallies in the maine Sea, and not in a narrow (which is the aduantage of the Enemy) but in a wide place; where the benefit of skill should bee theirs, and and where they should not be forced in charging and retyring, to come vp, and fall off in narrow and circumscribed limits. In summe he said, he by no meanes liked to stay where they were, but with all speed, no longer delaying the matter, to arise and be gone. *Eurymedon* also gaue the B like counsell. Neuertheleſſe vpon the contradiction of *Nicias*, there grew a kind of sloth and procrastination in the businesse, and a suspition withall, that the asseueration of *Nicias*, was grounded on somewhat that he knew aboue the rest, and thereupon the *Athenians* deferred their going thence, and stayed vpon the place.

Gylippus returneth with another Armie from the Cities of *Sicily*.

In the meane time *Gylippus* and *Sycanus* returned vnto *Syracuse*. *Sicanus* without his purpose at *Agrigentū* (for whilest he was yet in *Gela*, the sedition which had beene raised in the behalfe of the *Syracusians* was turned into friendship,) C but *Gylippus* not without another great Army out of *Sicily*, besides the men of Armes, which hauing set forth from *Peloponnesus* in Ships the Spring before, were then lately arriued at *Selinus* from out of *Africke*. For hauing beene driuen into *Africke*, and the *Cyreneans* hauing giuen them two Gallies with *Pilots*, in passing by the shore they ayded the *Euesperitæ*, besieged by the *Africans*, and hauing ouercome the *Africans*, they went on to *Neapolis*, a Towne of traffique belonging to the *Carthaginians*, where the passage into *Sicily* is shortest, and but two dayes and a nights saile D ouer. And from thence they crossed the Sea to *Selinus*. As soone as they were come, the *Syracusians* againe presently prepared to set vpon the *Athenians*, both by Sea and Land. The *Athenian* Generals seeing them haue another Armie, and their owne not bettering, but growing euery day worse then other, but especially as being pressed to it by the sicknesse of the Souldiers, repented now that they remoued not before; and *Nicias* being now no longer against it, as he was, but desirous onely that it might not be concluded openly, gaue order vnto all, as secretly as was possi- E ble, to put forth of the Harbour, and to be ready, when the signe should be giuen.

The *Athenians* out of superstition forbeare to remoue, because of an eclipse of the Moone.

But when they were about it, and euery thing was ready, the Moone hapned to bee eclipsed. For it was full Moone. And not onely the greatest part of the *Athenians* called vpon the Generals to stay, but *Nicias* also (for hee was addicted to superstition, and obseruations of that kind somewhat too much) said, that it should come no more into debate, whether they should goe or not, till the three times nine dayes were past, which the Southsayers appoint in that behalfe. And the *Athenians*, though vpon going, stayed still for this reason.

The *Syracusians* assault the *Athenian* Campe with their Land-souldiers.

The *Syracusians* also, hauing intelligence of this, were encouraged vnto the pressing of the *Athenians* much the more, for that they confessed themselues already too weake for them, both by Sea and Land; for else they would neuer haue fought to haue runne away.

Besides, they would not haue them sit downe in any other part of *Sicily*, and become the harder to be warred on; but had rather there right, and in a place most for their owne aduantage, compell them to fight by Sea. To which end they manned their Gallies, and after they had rested as long as was sufficient, when they saw their time, the first day they assaulted the *Athenians* Campe, and some small number of men of Armes, and Horsemen of the *Athenians* sallyed out against them by certaine Gates, and the *Syracusians* intercepting some of the men of Armes, beat them backe into the Campe. But the entrance being strait, there were 70 of the Horsemen lost, and men of Armes some, but not many.

The *Syracusians* ouercome the *Athenians* againe by Sea.

The next day, they came out with their Gallies, 76 in number, and the *Athenians* set forth against them with 86; and being come together, they fought. *Eurymedon* had charge of the Right Wing of the *Athenians*, and desiring to encompasse the Gallies of the Enemies, drew forth his owne Gallies in length more toward the shoare; and was cut off by the *Syracusians*, that had first ouercome the middle battell of the *Athenians* from the rest, in the bottome and inmost part of the Hauen; and both slaine himselfe, and the Gallies that were with him lost. And that done, the rest of the *Athenian* Fleet was also chased and driuen ashore.

Gylippus, when he saw the Navy of the Enemie vanquished, and carried past the Piles, and their owne Harbour,

About, came with a part of his Armie to the peere, to kill such as landed, and to cause that the *Syracusians* might the easilier pull the Enemies Gallies from the shore, whereof themselues were Masters. But the *Tuscans*, who kept guard in that part for the *Athenians*, seeing them comming that way in disorder, made head, and charging these first, forced them into the Marish, called *Lysimelia*. But when afterwards a greater number of the *Syracusians* and their Confederates came to helpe them, then also the *Athenians*, to helpe the *Tuscans*, and for feare to lose their Gallies, fought with them, and hauing ouercome them, pursued them, and not onely slew many of their men of Armes, but also saued the most of their Gallies, and brought them backe into the Harbour. Neuertheless the *Syracusians* tooke eighteene, and slew the men taken in them. And amongst the rest, they let driue before the Wind, (which blew right vpon the *Athenians*) an old Ship, full of Faggots and Brands set on fire, to burne them. The *Athenians* on the other side, fearing the losse of their Nauie, deuised remedies for the fire, and hauing quenched the flame, and kept the Shippe from comming neere, escaped that danger.

After this the *Syracusians* set vp a Trophie, both for the Battell by Sea, and for the men of Armes which they intercepted aboue before the Campe, where also they tooke the Horses. And the *Athenians* erected a Trophie likewise, both for the flight of those Footmen, which the *Tuscans* draue into the Marish, and for those which they themselues put to flight with the rest of the Armie.

When the *Syracusians* had now manifestly ouercome their Fleet (for they feared at first the supply of Gallies that came with *Demosthenes*) the *Athenians* were in good earnest vtterly out of heart. And as they were much deceiued in the euent, so they repented more of the Voyage. For hauing come against these Cities, the onely ones that were for institution like vnto their owne, and gouerned by the *People*, as well as themselues, and which had a Nauie, and Horses, and greatnesse, seeing they could create no dissention amongst them, about change of gouernment, to winne them that way, nor could subdue it with the greatnesse of their Forces, when they were farre the stronger, but misprospered in most of their designes, they were then at their wits

The *Athenians* dejected, repent of the voyage.

wits end. But now, when they were alſo vanquiſhed by Sea (which they would neuer haue thought) they were much more deiected then euer.

The *Syracuſians* intend to keepe in the *Athenians*, & reckon vpon the glory of a full victory.

The *Syracuſians* went preſently about the Hauen without feare, and meditated how to ſhut vp the ſame, that the *Athenians* mought not ſteale away without their knowledge, though they would. For now they ſtudyed not onely how to ſaue themſelues, but how to hinder the ſafety of the *Athenians*. For the *Syracuſians* conceiued (not vntruely) that their owne ſtrentgh was at this preſent the greater, and that if they could vanquiſh the *Athenians*, and their Confederates, both by Sea and Land, it would be a maſtery of great honour to them, amongſt the reſt of the *Grecians*. For all the reſt of *Greece* ſhould be one part freed by it, and the other part out of feare of ſubiection hereafter. For it would be vnpoſsible for the *Athenians*, with the remainder of their ſtrength to ſuſtaine the Warre that would be made vpon them afterwards; and they being reputed the authors of it, ſhould be had in admiration, not only with all men now liuing, but alſo with poſterity. And to ſay truth, it was a worthy Maſtery, both for the cauſes ſhewne, and alſo for that they became Victors not of the *Athenians* onely, but many others their Confederates, nor againe they themſelues alone, but their Confederates alſo, hauing been in ioynt command with the *Corinthians* and *Lacedæmonians*, and both expoſed their City to the firſt hazard, and of the buſines by Sea performed the greateſt part themſelues.

The Nations that were at the Warres of *Syracuſe* on one ſide or other.

The greateſt number of Nations, except the generall Roll of thoſe which in this Warre adhæred to *Athens*, and *Lacedæmon*, were together at this one City; And this number on both ſides, againſt *Sicilie*, and for it, ſome to helpe winne, and ſome to helpe ſaue it, came to the Warre at *Syracuſe*, not on any pretence of right, nor as kindred to aid kindred, but as profit or neceſsity ſeuerally chanced to induce them. The *Athenians* being *Ionique* went againſt the *Syracuſians* that be *Dorique*, voluntarily. With theſe, as being their Colonies, went the *Lemnians*, and *Imbrians*, and the *Æginetæ*, that dwelt in *Ægina* then, all of the ſame language and inſtitutions with themſelues.

Athenians.

Lemnians. Imbrians.

Æginetæ.

Heſtiæans of Eubœa.

Alſo the *Heſtiæans* of *Eubœa*. Of the reſt, ſome went with

A with them as their ſubiects, and ſome as their free Confederates, and ſome alſo hired. Subiects and Tributaries, as the *Eretrians*, *Chalcideans*, *Styrians*, and *Caryſtians*, from *Eubœa*. *Ceians*, *Andrians*, *Tenians*, from out of the Ilands. *Mileſians*, *Samians*, and *Chians*, from *Ionia*. Of theſe the *Chians* followed them as free, not as tributaries of money, but of Gallies. And theſe were almoſt all of them *Ionians*, deſcended from the *Athenians*, except onely the *Caryſtians*, that are of the Nation of the *Dryopes*. And though they were ſubiects and went vpon conſtraint, yet they B were *Ionians* againſt *Dorians*. Beſides theſe, there went with them *Æolians*, namely the *Methymnæans*, ſubiects to *Athens*, not tributaries of mony, but of Gallies, & the *Tenedians* and *Ænians* tributaries. Now here, *Æolians* were conſtrained to fight againſt *Æolians*, namely againſt their Founders the *Bœotians*, that tooke part with the *Syracuſians*. But the *Plataeans*, and onely they, being *Bœotians*, fought againſt *Bœotians* vpon iuſt quarrell. The *Rhodians* and *Cytherians* Dorique both, by conſtraint, bore Armes one of them, namely the *Cytherians* a Colony of the *Lacedæmonians* with C the *Athenians*, againſt the *Lacedæmonians* that were with *Gylippus*; and the other, that is to ſay, the *Rhodians*, being by deſcent *Argiues*, not onely againſt the *Syracuſians*, who were alſo *Dorique*, but againſt their owne Colony the *Gelans* which tooke part with the *Syracuſians*. Then of the Ilanders about *Peloponneſus*, there went with them the *Cephallenians*, and *Zathythians*, not but that they were free States, but becauſe they were kept in awe as Ilanders by the *Athenians* who were maſters of the Sea. And the *Corcyraeans*, being not only *Dorique*, but *Corinthians*, fought openD ly againſt both *Corinthians* and *Syracuſians*, though a Colony of the one, and of kin to the other: which they did neceſſarily (to make the beſt of it) but indeed no leſſe willingly, in reſpect of their hatred to the *Corinthians*. Alſo the *Meſſenians* now ſo called, in *Naupactus*, were taken along to this Warre, and the *Meſſenians* at *Pylus* then holden by the *Athenians*. Moreouer the *Megarean* Out-lawes though not many, by aduantage taken of their miſery, were faine to fight againſt the *Selinuntians*, that were *Megareans* likewiſe. But now the reſt of their Army was raE ther voluntary. The *Argiues* not ſo much for the League, as for their enmity with the *Lacedæmonians* and their preſent

Eretrians, *Chalcideans*.
Styrians, *Caryſtians*; *Ceians*, *Andrians*, *Tenians*, *Mileſians*, *Samians*, *Chians*.
Methymnæans, *Tenedians*, *Ænians*.
Plataeans.
Rhodians and *Cytherians*.
Cephallenians, *Zacynthians*.
Corcyraeans.
Meſſenians.
Megareans.
Argiues.

ſent particular ſpleene, followed the *Athenians* to the Warre though *Ionique*, againſt *Dorians*. And the *Mantineans* and other *Arcadian* Mercenaries went with him, as men accuſtomed euer to inuade the enemy ſhewed them, and now for gaine, had for enemies as much as any thoſe other *Arcadians* which went thither with the *Corinthians*. The *Cretans*, and *Ætolians* were all Mercenary, and it fell out, that the *Cretans*, who together with the *Rhodians* were Founders of *Gela*, not onely tooke not part with their Colony, but fought againſt it willingly for their hire. And ſome *Acarnanians* alſo went with them for gaine, but moſt of them went as Confederates, in loue to *Demoſthenes*, and for good will to the State of *Athens*. And thus many, within the bound of the *Ionian* Gulfe. Then of *Italians* fallen into the ſame neceſsity of ſeditious times, there went with them to this Warre, the *Thurians*, and *Metapontians*. Of *Greeke Sicilians*, the *Naxians* and *Catanæans*. Of *Barbarian*, the *Egeſtæans*, who alſo drew with them the moſt of thoſe *Greeke Sicilians*. Without *Sicily*, there went with them ſome *Thuſcans*, vpon quarrels betweene them and the *Syracuſians*; and ſome *Iapygian* Mercenaries. Theſe were the Nations that followed the Army of the *Athenians*.

Mantineans and other *Arcadians*.

Cretans. *Ætolians*.

Acarnanians.

Thurians. *Metapontians*, *Naxians*. *Catanæans*, *Egeſtæans*

Tuſcans. *Iapygians*.

On the other ſide, there oppoſed them, on the part of the *Syracuſians*, the *Camarinæans* their borderers. And beyond them againe the *Geloans*. And then (the *Agrigentines* not ſtirring) beyond them againe the ſame way, the *Selinuntians*. Theſe inhabite the part of *Sicily*, that lyeth oppoſite to *Africke*. Then the *Himeræans*, on the ſide that lyeth to the *Tirrhen* ſea, where they are the only *Greciãs*, inhabiting and onely ayded them. Theſe were their Confederates of the *Greeke* Nation, within *Sicily*, all *Doreans* and free States. Then of the *Barbarians* there, they had the *Siculi*, all but what reuolted to the *Athenians*. For *Grecians* without *Sicily*, the *Lacedæmonians* ſent them a *Spartan* Commander, with ſome *Helotes* and the reſt * Freed-men. Then ayded them, both with Gallies and with Land-men the *Corinthians* onely; and for kindreds ſake the *Leucadians*, and *Ambraciotes*. Out of *Arcadia*, thoſe Mercenaries ſent by the *Corinthians*. And *Sicyonians* on conſtraint. And from without *Peloponneſus*, the *Bœotians*. To the forraigne aydes, the *Sicilians* themſelues, as being great Cities, added more

Syracuſians. *Camarinæans*.

Himeræans.

Siculi.

Lacedæmonians.

* Newly made free.

Corinthians. *Leucadians*, *Ambraciotes*, *Arcadian* Mercenaries. *Sicyonians*.

A more in euery kinde then as much againe; for they got to gether men of Armes, Gallies and Horses, great store, and other number in abundance. And to all these againe the *Syracusians* themselues, added, as I may say, aboue as much more, in respect of the greatnesse, both of their Citie, and of their danger.

These were the succours assembled on either part, and which were then all there, and after them came no more, neither to the one side nor the other. No maruell then, if the *Syracusians* thought it a noble mastery, if to the victo-
B rie by Sea already gotten, they could adde the taking of the whole *Athenian* Armie, so great as it was, and hinder their escape both by Sea and Land.

Presently therefore they fall in hand with stopping vp the mouth of the great Hauen, beeing about eight Furlongs wide, with Gallies laid crosse, and Lighters and Boats vpon their Anchors, and withall prepared whatsoeuer else was necessary, in case the *Athenians* would hazard another Battell, meditating on no small matters in any
C thing. The *Syracusians* shutt vp the Hauen.

The *Athenians* seeing the shutting vp of the Hauen, and the rest of the Enemies designes, thought good to goe to councell vpon it: and the Generals, and Commanders of Regiments, hauing met, and considered their present want, both otherwise, and in this, that they neither had prouision for the present, (for vpon their resolution to bee gone, they had sent before to *Catana*, to forbid the sending in of any more) nor were likely to haue for the future, vnlesse their Nauy got the vpper hand; they resolued to
D abandon their Campe aboue, and to take in some place, no greater then needs they must, neere vnto their Gallies, with a Wall, and leauing some to keepe it, to goe aboard with the rest of the Armie, and to man euery Gallie they had, seruiceable and lesse seruiceable, and hauing caused all sorts of men to goe aboord, and fight it out, if they gat the victory, to goe to *Catana*; if not, to make their retreat in order of Battell, by Land (hauing first set fire on their Nauy) the neerest way vnto some amicable place, either *Barbarian* or *Grecian*, that they should best
E be able to reach vnto before the Enemy. As they had concluded, so they did; for they both came downe to the shore

from their Campe aboue, and also manned euery Gallie they had, and compelled to goe aboord euery man of age, of any ability whatsoeuer. So the whole Nauie was manned, to the number of a hundred and tenne Gallies, vpon which they had many Archers and Darters, both *Acarnanians* and other strangers, and all things else prouided, according to their meanes and purpose. And *Nicias*, when almost euery thing was ready, perceiuing the Souldiers to bee dejected, for beeing so farre ouercome by Sea, contrary to their custome, and yet in respect of the scarcity of victuall, desirous as soone as could be to fight, called them together, and encouraged them then the first time, with words to this effect.

THE ORATION OF NICIAS.

SOuldiers, Athenians, and other our Confederates, though the tryall at hand will be common to all alike, and will concerne the safety and Countrey, no lesse of each of vs, then of the Enemie: (For if our Gallies get the victory, we may euery one see his natiue Citie againe) yet ought wee not to bee discouraged, like men of no experience, who failing in their first aduenture, euer after carry a feare sutable to their misfortunes. But you Athenians beene present, hauing had experience already of many Wars, and you our Confederates, that haue alwayes gone along with our Armies, remember how often the euent falleth out otherwise in Warre, then one would thinke; and in hope that Fortune will once also be of our side, prepare your selues to fight againe, in such manner as shall be worthy the number you see your selues to bee. What we thought would be helpes in the narrownesse of the Hauen against (such a multitude of Gallies as will be there, and against the prouision of the Enemie vpon their Deckes, whereby wee were formerly ouerwed, we haue with the Masters now considered them all, and as much as our present meanes will permit, made them ready. For many Archers and Darters shall goe aboord, and that multitude, which if wee had beene to fight in the maine Sea, wee could not haue vsed, because by slugging the Gallies, it would take away the vse of Skill, will neuertheless bee vsefull heere, where wee are forced to make a Land-fight from our Gallies. Wee haue also deuised, instead of what should haue beene prouided for in the building of our Gallies, a-

A *against the thickneſſe of the beakes of theirs, which did moſt hurt vs, to laſh their Gallies vnto ours with Iron Grapnels, whereby (if the men of Armes doe their part) wee may keepe the Gallies which once come cloſe vp, from falling backe againe. For we are brought to a neceſsity now, of making it a Land-fight vpon the Water; and it will be the beſt for vs, neither to fall backe our ſelues, nor to ſuffer the Enemie to doe ſo. Eſpecially, when, except what our men on Land ſhall make good, the ſhore is altogether hoſtile. Which you remembring, muſt therefore fight it out to the vtmoſt, and not ſuffer your ſelues to bee beaten backe vnto the ſhore. But when Gallie to Gallie ſhall*
B *once be falne cloſe, neuer thinke any cauſe worthy to make you part, vnleſſe you haue firſt beaten off the men of Armes of the Enemy, from their Deckes. And this I ſpeake to you rather, that are the men of Armes, than to the Mariners, in as much as that part belongeth rather vnto you that fight aboue; and in you it lyeth, euen yet to atchieue the Victory for the moſt part with the Land-men. Now for the Mariners, I aduiſe, and withall beſeech them, not to bee too much daunted with the loſſes paſt, hauing now, both a greater number of Gallies, and greater Forces vpon the Deckes. I thinke it a pleaſure worth preſeruing, that being taken by your knowledge of the language, and imita-*
C *tion of our faſhions for* Athenians, *(though you be not ſo) you are not only admired for it through all* Greece, *but alſo partake of our dominion, in matter of profit, no leſſe then our ſelues; and for awfulneſſe to the Nations ſubiect, and protection from iniury, more. You therefore that alone participate freely of our Dominion, cannot with any iuſtice betray the ſame. In deſpight therefore of the* Corinthians, *whom you haue often vanquiſhed, and of the* Sicilians, *who, as long as our Fleet was at the beſt, durſt neuer ſo much as ſtand vs, repell them, and make it appeare, that your knowledge, euen with weakneſſe and*
D *loſſe, is better then the ſtrength of another, with Fortune. Againe, to ſuch of you as are* Athenians, *I muſt remember this, that you haue no more ſuch Fleets in your Harbours, nor ſuch able men of Armes, and that if ought happen to you but victory, your Enemies here will preſently bee vpon you at home, and thoſe at home will bee vnable to defend themſelues, both againſt thoſe that ſhall goe hence, and againſt the Enemy that lyeth there already. So one part of vs ſhall fall into the mercy of the* Syracuſians, *againſt whom you your ſelues know, with what intent you came hither, and the other part which is at home, ſhall fall into the hands of the* Lacedæmonians. *Being therefore in this one battell to fight both for your ſelues*
E *and them, be therefore valiant now, if euer, & beare in mind euery one of you, that you that goe now aboard, are the Land-forces, the Sea-forces,*

the whole estate, and great name of Athens. For which, if A
any man excell others in skill or courage, he can neuer shew it more opportunely then now, when he may both helpe himselfe with it, and whole.

Nicias hauing thus encouraged them, commanded presently to goe aboord.

Gylippus and the Syracusians, might easily discerne that the Athenians meant to fight, by seeing their preparation. Besides, they had aduertisement of their purpose to cast Iron Grapnels into their Gallies. And as for euery thing B
else, so also for that, they had made prouision. For they couered the fore-part of their Gallies, and also the Deckes for a great way, with Hydes, that the Grapnels cast in, might slip, and not be able to take hold. When all was ready, Gylippus likewise, and other the Commanders, vsed vnto their Souldiers this hortatiue.

THE ORATION OF GYLIPPVS, and the Syracusian Generals.

C

THAT not only our former acts haue beene honourable, but that wee are to fight now also for further honour, (Men of Syracuse, and Confederates) the most of you seeme to know already (for else you neuer would so valiantly haue vndergone it.) And if there be any man that is not so sensible of it as he ought, wee will make it appeare vnto him better. For whereas the Athenians came into this Countrey, with designe, first to enslaue Sicily, and then, if that succeeded, Peloponnesus, and the rest of Greece. And whereas already they had the greatest dominion of any Grecians whatsoeuer, either present or past, you, the first that euer withstood their Nauy, wherewith they were euery where Masters, haue in the former Battels ouercome them, and shall in likelyhood ouercome them againe in this. For men that are cut short, where they thought themselues to exceed, become afterwards further out of opinion with themselues, then they would haue beene, if they had neuer thought so. And when they come short of their hope, in things they glory in, they come short also in courage, of the true strength of their forces. And this is likely now to be the case of the Athenians. Whereas with vs, it falleth out, that our former courage, wherewith, though vnexperienced, we durst stand them, being now confirmed, and an opinion added of being the stronger, giueth to euery one

of

A of vs a double hope. And in all enterprizes, the greatest hope conferreth for the most part the greatest courage. As for their imitation of our prouisions, they are things we are acquainted withall, and we shall not in any kinde be vnprouided for them. But they, when they shall haue many men of Armes vpon their Deckes, (being not vsed to it) and many (as I may terme them) * Land-Darters, both Acarnanians, and others, who would not be able to direct their Darts, though they should sit, how can they choose but put the Gallies into danger, and be all in confusion amongst themselues, moving in a fashion * not their owne? As for the number of their Gallies, it will helpe them no-
B thing, (if any of you feare also that, as being to fight against odds in number.) For many in little roome, are so much the slower to doe what they desire, and easiest to bee annoyed by our munition. But the very truth you shall now vnderstand by these things, whereof we suppose we haue most certaine intelligence.

Ouerwhelmed with Calamities, and forced by the difficulties which they are in at this present, they are growne desperate, not trusting to their Forces, but willing to put themselues vpon the decision of Fortune, as well as they may, that so they may either goe out by force, or else make their retreat afterward by Land, as men whose estates
C cannot change into the worse.

Against such confusion therefore, and against the fortune of our greatest enemies, now betraying it selfe into our hands, let vs fight with anger, and with an opinion, not onely that it is most lawfull, to fulfill our hearts desire vpon those our enemies that iustified their comming hither, as a righting of themselues against an assailant; but also, that to be reuenged on an Enemie, is both most naturall, and, as is most commonly said, the sweetest thing in the world. And that they are our Enemies, and our greatest Enemies, you all well enough know, seeing them come hither into our dominion, to bring vs into seruitude.
D Wherein if they had sped, they had put the men to the greatest tortures, the women and children to the greatest dishonesty, and the whole Citie to the most ignominious * name in the world. In regard whereof, it is not fit that any of you should be so tender, as to thinke to faint, if they goe away without putting you to further danger, for so they meane to doe, though they get the victory. But effecting (as it is likely we shall) what wee intend, both to be reuenged of these, and to deliuer vnto all Sicily their liberty, which they enioyed before, but now is more assured. Honourable is that combate, and rare are those hazards, wherein the failing bringeth little losse, and the suc-
E cesse, a great deale of profit.

When

* ἀσύντακτοι πρὸς τοι. Such as being vpon Land, could vse their Darts, but not tottering vpon the water.

* that is, according to the motion of the Gally, not steadily as vpon Land.

* viz. the name of Subiects.

When *Gylippus*, and the Commanders of the *Syracusians* had in this manner encouraged their Souldiers, they presently put their men aboord, perceiuing the *Athenians* to doe the same. A

Nicias encourageth his Souldiers anew.

Nicias perplexed with this present estate, and seeing how great and how neere the danger was, being now on the point to put forth from the Harbour, and doubting (as in great battels it falleth out) that somewhat in euery kind was still wanting, and that he had not yet sufficiently spoken his mind, called vnto him againe, all the Captaines of Gallies, and spake vnto them euery one by their fathers, B their tribes, and their proper names, and entreated euery one of them that had reputation in any kind, not to betray the same; and those whose Ancestors were eminent, not to deface their hereditary vertues; remembring them of *their Countries liberty, and the vncontrolled power of all men to liue as they pleased*, and saying whatsoeuer else in such a pinch men are accustomed, not out of their store to * vtter things stale, and in all occasions the same, touching their *Wiues*, *Children*, and *patriall Gods*, but such things as being thought by them auaileable in the present discouragement, they C vse to cry into their eares. And when he thought he had admonished them not enough, but as much as the time would permit, he went his way, and drew out those forces that were to serue on Land, to the Sea side, and embattelled them so, as they might take vp the greatest length of ground they were able, thereby, so much the more to confirme the courage of them that were aboord. And *Demosthenes*, *Menander*, and *Euthemus*, (for those of the *Athenian* Commanders went aboord) putting forth of the Harbour, went immediately to the Locke of the Hauen, D and to the passage that was left open, with intention to force their way out. But the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, being out already with the same number of Gallies, they had before disposed part of them to the guard of the open passage, and the rest in circle about the Hauen, to the end they might fall vpon the *Athenians* from all parts at once, and that their Land forces might withall be neere to aide them, wheresoeuer the Gallies touched. In the *Syracusian* Nauy, commanded *Sicanus*, and *Agatharchus*, each of them ouer a Wing, and *Pythen*, with the *Corinthians*, had E the middle Battell. After the *Athenians* were come to the

* ἀγγαμνησίν. To speake old or stale Sentences.

He prepareth to fight.

A the Locke of the Hauen, at the first charge they ouercame the Gallies placed there to guard it, and endeauoured to breake open the barres thereof. But when afterwards the *Syracusians* and Confederates came vpon them from euery side, they fought not at the Locke only, but also in the Hauen it selfe. And the battell was sharpe, and such as there had neuer before been the like. For the courage wherewith the Mariners on both sides brought vp their Gallies to any part they were bidden, was very great, and great was the plotting and counterplotting, and
B contention one against another of the Masters. Also the Souldiers, when the Gallies boorded each other, did their vtmost to excell each other in all points of skill that could be vsed from the Decks, and euery man in the place assigned him, put himselfe forth to appeare the formost. But many Gallies falling close together in a narrow compasse (for they were the most Gallies that in any battell they had vsed, and fought in the least roome, being little fewer on the one side and the other, then 200.) they ranne against each other, but seldome, because there was no
C meanes of retiring, nor of passing by, but made assaults vpon each other oftner, as Gally with Gally, either flying, or pursuing, chanced to fall foule. And as long as a Gally was making vp, they that stood on the Decks, vsed their Darts and Arrowes, and Stones in abundance, but being once come close, the Souldiers at hand-strookes attempted to boord each other. And in many places it so fell out, through want of roome, that they which ran vpon a Gally on one side were runne vpon themselues on the other, and that two Gallies, or sometimes more, were forced
D to lye aboord of one, and that the Masters were at once to haue care, not in one place onely, but in many together, how to defend on the one side, and how to offend on the other. And the great noise of many Gallies fallen foule of one another, both amazed them and tooke away their hearing of what their * Directors directed; for they directed thicke and loud on both sides, not only as Art required but out of their present eagernesse, the *Athenians* crying out to theirs, to force the passage, and now if euer valiantly to lay hold vpon their safe returne to their Country,
E and the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, to theirs, how honourable a thing to euery one of them it would be, to

hinder

The *Athenians* and *Syracusians* fight.

* κελευσταί

hinder their escape, and by this Victory to improue, euery man, the honour of his owne Country. Moreouer, the Commanders of either side where they saw any man without necessity to row a Sterne, would call vnto the Captain of the Gally by his name, & aske him, The *Athenians*, whether he retired, because he thought the most hostile Land to be more their friend then the Sea, which they had so long beene masters of? The *Syracusians* theirs, whether when they knew that the *Athenians* desired earnestly by any meanes to flie, they would neuertheless flie from the Flyers? Whilest the Conflict was vpon the Water, the Land-men had a Conflict and sided with them in their affections. They of the place, contending for increase of the honours they had already gotten, and the Inuaders fearing a worse estate the they were already in. For the *Athenians*, who had their whole fortune at stake in their Gallies, were in such a feare of the euent, as they had neuer been in the like; and were thereby of necessity to behold the fight vpon the Water, with very different passions. For the fight being neere, and not looking all of them vpon one and the same part, he that saw their owne side preuaile, tooke heart, and fell to calling vpon the *Gods*, that they would not depriue them of their safety; and they that saw them haue the worse, not onely lamented, but shriked out-right, and had their minds more subdued by the sight of what was done, then they, that were present in the battell it selfe. Others that looked on some part where the fight was equall, because the contention continued so, as they could make no iudgment aright, with gesture of body on euery occasion, agreeable to their expectation, passed the time in a miserable perplexity. For they were euer within a little of either of escaping, or of perishing. And one might heare in one and the same Army, as long as the fight vpon the Water was indifferent, at one & the same time, *Lamentations, Shouts, That they won, That they lost*, and whatsoeuer else a great Army, in great danger is forced differently to vtter. They also that were aboord, suffered the same, till at last the *Syracusians* and their Confederates, after long resistance of the other side, put them to flight, & manfully pressing, chased them with great clamor & encouragement of their owne, to the Shoare. And the Sea-forces making to the Shore, some one way, and some another, except only such as were

The diuersity of passion of them that beheld the fight, from the Shoare.

The *Athenians* flye.

A were lost by being far from it, escaped into the Harbour. And the Army that was vpon the Iland, no longer now of different passions, with one and the same vehemence, all with shrikes and sighes, vnable to sustaine what befell, ran part to saue the Gallies, part to the defence of the Campe, and the residue, who were far the greatest number, fell presently to consider euery one of the best way to saue himselfe. And this was the time, wherein of all other they stood in greatest feare, and they suffered now, the like to what they had made others to suffer before at *Pylus*. For
B the *Lacedæmonians* then, besides the losse of their Fleet, lost the men which they had set ouer into the Iland, and the *Athenians* now (without some accident not to be expected) were out of all hope to saue themselues by Land. After this cruell battell, and many Gallies and men on either side consumed, the *Syracusians* and their Confederates hauing the victory, tooke vp the wrecke, and bodies of their dead, and returning into the City, erected a Trophy. But the *Athenians*, in respect of the greatnesse of their present losse, neuer thought vpon asking leaue to take vp their dead or wreck,
C but fell immediately to consultation how to bee gone the same night. And *Demosthenes* comming vnto *Nicias*, deliuered his opinion, for going once againe aboard, and forcing the passage, if it were possible, betimes the next morning; saying that their Gallies which were yet remaining, and seruiceable, were more then those of the Enemy. (for the *Athenians* had yet left them about 60, and the *Syracusians* vnder 50.) But when *Nicias* approued the aduice, and would haue manned out the Gallies, the Mariners refused to goe aboord, as being not onely dejected with their de-
D feat, but also without opinion of euer hauing the vpper hand any more. Whereupon they now resolued all, to make their retreat by Land. But *Hermocrates* of *Syracuse* suspecting their purpose, and apprehending it as a matter dangerous, that so great an Army going away by Land, and sitting downe in some part or other of *Sicily*, should there renue the War, repayred vnto the Magistrates, and admonished them, that it was not fit through negligence, to suffer the Enemy in the night time to goe their wayes, (alledging what he thought best to the purpose) but that
E all the *Syracusians* and their Confederates should goe out and fortifie in their way, and prepossesse all the narrow

The stratagem of *Hermocrates*, to hinder the escape of the *Athenians*.

passages with a guard. Now they were all of them of the same opinion, no lesse then himselfe, and thought it fit to be done, but they conceaued withall, that the Souldier now ioyfull, and taking his ease after a sore battell, being also holiday, (for it was their day of sacrifice to *Hercules*) would not easily be brought to obey. For through excesse of ioy for the victory, they would most of them, being holiday, be drinking, and looke for any thing, rather then to be perswaded at this time to take Armes againe, and goe out. But seeing the Magistrates vpon this consideration thought it hard to be done, *Hermocrates* not preuailing, of his own head contriued this. Fearing lest the *Athenians* should passe the worst of their way in the night, and so at ease out-goe them, as soone as it grew darke, he sent certaine of his friends, and with them certaine Horsemen, to the *Athenian* Campe, who approaching so neere as to be heard speake, called to some of them to come forth, as if they had beene friends of the *Athenians* (for *Nicias* had some within that vsed to giue him intelligence) and bade them to aduise *Nicias* not to dislodge that night, for that the *Syracusians* had beset the waies, but that the next day, hauing had the leasure to furnish their Armie, they might march away. Vpon this aduertisement they abode that night, supposing it had beene without fraud. And afterwards, because they went not presently, they thought good to stay there that day also; to the end that the Souldiers might packe vp their necessaries as commodiously as they could, and be gone, leauing all things else behind them, saue what was necessary for their bodies. But *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians*, with their land-forces, went out before them, and not only stopped vp the waies in the Countrey about, by which the *Athenians* were likely to passe, and kept a guard at the foords of brookes and riuers, but also stood embattelled to receiue and stop their Army in such places as they thought conuenient. And with their Gallies they rowed to the Harbour of the *Athenians*, and towed their Gallies away from the shore, some few whereof they burnt, as the *Athenians* themselues meant to haue done; but the rest, at their leasure, as any of them chanced in any place to driue ashore, they afterwards haled into the City. After this, when euery thing seemed vnto *Nicias* and *Demosthenes*, sufficiently prepared, they dislodged, being now the third day from their fight by Sea.

Gylippus goeth out with his Forces, and besets the way.

The *Athenians* march away from before *Syracuse* by Land.

It

A It was a lamentable departure, not onely for the particulars, as that they marched away with the losse of their whole Fleet, & that in stead of their great hopes, they had endangered both themselues and the State, but also for the dolorous obiects, which were presented both to the eye and minde of euery of them in particular, in the leauing of their Campe. For their dead lying vnburyed, when any one saw his friend on the ground, it strooke him at once, both with feare and griefe. But the liuing that were sicke or wounded, both grieued them more then the dead, and
B were more miserable. For with intreaties and lamentations they put them to a stand, pleading to bee taken along by whomsoeuer they saw of their fellowes or familiars, and hanging on the neckes of their Camerades, and following as farre as they were able. And when the strength of their bodies failed, that they could goe no further, with Ay-mees and imprecations, were there left. Insomuch as the whole Armie filled with teares, and irresolute, could hardly get away, though the place were hostile, and they had suffered already, and feared to suffer in the fu-
C ture, more then with teares could bee expressed, but hung downe their heads, and generally blamed themselues. For they seemed nothing else, but euen the people of some great City expugned by siege, and making their escape. For the whole number that marched, were no lesse, one with another, then 40000. men. Of which, not onely the ordinary sort carried euery one what he thought he should haue occasion to vse; but also the men of Armes & Horsemen, contrary to their custome, carried their victuals vnder their Armes partly for want, & partly for distrust of their
D seruants, who from time to time ran ouer to the enemy; but at this time went the greatest number: and yet what they carried, was not enough to serue the turne. For not a iot more prouision was left remaining in the Campe. Neither were the sufferings of others, and that equal diuision of misery, which neuertheless is wont to lighten it, in that we suffer with many, at this time so much as thought light in it selfe. And the rather, because they considered from what splendor and glory which they enioyed before, into how low an estate they were now falne: For neuer *Grecian* Ar-
E my so differed from it selfe. For whereas they came with a purpose to enslaue others, they departed in greater feare of

being made slaues themselues, and in stead of Prayers and Hymnes, with which they put to Sea, they went backe againe with the contrary maledictions; and whereas they came out Sea-men, they departed Land-men, and relyed not vpon their Nauall forces, but vpon their men of Armes. Neuertheleſſe, in reſpect of the great danger yet hanging ouer them, theſe miſeries ſeemed all but tolerable. *Nicias* perceiuing the Armie to be dejected, and the great change that was in it, came vp to the Rankes, and encouraged and comforted them, as far as for the preſent meanes he was able. And as he went from part to part, he exalted his voyce more then euer before, both as being earneſt in his exhortation, and becauſe alſo he deſired that the benefit or his words might reach as farre as might be.

THE ORATION OF NICIAS to his afflicted Army.

ATheniens, and Confederates, we muſt hope ſtill, euen in our preſent eſtate. Men haue beene ſaued ere now from greater dangers then theſe are. Nor ought you too much to accuſe your ſelues, either for your loſſes paſt, or the vndeſerued miſeries we are now in. Euen I my ſelfe, that haue the aduantage of none of you in ſtrength of body, (you ſee how I am in my ſickneſſe) nor am thought inferiour to any of you for proſperity paſt, either in reſpect of mine owne priuate perſon, or otherwiſe, am neuertheleſſe now in as much danger as the meaneſt of you. And yet I haue worſhipped the Gods frequently according to the Law, and liued iuſtly and vnblamably towards men. For which cauſe, my hope is ſtill confident of the future, though theſe calamities, as being not according to the meaſure of our deſert, doe indeed make me feare. But they may perhaps ceaſe. For both the Enemies haue already had ſufficient fortune, and the Gods if any of them haue beene diſpleaſed with our Voyage, haue already ſufficiently puniſhed vs. Others haue inuaded their neighbours as well as wee, and as their offence, which proceeded of humane infirmity, ſo their puniſhment alſo hath beene tolerable. And we haue reaſon now, both to hope for more fauour from the Gods, (for our caſe deſerueth their pitty rather then their hatred) and alſo not to deſpaire of our ſelues, ſeeing how good and how many men of Armes you are, marching together in order of Battell. Make account of this, that whereſoeuer you pleaſe to ſit downe, there preſently of your ſelues you are a City, ſuch as not any other

A *other in* Sicily *can either easily sustaine, if you assault, or remoue, if you be once seated. Now for your March, that it may be safe and orderly, looke to it your selues, making no other accounts any of you but what place soeuer he shall be forced to fight in, the same, if he win it, must be his Country and his Walles. March you must with diligence, both night and day alike, for our victuall is short; and if we can but reach some amicable Territory of the* Siculi, *(for these are still firme to vs for feare of the* Syracusians,*) then you may thinke your selues secure. Let vs therefore send before to them, and bid them meete vs, and bring vs forth some supplies of victu-*
B *all. In summe, Souldiers, let me tell you, it is necessary that you be valiant; for there is no place neere, where being cowards, you can possibly be saued. Whereas if you escape thorow the Enemies at this time, you may euery one see againe whatsoeuer any where he most desires, and the* Athenians *may re-erect the great power of their City, how low soeuer falne. For the men, not the Walles, nor the empty Gallies, are the Citie.*

Nicias, as he vsed this hortatiue, went withall about the Armie, and where he saw any man straggle and not march
C in his Ranke, he brought him about, and set him in his place. *Demosthenes* hauing spoken to the same or like purpose, did as much to those Souldiers vnder him; and they marched forward, those with *Nicias* in a square Battallion, and then those with *Demosthenes* in the Rere. And the men of Armes receiued those that carried the Baggage, and the other multitude, within them.

When they were come to the Foord of the Riuer *Anapus*, they there found certaine of the *Syracusians* and their Confederates embattelled against them on the banke, but
D these they put to flight, and hauing wonne the passage, marched forward. But the *Syracusian* Horsemen lay still vpon them, and their Light-armed plyed them with their Darts in the flanke. This day the *Athenians* marched forty Furlongs, and lodged that night at the foot of a certaine Hill. The next day, as soone as it was light, they marched forwards, about 20 Furlongs, and descending into a certaine Champaigne ground, encamped there, with intent both to get victuall at the houses, (for the place was inhabited) and to carry water with them thence, for before
E them, in the way they were to passe, for many Furlongs together there was little to bee had: But the *Syracusians*

The *Athenians* march, and the *Syracusians* assault them alwaies as they go.

Syracusians in the meane time got before them, and cut off their passage with a wall. This was at a steepe Hill, on either side wherof was the Channel of a torrent with steep and rocky banks, and it is called *Acræum Lepas*. The next day the *Athenians* went on. And the Horsemen and Darters of the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates, being a great number of both, pressed them so with their Horses and Darts, that the *Athenians* after long fight, were compelled to retire againe into the same Campe: But now with lesse victuall then before, because the Horsemen would suffer them no more to straggle abroad. In the morning betimes they dislodged, and put themselues on their march againe, and forced their way to the Hill which the Enemy had fortified, where they found before them, the *Syracusian* Foot embattelled in great length aboue the Fortification, on the Hils side (for the place it selfe was but narrow.) The *Athenians*, comming vp assaulted the Wall, but the shot of the Enemy, who were many, and the steepnesse of the Hill (for they could easily cast home from aboue) making them vnable to take it, they retired againe and rested. There hapned withall some claps of Thunder, and a showre of Raine, as vsually falleth out at this time of the yeere, being now neere *Autumne*, which further disheartened the *Athenians*, who thought that also this did tend to their destruction. Whilst they lay still, *Gylippus* and the *Syracusians* sent part of their Army, to raise a Wall at their backs, in the way they had come, but this the *Athenians* hindred, by sending against them part of theirs. After this, the *Athenians* retiring with their whole Army into a more Champaigne ground, lodged there that night; and the next day went forward againe. And the *Syracusians* with their Darts from euery part round about, wounded many of them; and when the *Athenians* charged, they retired, and when they retired, the *Syracusians* charged; and that especially vpon the hindmost, that by putting to flight a few, they might terrifie the whole Army. And for a good while the *Athenians*, in this manner withstood them, and afterwards, being gotten fiue or six Furlongs forward, they rested in the Plaine; and the *Syracusians* went from them to their owne Campe.

Nicias and *Demosthenes* rise in the night, and march a contrary way, *Nicias* formost, and in order, but *Demosthenes* in the Reere slower and more in disorder.

This night it was concluded by *Nicias* and *Demosthenes*, seeing the miserable estate of their Army, and the want already

A already of all necessaries, and that many of their men, in many assaults of the Enemy were wounded, to lead away the Army as farre as they possible could, not the way they purposed before, but toward the Sea, which was the contrary way to that which the *Syracusians* guarded. Now this whole iourney of the Army lay not towards *Catana*, but towards the other side of *Sicily*, *Camarina*, and *Gela*, and the Cities, as well *Grecian*, as *Barbarian*, that way. When they had made many fires accordingly, they marched in the night, and (as vsually it falleth out in all Armies, and B most of all in the greatest, to be subiect to affright and terrour, especially marching by night, and in hostile ground, and the enemy neere) were in confusion. The Army of *Nicias* leading the way, kept together and got farre afore, but that of *Demosthenes*, which was the greater halfe, was both seuered from the rest, and marched more disorderly. Neuertheless, by the morning betimes they got to the Sea side, and entring into the *Helorine* way, they went on towards the Riuer *Cacyparis*, to the end when they came thither to march vpwards along the Riuers side, through C the heart of the Countrey. For they hoped that this way, the *Siculi* to whom they had sent, would meet them. When they came to the Riuer, here also they found a certaine guard of the *Syracusians*, stopping their passage with a Wall, and with Pyles. When they had quickly forced this guard, they passed the Riuer, and againe marched on, to another Riuer called *Erineus*, for that was the way which the Guides directed them. In the meane time the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates, as soone as day appeared, and that they knew the *Athenians* were gone, most D of them accusing *Gylippus*, as if he had let them go with his consent, followed them with speed the same way, which they easily vnderstood they were gone, and about dinner time ouertooke them. When they were come vp to those with *Demosthenes*, who were the hindmost, and had marched more slowly and disorderly then the other part had done, as hauing been put into disorder in the night, they fell vpon them, and fought. And the *Syracusian* Horsemen hemmed them in, and forced them vp into a narrow compasse, the more easily now, because they were E diuided from the rest. Now the Army of *Nicias* was gone by this time 150 Furlongs further on. For he left away

Demosthenes ouertaken by the enemy, resisteth as long as he can, and is taken.

away the faster, because he thought not that their safety consisted in staying and fighting voluntarily, but rather in a speedy retreat, and then onely fighting when they could not choose. But *Demosthenes* was both in greater, and in more continuall toyle, in respect that he marched in the Reere, and consequently was pressed by the Enemy. And seeing the *Syracusians* pursuing him, he went not on, but put his men into order to fight, till by his stay he was encompassed, and reduced, he and the *Athenians* with him into great disorder. For being shut vp, within a place enclosed round with a Wall, and which on either side had a way open, amongst abundance of Oliue trees, they were charged from all sides at once with the Enemies shot. For the *Syracusians* assaulted them in this kind, and not in close battell, vpon very good reason. For to hazzard battell against men desperate, was not so much for theirs, as for the *Athenians* aduantage. Besides, after so manifest successes, they spared themselues somewhat, because they were loth to weare themselues out before the end of the businesse, and thought by this kind of fight, to subdue and take them aliue. Whereupon, after they had plyed the *Athenians* & their Confederates, all day long from euery side with shot, and saw that with their wounds, and other annoyance, they were already tired, *Gylippus*, and the *Syracusians*, and their Confederates, first made Proclamation, that if any of the Islanders would come ouer to them, they should be at liberty; And the men of some few Cities went ouer. And by and by after they made agreement with all the rest, that were with *Demosthenes*, *That they should deliuer vp their Armes, and none of them be put to death, neither violently, nor by bonds, nor by want of the necessities of life.* And they all yeelded, to the number of 6000 men, and the siluer they had, they laid it all downe, casting it into the hollow of Targets, and filled with the same, bare Targets. And these men, they carried presently into the Citie.

Demosthenes yeeldeth.

Nicias and those that were with him attained the same day to the Riuer *Erineus*, which passing, he caused his Armie to sit downe vpon a certaine ground more eleuate then the rest, where the *Syracusians* the next day ouertooke and told him, That those with *Demosthenes* had yeelded themselues, and willed him, to do the like. But he, not beleeuing

A be leeuing it, tooke Truce for a Horſeman to enquire the truth. Vpon returne of the Horſeman, and word that they had yeelded, he ſent a Herald to *Gylippus* and the *Syracuſians*, ſaying, That he was content to compound on the part of the *Athenians*, to repay whatſoeuer money the *Syracuſians* had laid out, ſo that his Army might be ſuffered to depart. And that till payment of the money were made, he would deliuer them Hoſtages, *Athenians*, euery Hoſtage rated at a Talent. But *Gylippus* and the *Syracuſians* refuſing the condition, charged them, and hauing hemmed them in, B plyed them with ſhot, as they had done the other Army, from euery ſide, till euening. This part of the Armie was alſo pinched with the want both of victuall and other neceſſaries. Neuertheleſſe obſeruing the quiet of the night, they were about to march. But no ſooner tooke they their Armes vp, then the *Syracuſians* perceiuing it, gaue the Alarme. Whereupon the *Athenians* finding themſelues diſcouered, ſate downe againe; all but 300, who breaking by force through the guards, marched as farre as they could that night. And *Nicias* when it was day, led C his Army forward, the *Syracuſians* and their Confederates ſtill preſsing them in the ſame manner, ſhooting and darting at them from euery ſide. The *Athenians* haſted to get the Riuer *Aſinarus*, not onely becauſe they were vrged on euery ſide by the aſſault of the many Horſemen, and other multitude, and thought to be more at eaſe when they were ouer the Riuer, but out of wearineſſe alſo, and deſire to drinke. When they were come vnto the Riuer, they ruſhed in without any order, euery man ſtriuing who ſhould firſt get ouer. But the preſsing of the Enemy, made the D paſſage now more difficult. For being forced to take the Riuer in heaps, they fell vpon and trampled one another vnder their feet; and falling amongſt the Speares, and vtenſiles of the Armie, ſome periſhed preſently, and others catching hold one of another, were carried away together downe the ſtreame. And not only the *Syracuſians* ſtanding along the farther banke being a ſteepe one, killed the *Athenians* with their ſhot from aboue, as they were many of them greedily drinking, and troubling one another in the hollow of the Riuer, but the *Peloponneſians* came alſo E downe, and ſlew them with their Swords, and thoſe eſpecially that were in the Riuer. And ſuddenly the

The offer of *Nicias* to redeeme his army, not accepted.

water was corrupted. Neuertheleſſe they drunke it, foule as it was, with blood and mire, and many alſo fought for it. In the end, when many dead lay heaped in the Riuer, and the Armie was vtterly defeated, part at the Riuer, and part (if any gat away) by the Horſemen, *Nicias* yeelded himſelfe vnto *Gylippus*, (hauing more confidence in him then in the *Syracuſians*) *To be for his owne perſon at the diſcretion of him and the* Lacedæmonians, *and no further ſlaughter to be made of the Souldiers.* *Gylippus* from thenceforth commanded to take priſoners. So the reſidue, except ſuch as were hidden from them (which were many) they carried aliue into the Citie. They ſent alſo to purſue the 300. which brake through their guards in the night, and tooke them. That which was left together of this Armie, to the publike, was not much; but they that were conueyed away by ſtealth were very many, and all *Sicily* was filled with them, becauſe they were not taken, as thoſe with *Demoſthenes* were, by compoſition. Beſides, a great part of theſe were ſlaine; for the ſlaughter at this time was exceeding great, none greater in all the *Sicilian* Warre. They were alſo not a few that dyed in thoſe other aſſaults in their March. Neuertheleſſe many alſo eſcaped, ſome then preſently, and ſome by running away after ſeruitude, the Rendez-uous of whom was *Catana*.

The *Syracuſians* and their Confederates, being come together, returned with their priſoners, all they could get, and with the ſpoile, into the Citie. As for all other the priſoners of the *Athenians* and their Confederates, they put them into the * Quarries, as the ſafeſt cuſtodie. But *Nicias* and *Demoſthenes* they killed, againſt *Gylippus* his will. For *Gylippus* thought the victory would be very honourable, if ouer and aboue all his other ſucceſſe, he could carry home both the Generals of the Enemy to *Lacedæmon*. And it fell out, that the one of them, *Demoſthenes*, was their greateſt Enemy, for the things he had done in the * *Iland*, and at *Pylus*; and the other, vpon the ſame occaſion, their greateſt friend; For *Nicias* had earneſtly laboured to haue thoſe priſoners which were taken in the *Iland*, to bee ſet at liberty, by perſwading the *Athenians* to the Peace. For which cauſe the *Lacedæmonians* were inclined to loue him. And it was principally in confidence of that, that he rendred himſelfe to *Gylippus*. But certaine *Syracuſians*, (as it is repor-

* λιθοτομίας.

* Sphacteria.

A reported) ſome of them for feare (becauſe they had beene tampering with him) leſt being put to the torture, hee might bring them into trouble, whereas now they were well enough; and others (eſpecially the *Corinthians*) fearing he might get away by corruption of one or other, (being wealthy) and worke them ſome miſchiefe afreſh, hauing perſwaded their Confederates to the ſame, killed him. For theſe, or for cauſes neere vnto theſe, was hee put to death, being the man that of all the *Grecians* of my time, had leaſt deſerued to be brought to ſo great a degree of mi-
B ſery. As for thoſe in the Quarries, the *Syracuſians* handled them at firſt but vngently. For in this hollow place, firſt the Sunne and ſuffocating ayre (being without roofe) annoyed them one way: and on the other ſide, the nights comming vpon that heate, autumnall and cold, put them, by reaſon of the alteration, into ſtrange diſeaſes. Eſpecially, doing all things for want of roome, in one and the ſame place, and the Carkaſſes of ſuch as dyed of their wounds, or change of ayre, or other like accident, lying together there on heaps. Alſo the ſmell was intollerable,
C beſides that they were afflicted with hunger and thirſt. For for eight moneths together, they allowed them no more but to euery man a * *Cotyle* of water by the day, and two *Cotiles* of Corne. And what ſoeuer miſery is probable that men in ſuch a place may ſuffer, they ſuffered. Some 70 dayes they liued thus thronged. Afterwards, retaining the *Athenians*, and ſuch *Sicilians* and *Italians* as were of the Army with them, they ſold the reſt. How many were taken in all, it is hard to ſay exactly; but they were 7000 at the feweſt. And this was the greateſt action that hap-
D ned in all this Warre, or at all, that we haue heard of amongſt the *Grecians*, being to the Victors moſt glorious, and moſt calamitous to the vanquicted. For being wholly ouercome, in euery kinde, and receiuing ſmall loſſe in nothing, their Army, and Fleet, and all that euer they had, periſhed (as they vſe to ſay) with an vniuerſall deſtruction. Few of many returned home. And thus paſſed the buſineſſe concerning *Sicily*.

* *A ſmall meaſure, about halfe our Pynt.*

E

A

THE EIGHTH BOOK OF THE HISTORIE OF *THVCYDIDES*.

B

The principall Contents.

The Reuolt of the Athenian *Confederates, and the Offers made by* Tissaphernes, *and* Pharnabazus, *the* Kings *Lieutenants of the lower* Asia, *draw the* Lacedæmonians *to the Warre in* Ionia, *and* Hellespont. *First in* Ionia, *and the Prouinces of* Tissaphernes, *who by the Councell of* Alcibiades, *and conniuence of* Astyochus, *hindereth their proceedings.* Alcibiades *in the meane while to make way for his returne into his countrey, giueth occasion of sedition about the gouernment, whence ensued the authority of the* 400, *vnder the pretext of the* 5000; *the recalling of* Alcibiades *by the Army; and at length by his countenance the deposing againe of the* 400, *and end of the Sedition. But in the meane time they lose* Euboea. Mindarus, *Successor of* Astyochus, *finding himselfe abused by* Tissaphernes, *carrieth the Warre to* Pharnabazus, *into* Hellespont, *and there presently loseth a Battell to the* Athenians *before* Abydus, *being then Summer, and the* 21 *yeere of the Warre.*

C

D

E

WHen the newes was told at *Athens*, they beleeued not a long time, though it were plainly related, and by those very Souldiers that escaped from the defeat it selfe, that all was so vtterly lost, at it was. When they knew it, they were mightily offended with the Orators that furthered the Voyage, as if they themselues had neuer decreed it, They were angry also with those that gaue out *Prophecies*, and with the Soothsayers,

The feare and sorrow of the *Athenians* vpon the hearing of the newes.

Soothſayers, and with whoſoeuer elſe had at firſt by any diuination put them into hope that *Sicily* ſhould be ſubdued. Euery thing, from euery place, grieued them; and feare and aſtoniſhment, the greateſt that euer they were in, beſet them round. For they were not onely grieued for the loſſe which both euery man in particular, and the whole City ſuſtained, of ſo many men of Armes, Horſemen, and ſeruiceable men, the like whereof they ſaw was not left, but ſeeing they had neither Gallies in their Hauen, nor money in their Treaſurie, nor furniture in their Gallies, were euen deſperate at that preſent of their ſafety, and thought the Enemy out of *Sicily*, would come forthwith with their Fleet into *Piræus*, (eſpecially after the vanquiſhing of ſo great a Nauy) and that the Enemie here would ſurely now, with double preparation in euery kinde, preſſe them to the vtmoſt, both by Sea and Land, and be aided therein by their reuolting Confederates. Neuertheleſſe, as farre as their meanes would ſtretch, it was thought beſt to ſtand it out, and getting materials and money where they could haue it, to make ready a Nauie, and to make ſure of their Confederates, eſpecially thoſe of *Eubœa*; and to introduce a greater frugality in the Citie, and to erect a Magiſtracie of the elder ſort, as occaſion ſhould be offered, to præconſult of the buſineſſe that paſſed. And they were ready, in reſpect of their preſent feare, (as is the Peoples faſhion) to order euery thing aright. And as they reſolued this, ſo they did it. And the Summer ended.

The *Athenians* reſolue to ſtand it out.

The end of the nineteenth Summer.

The Winter following, vpon the great ouerthrow of the *Athenians* in *Sicily*, all the *Grecians* were preſently vp againſt them. Thoſe who before were Confederates of neither ſide, thought fit no longer, though vncalled, to abſtaine from the Warre, but to goe againſt the *Athenians* of their owne accord, as hauing not onely euery one ſeuerally this thought, that had the *Athenians* proſpered in *Sicily*, they would afterwards haue come vpon them alſo, but imagined withall, that the reſt of the Warre would be but ſhort, whereof it would be an honour to participate. And ſuch of them as were Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians*, longed now more then euer, to be freed as ſoone as might be of their great toyle. But aboue all, the Cities ſubiect to the *Athenians*, were ready, euen beyond their a-

The *Grecians* take part all of them againſt the *Athenians*.

bility,

A bility, to reuolt, as they that iudged according to their paſſion, without admitting reaſon in the matter, that the next Summer they were to remaine with victory. But the *Lacedæmonians* themſelues tooke heart, not onely from all this, but alſo principally from that, that their Confederates in *Sicily*, with great power, hauing another Nauy now neceſſarily added to their owne, would in all likelihood be with them in the beginning of the Spring. And being euery way full of hopes, they purpoſed without delay to fall cloſe to the Warre, making account, if this
B were well ended, both to be free hereafter from any more ſuch dangers as the *Athenians*, if they had gotten *Sicily*, would haue put them into, and alſo hauing pulled them downe, to haue the principality of all *Greece*, now ſecure vnto themſelues.

The hopes of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Whereupon *Agis* their King went out with a part of his Armie the ſame Winter from *Decelea*, and leuied money amongſt the Confederates, for the building of a Nauy. And turning into the *Melian* Gulfe vpon an old grudge, tooke a great Booty from the *Oetæans*, which hee made
C money of, and forced thoſe of *Phthiotis*, being *Achaians*, and others in thoſe parts, Subiects to the *Theſſalians*, (the *Theſſalians* complaining, and vnwilling) to giue him Hoſtages, and Money. The Hoſtages he put into *Corinth*, and endeuoured to draw them into the League.

Agis leuieth money.

And the *Lacedæmonians* impoſed vpon the States confederate, the charge of building 100 Gallies, [that is to ſay] on their owne State, and on the *Beotians*, each 25. On the *Phoceans* and *Locrians*, 15. On the *Corinthians*, 15. On the *Arcadians*, *Sicyonians*, and *Pellenians*, 10. And on the *Megareans*, *Træzenians*, and *Hermionians*, 10. And put all things
D elſe in readineſſe, preſently with the Spring to beginne the Warre.

The *Lacedæmonians* appoint a Fleet of 100. Gallies, to be made ready amongſt the Cities of League.

The *Athenians* alſo made their preparations, as they had deſigned, hauing gotten Timber, and built their Nauie this ſame Winter, and fortified the Promontory of *Sunium*, that their Corne-boats might come about in ſafety. Alſo they abandoned the Fort in *Laconia*, which they had built as they went by for *Sicily*. And generally where there appeared expence vpon any thing vnuſefull, they con-
E tracted their charge.

The *Athenians* build their Nauy, and contract their charges.

Whileſt they were on both ſides doing thus, there came vnto

The *Eubœans* offer to reuolt to *Agis*.

vnto *Agis*, about their reuolt from the *Athenians*, first the Ambassadours of the *Eubœans*. Accepting the motion, he sent for *Alcamenes the sonne of Sthenelaidas*, and for *Melanthon*, from *Lacedæmon*, to goe Commanders into *Eubœa*. Whom, when he was come to him, with about 300 freedmen, he was now about to send ouer. But in the meane time came the *Lesbians*, they also desiring to reuolt, and by the meanes of the *Bœotians*, *Agis* changed his former resolution, and prepared for the reuolt of *Lesbos*, deferring that of *Eubœa*, and assigned them *Alcamenes*, the same that should haue gone into *Eubœa*, for their Gouernour. And the *Bœotians* promised them tenne Gallies, and *Agis* other tenne. Now this was done, without acquainting therewith the State of *Lacedæmon*. For *Agis*, as long as he was about *Decelea* with the power he had, had the Law in his owne hands, to send what Armie, and whither he listed, and to leuy men and mony at his pleasure. And at this time the Confederates of him (as I may call them) did better obey him, then the Confederates of the *Lacedæmonians* did them at home. For hauing the power in his hands, he was terrible whersoeuer he came. And he was now for the *Lesbians*. But the *Chians* and *Erythræans*, they also desiring to reuolt, went not to *Agis*, but to the *Lacedæmonians* in the City, and with them went also an Ambassadour from *Tissaphernes*, Lieutenant to King *Darius* in the low Countries of *Asia*. For *Tissaphernes* also instigated the *Peloponnesians*, and promised to pay their Fleet. For he had lately begged of the King the Tribute accruing in his owne Prouince, for which he was in arrearage, because he could receiue nothing out of any of the *Greeke* Cities, by reason of the *Athenians*. And therefore he thought by weakning the *Athenians*, to receiue his Tributes the better, and withall to draw the *Lacedæmonians* into a League with the King, and thereby, as the King had commanded, to kill or take aliue *Amorges*, *Pissuthnes* his bastard sonne, who was in rebellion against him about *Caria*. The *Chians* therefore and *Tissaphernes*, followed this businesse ioyntly.

Caligetus the sonne of Laophon, a *Magarean*, and *Timagoras the sonne of Athenagoras*, a *Cyzicene*, both banished their owne Cities, and abiding with *Pharnabazus* the sonne of *Pharnaces* came also about the same time to *Lacedæmon*, sent by

The *Lesbians* offer to reuolt to *Agis*.

The *Chians* and *Erithræans* desire to reuolt.

Tissaphernes Lieutenant of the lower *Asia*, laboureth to haue the *Lacedæmonians* come vnto him.

Pharnabazus Lieutenant of *Hellespont*, laboureth the like for himselfe.

A by *Pharnabazus*, to procure a Fleet for the *Hellespont*, that he also, if he could, might cause the *Athenian* Cities in his Prouince to reuolt for his Tributes sake, and be the first to draw the *Lacedæmonians* into league with the *King*. Iust the same things that were desired before by *Tissaphernes*. Now *Pharnabazus* and *Tissaphernes* treating apart, there was great canuasing at *Lacedæmon*, betweene the one side, that perswaded to send to *Ionia* and *Chius*, and the other, that would haue the Armie and Fleet goe first into the *Hellespont*. But the *Lacedæmonians* indeed approued best by much
B of the businesse of the *Chians*, and of *Tissaphernes*. For with these cooperated *Alcibiades*, hereditary Guest and friend of *Endius*, the *Ephore* of that yeere, in the highest degree, insomuch as in respect of that guesthood, *Alcibiades* his family receiued a *Laconique* name. For *Endius* was called *Endius* * *Alcibiadis*. Neuertheless the *Lacedæmonians* sent first one *Phrynis*, a man of those parts, to *Chius*, to see if the Gallies they had, were so many as they reported, and whether the Citie were otherwise so sufficient as it was said to be. And when the messenger brought backe word
C that all that had beene said, was true, they receiued both the *Chians* and the *Erythræans* presently into their League. and decreed to send them forty Gallies, there being at *Chius*, from such places as the *Chians* named, no lesse then 60 already. And of these at first they were about to send out tenne, with *Melancridas* for Admirall; but afterwards, vpon occasion of an Earthquake, for *Melancridas* they sent *Chalcideus*, and in stead of tenne Gallies, they went about the making ready of fiue onely, in *Laconia*. So the Winter ended, and nineteenth yeere of this Warre, written
D by *Thucydides*.

* *The name of* Endius *his father was* Alcibiades, *to whom* Clinias *being Guest, for that cause gaue the name of* Alcibiades *to his sonne, this* Alcibiades Cliniæ.

THE TVVENTIETH YEERE.

The *Lacedæmonians* send to *Corinth*, to hasten away the Fleet to *Chius*.

In the beginning of the next Summer, because the *Chians* pressed to haue the Gallies sent away, and feared lest the *Athenians* should get notice what they were doing, (for all their Ambassadours went out by stealth) the *Lacedæmonians* send away to *Corinth* three *Spartans*, to will them with all speed to transport their Gallies ouer the *Isthmus*, to the other Sea towards *Athens*, and to goe all to *Chius*, aswell those which *Agis* had made ready to goe to *Lesbos*, as the rest. The number of the Gallies of the League, which
E were then there, being forty wanting one.

But *Calligetus* and *Timagoras*, who came from *Pharnabazus*,

hazus, would haue no part in this Fleet that went for Chius; nor would deliuer the Money, * twenty fiue Talents, which they had brought with them to pay for their setting forth, but made account to goe out with another Fleet afterwards by themselues.

* 4687 pounds 10 shillings sterling.

When Agis saw that the Lacedæmonians meant to send first to Chius, he resolued not of any other course himselfe, but the Confederates assembling at Corinth, went to councell vpon the matter, and concluded thus, That they should goe first to Chius, vnder the command of Chalcideus who was making ready the fiue Gallies in Laconia; And then, to Lesbos, vnder the charge of Alcamenes, intended also to be sent thither by Agis; and lastly into Hellespont, in which voyage they ordained that Clearchus the sonne of Rhampbias should haue the Command; and concluded to carry ouer the Isthmus, first the one halfe of their Gallies, and that those should presently put to Sea, that the Athenians might haue their mindes more vpon those, then on the other halfe to bee transported afterwards. For they determined to passe that Sea openly, contemning the weakenesse of the Athenians, in respect they had not any Nauy of importance yet appearing. As they resolued, so presently they carried ouer one and twenty Gallies. But when the rest vrged to put to Sea, the Corinthians were vnwilling to goe along, before they should haue ended the celebration of the Isthmian Holidayes, then come. Heerevpon Agis was content that they for their parts should obserue the Isthmian Truce; and he therefore to take the Fleet vpon himselfe as his owne.

The Confederates in councell at Corinth set downe an order for the Warre following, with which to beginne, and which to follow.

But the Corinthians not agreeing to that, and the time passing away, the Athenians got intelligence the easilier of the practice of the Chians, and sent thither Aristocrates, one of their Generals, to accuse them of it. The Chians denying the matter, hee commanded them, for their better credit, to send along with him some Gallies for their ayde, due by the League; and they sent seuen. The cause why they sent these Gallies, was the *Many* not acquainted with the practice, and the *Few* and conscious not willing to vndergoe the enmity of the multitude, without hauing strength first, and their not expecting any longer the comming of the Lacedæmonians, because they had so long delayed them.

The Athenians vnderstand the purpose of the Chians to reuolt.

In

The *Athenians* driue the *Peloponneſian* Gallies into *Piræus*, a deſart Hauen, and there beſiege them.

A In the meane time, the *Iſthmian* Games were celebrating, and the *Athenians* (for they had word ſent them of it) came and ſaw; and the buſineſſe of the *Chians* grew more apparent. After they went thence, they tooke order preſently, that the Fleet might not paſſe from *Cenchreæ* vndiſcouered. And after the Holidayes were ouer, the *Corinthians* put to Sea for *Chius*, vnder the conduct of *Alcamenes*. And the *Athenians* at firſt, with equall number came vp to them, and endeuoured to draw them out into the maine Sea. But ſeeing the *Peloponneſians* followed not farre, but
B turned another way, the *Athenians* went alſo from them. For the ſeuen Gallies of *Chius*, which were part of this number, they durſt not truſt. But afterwards hauing manned thirty ſeuen others, they gaue chaſe to the Enemy by the ſhore, and draue them into *Piræus*, in the Territorie of *Corinth*, (this *Piræus* is a deſart Hauen, and the vtmoſt vpon the Confines of *Epidauria*.) One Gallie that was farre from Land, the *Peloponneſians* loſt, the reſt they brought together into the Hauen. But the *Athenians* charging them by Sea with their Gallies, and withall ſetting
C their men aland, mightily troubled and diſordered them, brake their Gallies vpon the ſhore, and ſlew *Alcamenes* their Commander. And ſome they loſt of their owne.

The fight being ended, they aſsigned a ſufficient number of Gallies to lye oppoſite to thoſe of the Enemy, and the reſt to lye vnder a little Iland, not farre off, in which alſo they encamped, and ſent to *Athens* for ſupply. For the *Peloponneſians* had with them for ayde of their Gallies, the *Corinthians* the next day, and not long after, diuers others
D of the Inhabitants thereabouts. But when they conſidered that the guarding of them in a deſart place would be painefull, they knew not what courſe to take, and once they thought to haue ſet the Gallies on fire; but it was concluded afterwards to draw them to the Land, and guard them with their Land-men, till ſome good occaſion ſhould bee offered for their eſcape. And *Agis* alſo, when he heard the newes, ſent vnto them *Thermon*, a *Spartan*.

The voyage of *Chalcideus* and *Alcibiades* to *Chius*.

The *Lacedæmonians* hauing beene aduertiſed of the de-
E parture of theſe Gallies from the *Iſthmus*, (for the *Ephores* had commanded *Alcamenes*, when he put to Sea, to ſend him

word by a Horseman) were minded presently to haue sent away the fiue Gallies also that were in *Laconia*, and *Chalcideus* the Commander of them, and with him *Alcibiades*; but afterwards, as they were ready to goe out, came the newes of the Gallies chased into *Peiræus*: which so much discouraged them, in respect they stumbled in the very entrance of the *Ionique* Warre, that they purposed now, not onely not to send away those Gallies of their owne, but also to call backe againe some of those that were already at Sea. A

When *Alcibiades* saw this, he dealt with *Endius*, and the rest of the *Ephores* againe, not to feare the Voyage, alleaging that they would make haste, and be there before the *Chians* should haue heard of the misfortune of the *Fleet*. And that as soone as he should arriue in *Ionia* himselfe, he could easily make the Cities there to reuolt, by declaring vnto them the weakenesse of the *Athenians*, and the diligence of the *Lacedæmonians*, wherein he should be thought more worthy to bee beleiued then any other. Moreouer to *Endius* hee said, that it would be an honour in particular to him, that *Ionia* should reuolt, and the *King* be made Confederate to the *Lacedæmonians*, by his owne meanes, and not to haue it the mastery of *Agis*, for he was at difference with *Agis*. So, hauing preuailed with *Endius* and the other *Ephores*, he tooke Sea with 5 Gallies, together with *Chalcideus* of *Lacedæmon*, and made haste. B C

Sixteene Gallies of *Peloponnesus* intercepted, and hardly handled, in their returne from *Sicily*, by the *Athenians*, arriue in *Corinth*.

About the same time, came backe from *Sicily* those 16 Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, which hauing ayded *Gylippus* in that Warre, were intercepted by the way, about *Leucadia*, and euill intreated by twenty seuen Gallies of *Athens*, that watched thereabouts, vnder the command of *Hyppocles* the sonne of *Menippus*, for such Gallies as should returne out of *Sicily*. For all the rest, sauing one, auoyding the *Athenians*, were arriued in *Corinth* before. D

Chalcideus and *Alcibiades*, as they sayled, kept prisoner euery man they met with by the way, to the end that notice might not be giuen of their passage, and touching first at *Corycus* in the Continent, where they also dismissed those whom they had apprehended, after conference there with some of the Conspirators of the *Chians*, that aduised them to goe to the Citie, without sending them word before, they came vpon the *Chians* suddenly and vnexpected. It E

put

A put the *Commons* into much wonder and aſtoniſhment, but the *Few* had ſo ordered the matter beforehand, that an Aſſembly chanced to be holden at the ſame time. And when *Chalcideus*, and *Alcibiades* had ſpoken in the ſame, and told them that many Gallies were comming to them, but not that thoſe other Gallies were beſieged in *Peiræus*, the *Chians* firſt, and afterwards the *Erythræans*, reuolted from the *Athenians*.

Chius and *Erythræa* reuolt.

After this, they went with three Gallies to *Clazomenæ*, and made that City to reuolt alſo. And the *Clazomenians* preſently croſſed ouer to the Continent, and there fortified *Polichna*, leaſt they ſhould need a retyring place, from the little Iland wherein they dwelt. The reſt alſo, all that had reuolted, fell to fortifying, and making of preparation for the Warre.

Clazomena reuolteth.

B

This newes of *Chius* was quickly brought to the *Athenians*, who conceiuing themſelues to be now beſet with great and euident danger, and that the reſt of the Confederates, ſeeing ſo great a City to reuolt, would be no longer quiet, in this their preſent feare, decreed that thoſe * 1000 C Talents, which through all this Warre, they had affected to keepe vntouched, forthwith abrogating the puniſhment ordained for ſuch, as ſpake or gaue their ſuffrages to ſtirre it, ſhould now be vſed, and therewith Gallies, not a few, manned. They decreed alſo to ſend thither out of hand, vnder the command of *Strombichides the ſonne of Diotimus*, 8 Gallies, of the number of thoſe that beſieged the Enemy at *Peiræus*, the which, hauing forſaken their charge to giue chaſe to the Gallies that went with *Chalcideus*, and and not able to ouertake them, were now returned, and D ſhortly after alſo to ſend *Thraſicles* to help thē with 12 Gallies more, which alſo had departed from the ſame guard vpon the Enemy. And thoſe 7 Gallies of *Chius*, which likewiſe kept watch at *Peiræus* with the reſt, they fetched from thence, and gaue the bondmen that ſerued in them their liberty, and the chaynes to thoſe that were free. And in ſtead of all thoſe Gallies, that kept guard vpon the Gallies of the *Peloponneſians*, they made ready other with all ſpeed in their places, beſides 30 more which they intended to furniſh out afterwards. Great was their diligence, E and nothing was of light importance, that they went about for the recouery of *Chius*.

The *Athenians* abrogate the decree touching the 1000 Talents reſerued for the extremities of State, and furniſh out a Fleet with the money. * 187500 *pounds ſterling*.

Strom-

Strombichides in the meane time arriued at *Samos*, and taking into his company, one *Samian* Gally, went thence to *Teus*, and entreated them not to ſtirre. But towards *Teus*, was *Chalcideus* alſo comming with 23 Gallies from *Chius*, and with him alſo the Land-forces of the *Clazomenians*, and *Erythræans*, whereof *Strombichides* hauing been aduertized, he put forth againe, before his arriuall, and ſtanding off at Sea, when he ſaw the many Gallies that came from *Chius*, he fled towards *Samos*, they following him. The Land-forces, the *Teans* would not at the firſt admit, but after this flight of the *Athenians*, they brought them in. And theſe for the moſt part held their hands for a while, expecting the returne of *Chalcideus* from the chaſe; but when he ſtayed ſomewhat long, they fell of themſelues to the demoliſhing of the wall built about the Citie of *Teus*, by the *Athenians*, towards the Continent; wherein they were alſo helped by ſome few *Barbarians* that came downe thither, vnder the leading of *Tages*, Deputy Lieutenant of *Tiſſaphernes*.

Teus reuolteth.

Chalcideus, and *Alcibiades*, when they had chaſed *Strombichides* into *Samos*, armed the Mariners that were in the Gallies of *Peloponneſus*, and left them in *Chius*, in ſtead of whom they manned with Mariners of *Chius*, both thoſe, and 20 Gallies more, and with this Fleet they went to *Miletus*, with intent to cauſe it to reuolt. For the intention of *Alcibiades*, that was acquainted with the principall *Mileſians*, was to preuent the Fleet which was to come from *Peloponneſus*, and to turne theſe Cities firſt, that the honour of it might be aſcribed to the *Chians*, to himſelfe, to *Chalcideus*, and (as he had promiſed) to *Endius*, that ſet them out, as hauing brought moſt of the Cities to reuolt, with the Forces of the *Chians* onely, and of thoſe Gallies that came with *Chalcideus*. So theſe, for the greateſt part of their way vndiſcouered, and arriuing, not much ſooner then *Strombichides*, and *Thraſicles*, (who now chancing to be preſent with thoſe 12 Gallies from *Athens*, followed them with *Strombichides*) cauſed the *Mileſians* to reuolt. The *Athenians* following them at the heeles with 19 Gallies, being ſhut out by the *Mileſians*, lay at Anchor at *Lada*, an Iland ouer againſt the City.

Miletus reuolteth.

Preſently vpon the reuolt of *Miletus*, was made the firſt League

A League betweene the *King*, and the *Lacedæmonians* by *Tissaphernes* and *Chalcideus*, as followeth.

League betweene *Tissaphernes* and the *Lacedæmonians*.

The Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates, haue made a League with the* King *and* Tissaphernes, *on these Articles.*

Whatsoeuer Territory or Cities the King *possesseth, and his Ancestors haue possessed, the same are to remaine the* Kings.

Whatsoeuer money or other profit redounded to the Athenians *from their Cities, the* King, *and the* Lacedæmonians *are ioyntly to hinder, so as the* Athenians *may receiue nothing from thence,*
B *neither money nor other thing.*

The King *and the* Lacedæmonians, *and their Confederates, are to make ioynt Warre against the* Athenians. *And without consent of both parts, it shall not be lawfull to lay downe the Warre against the* Athenians, *neither for the* King, *nor for the* Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates.*

If any shall reuolt from the King, *they shall be enemies to the* Lacedæmonians, *and their Confederates. And if any shall reuolt from the* Lacedæmonians, *and their Confedetates, they shall in like manner be enemies to the* King.

C This was the League.

Presently after this, the *Chians* set out ten Gallies more, and went to *Anæa*, both to hearken what became of the businesse at *Miletus*, and also to cause the Cities there, abouts to reuolt. But word being sent them from *Chalcideus*, to goe backe, and that *Amorges* was at hand with his Army, they went thence to the *Temple of Iupiter*. Being therethey descryed 16 Gallies more, which had beene sent out by the *Athenians* vnder the charge of *Diomedon*, after the put-
D ting to Sea of those with *Thrasycles*, vpon sight of whom they fled, one Gally to *Ephesus*, the rest towards *Teos*. Foure of them, the *Athenians* tooke, but empty, the men being gotten on Shore; the rest escaped into the City of *Teos*. And the *Athenians* went away againe towards *Samos*.

Lebedus and *Eræ* reuolt.

The *Chians* putting to Sea againe, with the remainder of their Fleet, and with the Land-forces, caused first *Lebedus* to reuolt, and then *Eræ*. And afterwards returned, both with their Fleet and Land-men, euery one to his owne.

The *Peloponnesians* in *Peirus* escape.

E About the same time, the twenty Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, which the *Athenians* had formerly chased into *Peiræus*, and

and againſt whom they now lay with a like number, ſuddenly forced their paſſage, and hauing the victory in fight, tooke foure of the *Athenian* Gallies, and going to *Cenchreæ*, prepared afreſh for their voyage to *Chius* and *Ionia*. At which time there came alſo vnto them from *Lacedæmon*, for Commander, *Aſtyochus*, who was now Admirall of the whole Nauy.

Aſtyochus Admirall of the *Peloponneſians*.

When the Land-men were gone from Teos, *Tiſſaphernes* himſelfe came thither with his Forces, and he alſo demoliſhed the Wall, as much as was left ſtanding, and went his way againe.

Tiſſaphernes razeth the remainder of the *Athenian* Wall at *Teos*,

Not long after the going away of him, came thither *Diomedon* with tenne Gallies of *Athens*, and hauing made a Truce with the *Teians*, that he might alſo bee receiued, he put to Sea againe, and kept the ſhore to *Eræ*, and aſſaulted it, but failing to take it, departed.

It fell out about the ſame time, that the Commons of *Samos*, together with the *Athenians* who were there with three Gallies, made an inſurrection againſt the great men, and ſlew of them in all about two hundred. And hauing baniſhed foure hundred more, and diſtributed amongſt themſelues their Lands and Houſes, (the *Athenians* hauing now, as aſſured of their fidelity, decreed them their liberty) they adminiſtred the affaires of the Citie from that time forward, by themſelues, no more communicating with the * *Geomori*, nor permitting any of the Common people to marry with them.

* *The Nobility of* Samos, *ſo called, for that they ſhared the Land amongſt them.*

After this, the ſame Summer, the *Chians*, as they had begunne, perſeuering in their earneſtneſſe to bring the Cities to reuolt, euen without the *Lacedæmonians*, with their ſingle forces, and deſiring to make as many fellowes of their danger, as they were able, made Warre by themſelues with thirteene Gallies, againſt *Lesbos*, (which was according to what was concluded by the *Lacedæmonians*, namely to goe thither in the ſecond place, and thence into the *Helleſpont*.) And withall, the Land-forces, both of ſuch *Peloponneſians* as were preſent, and of their Confederates thereabouts, went along by them to *Clazomenæ* and *Cyme*. Theſe vnder the command of *Eualas* a *Spartan*, and the Gallies, of *Deiniadas*, a man of the parts thereabouts. The Gallies putting in at *Methymna*, cauſed that Citie to reuolt firſt. * * *

A Now *Astyochus* the *Lacedæmonian* Admirall, hauing set forth as he intended from *Cenchreæ*, arriued at *Chius*. The third day after his comming thither, came *Leon* and *Diomedon* into *Lesbos*, with 25 Gallies of *Athens*; for *Leon* came with a supply of tenne Gallies more, from *Athens* afterwards. *Astyochus* in the euening of the same day, taking with him one Gally more of *Chius*, tooke his way toward *Lesbos*, to helpe it what he could, and put in at *Pyrrha*, and the next day at *Eressus*. Here he heard that *Mitylene* was taken by the *Athenians*, euen with the shout of their
B voyces. For the *Athenians* comming vnexpected, entred the Hauen, and hauing beaten the Gallies of the *Chians*, disbarked, and ouercame those that made head against them, and wonne the Citie. When *Astyochus* heard this, both from the *Eressians*, and from those *Chian* Gallies that came from *Methymna* with *Eubulus*, (which hauing beene left there before, as soone as *Mitylene* was lost, fled, and three of them chanced to meete with him, for one was taken by the *Athenians*) he continued his course for *Mitylene* no longer, but hauing caused *Eressus* to reuolt, and armed
C the Souldiers he had aboord, made them to march toward *Antissa* and *Methymna* by Land, vnder the conduct of *Eteonicus*, and he himselfe with his owne Gallies, and those 3. of *Chius*, rowed thither along the shore, hoping that the *Methymnæans*, vpon sight of his Forces, would take heart, and continue in their reuolt. But when in *Lesbos* all things went against him, he reimbarqued his Army, and returned to *Chios*. And the Landmen that were aboord, and should haue gone into *Hellespont*, went againe into their Cities. After this came to them sixe Gallies to *Chios*, of
D those of the Confederate Fleet at *Cenchreæ*. The *Athenians*, when they had reestablished the State of *Lesbos*, went thence, and tooke *Polichna*, which the *Clazomenians* had fortifyed in the Continent, and brought them all backe againe into the Citie, which is in the Iland, saue onely the authors of the reuolt, (for these got away to *Daphnus*) and *Clazomenæ* returned to the obedience of the *Athenians*.

Astyochus seeing hee could doe no good at *Lesbos* returned to *Chios*.

The *Athenians* recouer *Clazomenæ*.

The same Summer, those *Athenians* that with twenty Gallies lay in the Ile of *Lade*, before *Miletus*, landing in the Territory of *Miletus*, at *Panormus*, slew *Chalcideus* the
E *Lacedæmonian* Commander, that came out against him but with a few; and set vp a Trophie, and the third

Chalcideus slayne.

day after departed. But the *Mileſians* pulled downe the Trophie, as erected where the *Athenians* were not Maſters.

The *Athenians* make ſharp war vpon *Chius*.

Leon and *Diomedon*, with the *Athenian* Gallies that were at *Lesbos*, made Warre vpon the *Chians* by Sea, from the Iles called *Oinuſſæ*, which lye before *Chius*, and from *Siduſſa*, and *Pteleum* (Forts they held in *Erythræa*) and from *Lesbos*. They that were aboard, were men of Armes of the Roll, compelled to ſerue in the Fleet. With theſe they landed at *Cardamyle*; and hauing ouerthrowne the *Chians* that made head, in a Battell at *Boliſſus*, and ſlaine many of them, they recouered from the Enemy all the places of that quarter. And againe they ouercame them in another Battell at *Phanæ*, and in a third at *Leuconium*. After this, the *Chians* went out no more to fight; by which meanes the *Athenians* made ſpoile of their Territory, excellently well furniſhed. For except it were the *Lacedæmonians*, the *Chians* were the onely men that I haue heard of, that had ioyned aduiſedneſſe to proſperity, and the more their Citie increaſed, had carried the more reſpect in the adminiſtration thereof to aſſure it. Nor ventured they now to reuolt (leſt any man ſhould thinke, that in this act at leaſt they regarded not what was the ſafeſt) till they had many and ſtrong Confederates, with whoſe helpe to try their fortune; nor till ſuch time as they perceiued the People of *Athens* (as they themſelues could not deny) to haue their eſtate, after the defeat in *Sicily*, reduced to extreme weakneſſe.

Praiſe of the *Chians*.

And if through humane miſreckoning, they miſcarryed in ought, they erred with many others, who in like manner had an opinion, that the State of the *Athenians* would quickly haue beene ouerthrowne.

Being therefore ſhut vp by Sea, and hauing their Lands ſpoyled, ſome within vndertooke to make the Citie returne vnto the *Athenians*. Which though the Magiſtrates perceiued, yet they themſelues ſtirred not, but hauing receiued *Aſtyochus* into the City, with foure Gallies that were with him from *Erythræ*, they tooke aduice together, how by taking Hoſtages, or ſome other gentle way, to make them giue ouer the Conſpiracy. Thus ſtood the buſineſſe with the *Chians*.

In the end of this Summer (a thouſand fiue hundred men

A men of Armes of *Athens*, and a thousand of *Argos*: (for the *Athenians* had put Armour vpon fiue hundred Light-armed of the *Argiues*) and of other Confederates a thousand more, with forty eight Gallies, reckoning those which were for transportation of Souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Phrynichus*, *Onomacles*, and *Scironidas*, came in to *Samos*, and crossing ouer to *Miletus*, encamped before it. And the *Milesians* issued forth with eight hundred men of Armes of their owne, besides the *Peloponnesians* that came with *Chalcideus*, and some auxiliar strangers with *Tissaphernes*, (*Tissaphernes* B himselfe being also there with his Cauallery) and fought with the *Athenians* and their Confederates. The *Argiues*, who made one Wing of themselues, aduancing before the rest, and in some disorder in contempt of the enemie, as being *Ionians*, and not likely to sustaine their charge, were by the *Milesians* ouercome, and lost no lesse then 300 of their men. But the *Athenians*, when they had first ouerthrowne the *Peloponnesians*, and then beaten backe the *Barbarians* and other multitude, and not fought with the *Milesians* at all, (for they, after they were come from the chase of the C *Argiues*, and saw their other Wing defeated, went into the Towne) sate downe with their Armes, as being now masters of the Field, close vnder the Wall of the Citie. It fell out in this Battell, that on both sides the *Ioniques* had the better of the *Doriques*. For the *Athenians* ouercame the opposite *Peloponnesians*, and the *Milesians* the *Argiues*. The *Athenians*, after they had erected their Trophy, the place being an *Isthmus*, prepared to take in the Towne with a Wall, supposing if they got *Miletus*, the other Cities would easily come in. In the meane time it was told them a- D bout twi-light, that the fiue and fifty Gallies from *Peloponnesus* and *Sicily* were hard by, and onely not already come. For there came into *Peloponnesus* out of *Sicily*, by the instigation of *Hermocrates*, to helpe to consummate the subuersion of the *Athenian* State, twenty Gallies of *Syracuse*, and two of *Selinus*. And the Gallies that had beene preparing in *Peloponnesus* beeing then also ready, they were, both these and the other, committed to the charge of *Theramenes*, to bee conducted by him to *Astyochus* the Admirall. And they put in first at *Eleus*, E an Iland ouer against *Miletus*, and beeing aduertised there, that the *Athenians* lay before the Towne,

The *Athenians* fight with the *Milesians*, and beginne to besiege the City.

The *Athenians* rise from *Miletus*, vpon the comming of 55 Gallies from *Peloponnesus*.

they went from thence into the Gulfe of *Iaſus*, to learne A
how the affaires of the *Mileſians* ſtood. *Alcibiades* comming
a horſebacke to *Teichiuſſa*, of the Territory of *Miletus*, in
which part of the Gulfe the *Peloponneſian* Gallies lay at
Anchor, they were informed by him of the Battell; for
Alcibiades was with the *Mileſians*, and with *Tiſſaphernes* pre-
ſent in it. And he exhorted them (vnleſſe they meant to
loſe what they had in *Ionia*, and the whole buſineſſe) to
ſuccour *Miletus* with all ſpeed, and not to ſuffer it to be ta-
ken in with a Wall. According to this they concluded to
goe the next morning and relieue it. *Phrynichus*, when hee B
had certaine word from *Derus*, of the arriuall of thoſe Gal-
lies, his Colleagues aduiſing to ſtay, and fight it out with
their Fleet, ſaid, that he would neither do it himſelfe, nor
ſuffer them to doe it, or any other, as long as he could hin-
der it. For ſeeing he might fight with the hereafter, when
they ſhould know againſt how many Gallies of the Ene-
my, & with what addition to their owne, ſufficiently, and
at leaſure made ready, they might do it; he would neuer, he
ſaid, for feare of being vpbraided with baſeneſſe, (for it was
no baſeneſſe for the *Athenians* to let their Nauy giue way C
vpon occaſion; but by what meanes ſoeuer it ſhould fall
out, it would be a great baſeneſſe to be beaten) be ſwayed
to hazard battell againſt reaſon, and not only to diſhonour
the State, but alſo to caſt it into extreme danger. Seeing
that ſince their late loſſes, it hath ſcarce beene fit, with
their ſtrongeſt preparation, willingly, no nor vrged by
precedent neceſsity, to vndertake, how then without con-
ſtraint to ſeeke out voluntary dangers? Therefore he com-
manded them with all ſpeede to take aboord thoſe that
were wounded, and their Land-men, and whatſoeuer V- D
tenſiles they brought with them but to leaue behind what-
ſoeuer they had taken in the territory of the Enemy, to the
end that their Gallies might be the lighter, and to put off
for *Samos*, and thence, when they had all their Fleete to-
gether to make out againſt the Enemy, as occaſion ſhould
be offered.

As *Phrynichus* aduiſed this, ſo he put it in execution, and
was eſteemed a wiſe man, not then onely, but afterwards,
nor in this onely, but in whatſoeuer elſe he had the orde-
ring of. Thus the *Athenians* preſently in the euening, with E
their victory vnperfect, diſlodged from before *Miletus*.

From

A From *Samos*, the *Argiues* in haſte, and in anger for their ouerthrow, went home.

The *Peloponneſians* ſetting forth betimes in the morning from *Teichiuſſa*, put in at *Miletus*, and ſtayed there one day. The next day they tooke with them thoſe Gallies of *Chius*, which had formerly been chaſed together with *Chalcideus*, and meant to haue returned to *Teichiuſſa*, to take aboord ſuch neceſſaries as they had left a Shore; But as they were going, *Tiſſaphernes* came to them with his Landmen, and perſwaded them to ſet vpon *Iaſus*, where *Amor-*
B *ges* the *Kings* Enemy then lay. Whereupon they aſſaulted *Iaſus* vpon a ſodaine, and (they within not thinking but they had been the Fleet of the *Athenians*) tooke it. The greateſt praiſe in this action was giuen to the *Syracuſians*. Hauing taken *Amorges*, the baſtard ſonne of *Piſſuthnes*, but a Rebell to the *King*, the *Peloponneſians* deliuered him to *Tiſſaphernes*, to carry him, if he would, to the *King*, as he had order to doe. The City they pillaged, where-
C in, as being a place of ancient riches, the Army got a very great quantity of money. The auxiliary Souldiers of *Amorges*, they receiued, without doing them hurt, into their owne Army, being for the moſt part *Peloponneſians*. The Towne it ſelfe they deliuered to *Tiſſaphernes*, with all the priſoners, as well free, as bond, vpon compoſition with him, at a Darique ſtater by the poll. And ſo they returned to *Miletus*. And from hence they ſent *Pædaritus the ſonne of Leon*, whom the *Lacedæmonians* had ſent hither to to be Gouernour of *Chius*, to *Erythræ*, and with him, the bands that had ayded *Amorges*, by Land, and made *Philip* Gouernour there, in *Miletus*. And ſo this Summer
D ended.

The next Winter *Tiſſaphernes*, after he had put a Garriſon into *Iaſus*, came to *Miletus*, and for one moneths pay, (as was promiſed on his part at *Lacedæmon*) he gaue vnto the Souldiers through the whole Fleet after an Attique * Drachma a man by the day. But for the reſt of the time he would pay but *3 oboles, till he had asked the *Kings* pleaſure; and if the *King* commanded it, then he ſaid he would pay them the full Drachma. Neuertheleſſe vpon the contradiction of *Hermocrates* Generall of the *Syracuſi-*
E *ans* (for *Theramenes* was but ſlacke in exacting pay, as not being Generall, but onely to deliuer the Gallies that came

The *Peloponneſians* and *Tiſſaphernes*, take *Iaſus*, wherein was *Amorges*, Rebell to the *King*, whom they take priſoner.

The end of the 20 Summer.

* 7 pence halfepenny, of our money.
* 3 pence halfepenny farthing. This diminution of their ſtipend, proceeded from the counſell which Alcibiades gaue to Tiſſaphernes, as is hereafter declared.

came with him, to *Astyochus.*) It was agreed that but for A
the* fiue Gallies that were ouer and aboue, they should
haue more then 3 oboles a man. For to 55 Gallies, he al-
lowed three Talents a moneth, and to as many, as should
be more then that number, after the same proportion.

* If they had been fiue Gallies lesse, that is, but 50 as they were 55. their pay had been 4 oboles a man, at 3 Talents to the 50 Gallies for a moneth. Qu. how many men paid in a Gally, it seemeth but 18.

The *Athenians* send part of the Fleet, against *Chius*, and part against *Miletus.*

The same Winter the *Athenians* that were at *Samos*, (for there were now come in 35 Gallies more from home, with *Charminus*, *Strombichides*, and *Euctemon*, their Commanders) hauing gathered together their Gallies, as well those that had been at *Chius*, as all the rest, concluded, distributing to euery one his charge by Lot, to goe lye before *Miletus* with B
a Fleet; but against *Chius*, to send out both a Fleet, and an Army of Landmen. And they did so. For *Strombichides Onomacles*, and *Euctemon*, with thirty Gallies, and part of those 1000 men of Armes that went to *Miletus*, which they caried along with them in vessels for transportation of Souldiers, according to their Lot, went to *Chius*, and the rest remaining at *Samos* with 74 Gallies, were Masters of the Sea, and went to *Miletus.*

Astyochus goeth from *Chius* to *Clazomena*, thence to *Phocæa*, and *Cyme.*

Astyochus, who was now in *Chius*, requiring Hostages in respect of the Treason, after he heard of the Fleet that C
was come with *Theramenes*, and that the Articles of the League with *Tissaphernes* were mended, gaue ouer that busines; and with 10 Gallies of *Peloponnesus*, and 10 of *Chius*, went thence, and assaulted *Ptoleum*, but not being able to take it, he kept by the Shore to *Clazomenæ.* There hee summoned those within to yeeld, with offer to such of them as fauoured the *Athenians*, that they might go vp and dwell at *Daphnus.* And *Tamos* the Deputy Lieutenant of *Ionia*, offered them the same. But they not hearkning thereunto, he made an assault vpon the Citie being vnwal- D
led, but when he could not take it, he put to Sea againe, and with a mighty Wind, was himselfe carried to *Phocæa*, and *Cyme*, but the rest of the Fleet put in at *Marathusa*, *Pele*, and *Drimyssa*, Ilands that lye ouer against *Clazomenæ.* After they had stayed there 8 dayes in regard of the Winds, spoyling and destroying, and partly taking aboord whatsoeuer goods of the *Clazomenians* lay without, they went afterwards to *Phocæa*, and *Cyme*, to *Astyochus.* While *Astyochus* was there, the Ambassadours of the *Lesbians* came vnto him, desiring to reuolt from the *Athenians*, and as for E
him, they preuailed with him, but seeing the *Corinthians*

The *Lesbians* offer to turne to *Astyochus.*

and

A and the other Confederates were vnwilling, in reſpect of their former ill ſucceſſe there, hee put to Sea for *Chius*. Whither, after a great Tempeſt, his Gallies, ſome from one place, and ſome from another, at length arriued all.

After this, *Pædaritus*, who was now at *Erythræ*, whither he was come from *Miletus* by Land, came ouer with his Forces into *Chius*. Beſides thoſe Forces hee brought ouer with him, he had the Souldiers which were of the fiue Gallies that came thither with *Chalcideus*, and were left B there to the number of fiue hundred, and Armour to Arme them.

Now ſome of the *Lesbians* hauing promiſed to reuolt, *Aſtyochus* communicated the matter with *Pædaritus* and the *Chians*, alleaging how meete it would be to goe with a Fleet, and make *Lesbos* to reuolt, for that they ſhould eyther get more Confederates, or fayling, they ſhould at leaſt weaken the *Athenians*. But they gaue him no eare; and for the *Chian* Gallies, *Pædaritus* told him plainely, he ſhould haue none of them. Whereupon *Aſtyochus* taking with C him fiue Gallies of *Corinth*, a ſixth of *Megara*, one of *Hermione*, and thoſe of *Laconia* which he brought with him, went towards *Miletus* to his Charge; mightily threatning the *Chians*, in caſe they ſhould neede him, not to helpe them.

Aſtyochus, and *Pædaritus* the Gouernour of *Chius* diſagree.

When he was come to *Corycus* in *Erythræa*, hee ſtayed there; and the *Athenians* from *Samos* lay on the other ſide of the point, the one not knowing that the other was ſo neere. *Aſtyochus*, vpon a Letter ſent him from *Pedaritus*, ſignifying that there were come certaine *Erythræan* Cap-D tiues diſmiſſed from *Samos*, with deſigne to betray *Erythræ*, went preſently backe to *Erythræ*, ſo little he miſſed of falling into the hands of the *Athenians*. *Pædaritus* alſo went ouer to him, and hauing narrowly enquired touching theſe ſeeming Traytors, and found that the whole matter was but a pretence, which the men had vſed for their eſcape from *Samos*, they acquitted them, and departed, one to *Chius*, the other, as hee was going before, towards *Miletus*.

In the meane time, the Army of the *Athenians* beeing E come about by Sea from *Corycus*, to *Argenum*, lighted on three long Boats of the *Chians*, which when they ſaw, they preſently

The *Athenian* Gallies toſſed with Tempeſt.

preſently chaſed. But there aroſe a great Tempeſt, and the long Boats of *Chius* with much adoe recouered the Harbour. But of the *Athenian* Gallies, eſpecially ſuch as followed them furtheſt, there periſhed three driuen aſhore at the Citie of *Chius*; and the men that were aboord them, were part taken, and part ſlaine; the reſt of the Fleet eſcaped into a Hauen called *Phœnicus*, vnder the Hill *Mimas*, from whence they got afterwards to *Lesbos*, and there fortifyed. A

The *Athenians* take the Gallies of the *Peloponneſians*, ſent to waft in the Ships of Corne from *Ægypt* to *Cnidus*,

The ſame Winter, *Hippocrates* ſetting out from *Peloponneſus* with tenne Gallies of *Thurium*, commanded by *Dorieus* the ſonne of *Diagoras*, with two others, and with one Gallie of *Laconia*, and one of *Syracuſe*, went to *Cnidus*. This City was now reuolted from *Tiſſaphernes*: and the *Peloponneſians* that lay at *Miletus* hearing of it, commanded that (the one halfe of their Gallies remaining for the guard of *Cnidus*) the other halfe ſhould goe about *Triopium*, and help to bring in the Ships which were to come from *Ægypt*. This *Triopium* is a Promontory of the Territory of *Cnidus*, lying out in the Sea, and conſecrated to *Apollo*. The *Athenians* vpon aduertiſement hereof, ſetting forth from *Samos*, tooke thoſe Gallies that kept guard at *Triopium*, but the men that were in them eſcaped to Land. After this they went to *Cnidus*, which they aſſaulted, and had almoſt taken, being without Wall; and the nexr day they aſſaulted it againe; but being leſſe able to hurt it now then before, becauſe they had fenced it better this night, and the men alſo were gotten into it, that fled from their Gallies vnder *Triopium*, they inuaded and waſted the *Cnidian* Territory, and ſo went backe to *Samos*. B C

They aſſault the City of *Cnidus*, but cannot win it.

About the ſame time, *Aſtyochus* being come to the Nauy at *Miletus*, the *Peloponneſians* had plenty of all things for the Army. For they had not onely ſufficient pay, but the Souldiers alſo had ſtore of money yet remaining of the pillage of *Iaſus*. And the *Mileſians* vnderwent the Warre with a good will. Neuertheleſſe the former Articles of the League made by *Chalcideus* with *Tiſſaphernes* ſeemed defectiue, and not ſo aduantagious to them as to him. Whereupon they agreed to new ones, in the preſence of *Tiſſaphernes*, which were theſe. D E

A *The Agreement of the* Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates, with King* Darius *and his children, and with* Tissaphernes, *for league and amity, according to the Articles following.*

The second League betweene the *Lacedemonians* and the King of *Persia*

Whatsoeuer Territories or Cities doe belong vnto King Darius, *or were his Fathers, or his Ancestours, Against those shall neither the* Lacedæmonians *goe to make Warre, nor any way to annoy them. Neither shall the* Lacedæmonians, *nor their Confederates, exact Tribute of any of those Cities. Neither shall King* Darius, *nor any vnder his Dominion, make Warre vpon, or any way annoy the* Lacedæmonians, *or any of the* Lacedæmo-

B nian *Confederates.*

If the Lacedæmonians *or their Confederates shall neede any thing of the* King, *or the* King *of the* Lacedæmonians, *or of their Confederates, what they shall perswade each other to doe, that if they doe it, shall be good.*

They shall, both of them, make Warre ioyntly against the Athenians *and their Confederates; And when they shall giue ouer the Warre, they shall also doe it ioyntly.*

Whatsoeuer Army shall be in the Kings *Countreys, sent for by the* King, *the* King *shall defray.*

C *If any of the Cities comprehended in the League made with the* King, *shall inuade the* Kings *Territories, the rest shall oppose them, and defend the* King *to the vtmost of their power.*

If any Citie of the Kings, *or vnder his Dominion, shall inuade the* Lacedæmonians, *or their Confederates, the* King *shall make opposition, and defend them to the vtmost of his power.*

After this accord made, *Theramenes* deliuered his Gallies into the hands of *Astyochus*, and putting to Sea in a light horseman, is no more heard of.

Theramenes goeth to Sea in a Light horseman, and is cast away.

D The *Athenians* that were now come with their Armie from *Lesbos* to *Chius*, and were Masters of the Field, and of the Sea, fortified *Delphinium*, a place both strong in the Land-ward, and that had also a Harbour for Shipping, and was not farre from the Citie it selfe of *Chius*. And the *Chians*, as hauing beene dismayed in diuers former Battels, and otherwise, not onely not mutually well affected, but iealous one of another, for *Tydeus*

The *Chians* in distresse, send for ayde to *Astyochus*.

E and his Complices, had him put to death by *Pallantus* for *Atticisme*, and the rest of the City was kept in awe, but by

force, and for a time) ſtirred not againſt them. And for A
the cauſes mentioned, not conceiuing themſelues, neither
with their owne ſtrength, nor with the helpe of thoſe that
Pedaritus had with him, ſufficient to giue them battell,
they ſent to *Miletus*, to require aide from *Aſtyochus*. Which
when he denyed them, *Pedaritus* ſent Letters to *Lacedæ-*
mon, complaining of the wrong. Thus proceeded the af-
faires of the *Athenians* at *Chius*. Alſo their Fleet at *Samos*
went often out, againſt the Fleet of the Enemy at *Miletus*;
but when theirs would neuer come out of the Harbour to
encounter them, they returned to *Samos*, and lay ſtill. B

Aſtyochus refuſeth to ayde them, and is complained on by *Pedaritus* his Letters to the State.

The ſame Winter, about the Solſtice, went out from
Peloponneſus towards *Ionia*, thoſe 27 Gallies, which at the
procurement of *Calligetus* of *Megara*, and *Timagoras* of
Cyzicus, were made ready by the *Lacedæmonians* for *Phar-*
nabazus. The Commander of them was *Antiſthenes* a *Spar-*
tan, with whom the *Lacedæmonians* ſent eleuen *Spartans*
more, to bee of councell with *Aſtyochus*, whereof *Lichas*
the ſonne of *Arceſilaus* was one. Theſe had Commiſsion,
that when they ſhould bee arriued at *Miletus*, beſides their C
generall care to order euery thing to the beſt, they ſhould
ſend away theſe Gallies, eyther the ſame, or more, or
fewer, into the *Helleſpont* to *Pharnabazus*, if they ſo thought
fit, and and to appoint *Clearchus* the ſonne of *Rhampbias*,
that went along in them, for Commander. And that
the ſame eleuen, if they thought it meete, ſhould put
Aſtyochus from his Charge, and ordaine *Antiſthenes* in his
place: for they had him in ſuſpition for the Letters of *Pe-*
daritus.

The ſame Winter, about the Solſtice, went out from *Peloponneſus* towards *Ionia*, thoſe 27 Gallies, which at the procurement of *Calligetus* of *Megara*, and *Timagoras* of *Cyzicus*, were made ready by the *Lacedæmonians* for *Pharnabazus*. The Commander of them was *Antiſthenes* a *Spartan*, with whom the *Lacedæmonians* ſent eleuen *Spartans* more, to bee of councell with *Aſtyochus*, whereof *Lichas* the ſonne of *Arceſilaus* was one. Theſe had Commiſsion, that when they ſhould bee arriued at *Miletus*, beſides their generall care to order euery thing to the beſt, they ſhould ſend away theſe Gallies, eyther the ſame, or more, or fewer, into the *Helleſpont* to *Pharnabazus*, if they ſo thought fit, and and to appoint *Clearchus* the ſonne of *Rhampbias*, that went along in them, for Commander. And that the ſame eleuen, if they thought it meete, ſhould put *Aſtyochus* from his Charge, and ordaine *Antiſthenes* in his place: for they had him in ſuſpition for the Letters of *Pedaritus*.

The Gallies that were prouided for *Pharnabazus* ſet forth towards *Ionia*.

Antiſthenes and 11 other *Spartans* ſent with abſolute authority into *Ionia*.

These Gallies holding their courſe from *Malea* D
through the maine Sea, and arriuing at *Melos*, lighted on
ſeuen Gallies of the *Athenians*, whereof three they tooke,
but without the men, and fired them.

After this, becauſe they feared leſt thoſe *Athenian* Gal-
lies that eſcaped from *Melos*, ſhould giue notice of their
comming, to thoſe in *Samos*, (as alſo it fell out) they
changed their courſe, and went towards *Crete*, and hauing
made their Voyage the longer, that it might be the ſafer,
they put in at *Caunus* in *Aſia*. Now from thence, as be-
ing in a place of ſafety, they ſent a Meſſenger to the Fleet E
at *Miletus* for a Conuoy.

They arriue at *Caunus* in *Aſia*.

The

A The *Chians* and *Pædaritus* about the ſame time, notwithſtanding their former repulſe, and that *Aſtyochus* was ſtill backward, ſent meſſengers to him, deſiring him to come with his whole Fleet, to helpe them being beſieged, and not to ſuffer the greateſt of their Confederate Cities in all *Ionia*, to be thus ſhut vp by Sea, and rauaged by Land, as it was. For the *Chians* hauing many ſlaues, more then any one State, except that of the *Lacedæmonians*, whom for their offences they the more vngently puniſhed becauſe of their number, many of them, as ſoone as the *Athenians* appeared to B be ſettled in their fortifications, ran ouer preſently to them, and were they, that knowing the territory ſo well, did it the greateſt ſpoile. Therefore the *Chians* ſaid he muſt helpe them, whileſt there was hope and poſsibility to do it. *Delphinium* being ſtill in fortifying, and vnfurniſhed, and greater fences being in making, both about their Campe and Fleet. *Aſtyochus* though he meant it not before, becauſe he would haue made good his threats, yet when he ſaw the Confederates were willing, he was bent to haue relieued them.

The *Chians* deſire helpe of *Aſtyochus*.

But in the meane time came the meſſenger from the 27 C Gallies, and from the *Lacedæmonian* Counſellours, that were come to *Caunus*. *Aſtyochus* therefore eſteeming the wafting in of theſe Gallies, whereby they might the more freely command the Sea, and the ſafe comming in of thoſe *Lacedæmonians*, who were to looke into his actions, a buſineſſe that ought to be preferred before all other, preſently gaue ouer his iourney for *Chius*, and went towards *Caunus*.

Aſtyochus is diuerted from helping the *Chians*, and goeth to waſt in the 27 Gallies of *Peloponneſus*, that lay at *Caunus*.

As he went by the Coaſt, he landed at *Cos Meropidis*, being vnwalled, and throwne downe by an Earth-quake, D which had hapned there, the greateſt verily in mans memorie, and rifled it, the Inhabitants being fled into the Mountaines; and ouerrunning the Countrey, made bootie of all that came in his way, ſauing of freemen, and thoſe he diſmiſſed. From *Cos* he went by night to *Cnidus*: but found it neceſſary, by the aduice of the *Cnidians*, not to land his men there, but to follow, as he was, after thoſe 20 Gallies of *Athens*, wherwith *Charminus* one of the *Athenian* Generals gone out frō *Samos*, ſtood watching for thoſe 27 Gallies that were come from *Peloponneſus*, the ſame that *Aſtyochus* him- E ſelfe was going to conuoy in. For they at *Samos* had had intelligence from *Miletus* of their comming, and

Charminus was lying for them about *Syme*, *Chalce*, *Rhodes*, and the Coaſt of *Lycia*: For by this time hee knew that they were at *Caunus*. *Aſtyochus* therefore deſiring to outgoe the report of his comming, went as he was, to *Syme*, hoping to finde thoſe Gallies out from the ſhore. But a ſhoure of raine, together with the cloudineſſe of the Skie, made his Gallies to miſſe their courſe in the darke, and diſordered them.

A fight betweene the Peloponneſian and Athenian Fleets, wherein the Athenians had the worſe.

The next morning, the Fleet being ſcattered, the left Wing was manifeſtly diſcryed by the *Athenians*, whileſt the reſt wandred yet about the Iland: And thereupon *Charminus* and the *Athenians* put forth againſt them with twenty Gallies, ſuppoſing they had beene the ſame Gallies they were watching for, from *Caunus*. And preſently charging, ſunke three of them, and hurt others, and were ſuperiour in the fight, till ſuch time as, contrary to their expectation, the greater part of the Fleet came in ſight, and enclozed them about. Then they betooke themſelues to flight, and with the loſſe of ſixe Gallies, the reſt eſcaped into the Iland of *Teugluſſa*; and from thence to *Halicarnaſſus*.

Afrer this the *Peloponneſians* putting in at *Cnidus*, and ioyning with thoſe ſeuen and twenty Gallies that came from *Caunus*, went all together to *Syme*, and hauing there erected a Trophie, returned againe, and lay at *Cnidus*.

The *Athenians*, when they vnderſtood what had paſſed in this battell went from *Samos* with their whole Nauie to *Syme*. But neither went they out againſt the Nauie in *Cnidus*, nor the Nauy there, againſt them. Whereupon they tooke vp the furniture of their Gallies at *Syme*, and aſſaulted *Loryma*, a Towne in the Continent, and ſo returned to *Samos*.

Tiſſaphernes and the Lacedæmonians diſagree about the Articles of their League.

The whole Nauy of the *Peloponneſians* being at *Cnidus*, was now in repayring, and refurniſhing with ſuch things as it wanted; and withall, thoſe eleuen *Lacedæmonians* conferred with *Tiſſaphernes* (for hee alſo was preſent) touching ſuch things as they diſliked in the *Articles* before agreed on, and concerning the Warre, how it might bee carried for the future, in the beſt and moſt aduantagious manner for them both. But *Lychas* was he that conſidered the buſineſſe moſt neerely, and ſaid, that neither the firſt League, nor yet the later by *Theramenes*, was made as it ought to haue

A haue beene. And that it would be a very hard Condition, that whatſoeuer Territories the *King* and his Anceſtours poſſeſſed before, he ſhould poſſeſſe the ſame now: for ſo he might bring againe into ſubiection all the Ilands, and the Sea, and the *Locrians*, and all as farre as *Bœotia*; and the *Lacedæmonians*, inſtead of reſtoring the *Grecians* into liberty, ſhould put them into ſubiection to the rule of the *Medes*. Therefore he required other and better Articles to bee drawne, and not to ſtand to theſe. As for pay, in the new Articles they would require none. But *Tiſſaphernes* cha-
B fing at this, went his way in choler, and nothing was done.

Rhodes reuolteth to the *Peloponneſians*.

The *Peloponneſians* ſollicited by Meſſengers from the great men of *Rhodes*, reſolued to goe thither, becauſe they hoped it would not proue impoſsible, with their number of Seamen, and Army of Land-Souldiers, to bring that Iland into their power; and withall ſuppoſed themſelues able, with their preſent Confederates to maintaine their Fleet, without asking money any more of *Tiſſaphernes*. Preſently therefore, the ſame Winter, they put forth from
C *Cnidus*, and arriuing in the Territory of *Rhodes*, at *Cameirus*, firſt frighted the Commons out of it, that knew not of the buſineſſe; and they fled. Then the *Lacedæmonians* called together both theſe, and the * *Rhodians* of the two Cities, *Lindus* and *Ielyſus*, and perſwaded them to reuolt from the *Athenians*. And *Rhodes* turned to the *Peloponneſians*. The *Athenians* at the ſame time hearing of their deſigne, put forth with their Fleet from *Samos*, deſiring to haue arriued before them, and were ſeene in the maine Sea, too late, though not much. For the preſent they went away to
D *Chalce*, and thence backe to *Samos*, but afterwards they came forth with their Gallies diuers times, and made Warre againſt *Rhodes*, from *Chalce*, *Cos*, and *Samos*. Now the *Peloponneſians* did no more to the *Rhodians*, but leauie money amongſt them, to the ſumme of * thirty two Talents, and otherwiſe for foureſcore dayes that they lay there, hauing their Gallies haled aſhore, they meddled not.

* *The City of* Rhodes *was not then built.*

* *6000 pounds ſterling.*

In this time, as alſo before the going of the *Peloponneſians* to *Rhodes*, came to paſſe the things that follow.

Alcibiades flyeth to *Tiſſaphernes*, and croſſeth the buſines of the *Peloponneſians*.

E *Alcibiades*, after the death of *Chalcideus*, and Battell at *Miletus*, being ſuſpected by the *Peloponneſians*; and *Aſtyochus* hauing

hauing receiued letters from them from *Lacedæmon*, to put him to death, (for he was an enemy to *Agis*, and also otherwise not well truited) retired to *Tissaphernes*, first for feare, and afterwards to his power hindred the affaires of the *Peloponnesians*. And being in euery thing his instructer, he not only cut shorter their pay, insomuch as from a * *Drachma*, he brought it to 3 * oboles, and those also not continually paid; aduising *Tissaphernes* to tel them, how that the *Athenians*, men of a long continued skill in Natuall affaires, allowed but three oboles to their owne, not so much for want of money, but lest the Mariners, some of them growing insolent, by superfluity, should disable their bodies, by spending their money on such things as would weaken them, and others should quit the Gallies, with the arrere of their pay in their Captaines hands for a pawne; but also gaue counsell to *Tissaphernes*, to giue money to the Captaines of the Gallies, and to the Generals of the seuerall Cities (saue onely those of *Syracuse*) to giue way vnto it. For *Hermocrates*, the Generall of the *Syracusians* was the onely man, that in the name of the whole League stood against it. And for the Cities that came to require money, he would put them backe himselfe, and answer them in *Tissaphernes* his name, and say, namely to the *Chians*, that they were impudent men, being the richest of the *Grecian* States, and preserued by Strangers, to expect neuertheless, that others, for their liberty, should not only venture their persons, but maintaine them with their purses. And to other States, that they did vniustly, hauing laid out their mony before they reuolted, that they might serue the *Athenians*, not to bestow as much, or more now vpon themselues. And told them, that *Tissaphernes*, now he made Warre at his owne charges, had reason to be sparing, but when money should come downe from the *King*, he would then giue them their full pay, and assist the Cities as should be fit. Moreouer, he aduised *Tissaphernes* not to be too hasty to make an end of the Warre, nor to fetch in the *Phœnician* Fleet which was making ready, nor take more men into pay, whereby to put the whole power both by Sea and Land, into the hands of one. But to let the Dominion remaine diuided into two, that the *King*, when one side troubled him, might set vpon it with the other. Whereas the Dominion both by Sea and

A B C D E

* 7 pence halfepenny.

* 3 pence halfepenny farthing.

He aduiseth *Tissaphernes* to shorten their pay.

And to corrupt the Captaines.

The integrity of *Hermocrates*.

Alcibiades answereth in *Tissaphernes* name, to the Cities that call von him for money, and puts them off.

He counselleth *Tissaphernes* to prolong the War, and afflict both sides.

A and Land being in one, he will want, by whom to pull downe thoſe that hold it, vnleſſe with great danger and coſt, he ſhould come and try it out himſelfe. But thus the danger would be leſſe chargeable (he being but at a ſmall part of the coſt,) and he ſhould weare out the *Grecians* one againſt another, and himſelfe in the meane time remaine in ſafety.

He ſaid further, that the *Athenians* were fitter to partake dominion with him then the other, for that they were leſſe ambitious of power by Land; and that their ſpeeches
B and actions tended more to the *Kings* purpoſe. For that they would ioyne with him to ſubdue the *Grecians*, that is to ſay, for themſelues, as touching the dominion by Sea, and for the *King*, as touching the *Grecians* in the *Kings* Territories. Whereas the *Lacedæmonians* on the contrary, were come to ſet them free. And it was not likely but that they that were come to deliuer the *Grecians* from the *Grecians*, will (if they ouercome the *Athenians*) deliuer them alſo from the *Barbarians*.

He gaue counſell therefore, firſt to weare them out
C both, and then, when he had clipped, as neere as he could, the wings of the *Athenians*, to diſmiſſe the *Peloponneſians* out of his Countrey. And *Tiſſaphernes* had a purpoſe to doe accordingly, as farre as by his actions can be coniectured. For hereupon he gaue himſelfe to beleeue *Alcibiades*, as his beſt Counſellour in theſe affaires, and neither paid the *Peloponneſians* their wages, nor would ſuffer them to fight by Sea, but pretending the comming of the *Phœnician* Fleete, whereby they might afterwards fight with oddes, he ouerthrew their proceedings, and abated the
D vigour of their Nauy, before very puiſſant, and was in all things elſe more backward, then hee could poſſibly diſſemble.

Now *Alcibiades* aduiſed the *King* and *Tiſſaphernes* to this, whileſt he was with them, partly, becauſe he thought the ſame to bee indeed the beſt courſe, but partly alſo, to make way for his owne returne into his Countrey: knowing, that if he deſtroyed it not, the time would one day come, that he might perſwade the *Athenians* to recall him. And the beſt way to perſwade them to it, he thought, was this,
E to make it appeare vnto them, that he was powerfull with *Tiſſaphernes*. Which alſo came to paſſe. For after the

Athenian

He aduiſeth him, of the two, to fauour the *Athenians*, the rather, as fitter to helpe ſubdue the *Grecians*.

Tiſſaphernes by the counſell of *Alcibiades*, hindreth the ſucceſſe of the *Peloponneſians*.

Alcibiades aymeth at his returne to *Athens*, by making them ſtrong with *Tiſſaphernes*.

Motion made for the recalling of *Alcibiades*, & deposing of the *People*.

Conspiracy in the Army at Samos, against the De-

Phrynichus is against the recalling

Athenian Souldiers at Samos saw what power he had with him, the Captaines of Gallies, and principall men there, partly vpon *Alcibiades* his owne motion, who had sent to the greatest amongst them, that they should remember him to the best sort, and say, that he desired to come home, so the gouernment might be in the hands of a few, not of euill persons, nor yet of the *Multitude* that cast him out; and that he would bring *Tissaphernes* to be their friend, and so warre on their side: but chiefely of their owne accords had their minds enclined to the deposing of the popular gouernment. This businesse was set on foot first in the Campe, and from thence proceeded afterwards into the Citie. And certaine persons went ouer to *Alcibiades* out of *Samos*, and had conference with him. And when he had vndertaken to bring to their friendship, first *Tissaphernes*, and then the *King*, in case the Gouernment were taken from the People, (for then, he said, the *King* might rely vpon them) they that were of most power in the Citie, who also were the most toyled out, entred into great hope, both to haue the ordering of the State at home themselues, and vtterly to ouer-throw the enemy. And when they came backe to *Samos*, they drew all such as were for their purpose into an Oath of Conspiracie with themselues, and the Multitude gaue it out openly, that *Alcibiades* might be recalled, and the *Temple* put from the Gouernment, the *King* would turne their friend, and furnish them with Money. Though the Multitude were grieued with this proceeding for the present, yet for the great hope they had of the *King's* pay, they signified not their displeasure. But when that vnequall setting vp the *Oligarchy*, when they had once tasted thereof, was vnpleasing to the Multitude, fell to consideration anew, and with more of their Complices, of the things spoken by *Alcibiades*: And the rest thought the matter safe, and worthy to be beleeued: but *Phrynichus*, who yet was Generall of the Army, liked it not, but thought (as the truth was) that *Alcibiades* cared no more for the *Oligarchy* then the *Democratie*, nor had any other ayme in all his actions, but only by altering the Gouernment that he might be called home by his associates. And said, they neuer should see this, that they did not imitate for the King, who could very easily be induced to the Peloponnesians

A neſians *being now as much maſters at Sea as themſelues, and hauing no ſmall Cities within his Dominions) to ioyne with the* Athenians, *whom he truſted not, and to trouble himſelfe, when he might haue the friendſhip of the* Peloponneſians, *that neuer did him hurt.*

As for the Confederate Cities to whom they promiſe Oligarchy, *in that they themſelues doe put downe the* Democracie, he ſaid, *he knew full well, that neyther thoſe which were already reuolted would the ſooner returne to, nor thoſe that remained, be euer the more confirmed in their obedience thereby. For they would*
B *neuer bee ſo willing to be in ſubiection, either to the* Few, *or to the* People, *as they would be to haue their liberty, which ſide ſoeuer it were that ſhould giue it them. But would thinke, that euen thoſe which are termed the* * Good men, *if they had the Gouernment, would giue them as much to doe, as the* People, *being Contriuers and authors to the* People, *of doing thoſe miſchiefes againſt them, out of which they make moſt profit vnto themſelues. And that if the* Few *had the rule, then they ſhould be put to death vnheard, and more violently then by the former, whereas the People is their refuge, and moderator of the others inſolence. This* he ſaid, *hee*
C *was certaine that the Cities thought, in that they had learned the ſame by the actions themſelues. And that therefore what was yet propounded by* Alcibiades, *he by no meanes approued.*

* καλοκἀγαθοι. *The beſt men, or* Ariſtocracy, *a difference from the* Oligarchy, *which was of the richeſt ſort onely. For the* Good men *who in the* Democracie *are the* Peoples *minions, and put the* People *vpon all they doe, will doe the ſame things themſelues, when they haue the Soueraignety in their hands.*

But thoſe of the Conſpiracy there aſſembled, not onely approued the preſent propoſition, but alſo made preparation to ſend *Piſander* and others Ambaſſadours to *Athens*, to negotiate concerning the reduction of *Alcibiades*, the diſſolution of the *Democracie*, and the procuring vnto the *Athenians* the friendſhip of *Tiſſaphernes*.

D

Now *Phrynichus* knowing that an ouerture was to bee made at *Athens* for the reſtoring of *Alcibiades*, and that the *Athenians* would embrace it; and fearing leſt being recalled he ſhould doe him a miſchiefe (in regard hee had ſpoken againſt it) as one that would haue hindred the ſame, betooke himſelfe to this courſe. He ſends ſecret Letters to *Aſtyochus*, the *Lacedæmonian* Generall, who was yet about *Miletus*, and aduertiſed him, that *Alcibiades* vndid their affaires, and was procuring the friendſhip of *Tiſſaphernes* for the *A-*
E *thenians*, writing in plaine termes the whole buſineſſe, and deſiring to bee excuſed, if hee rendred euill

The treaſon of *Phrynichus* againſt the State, for feare of *Alcibiades*.

He writes ſecret Letters to *Aſtyochus*.

to his enemy, with ſome diſaduantage to his Countrey. A
Aſtyochus had before this, laid by the purpoſe of reuenge againſt *Alcibiades*, eſpecially when he was not in his owne hands. And going to him to *Magneſia*, and to *Tiſſaphernes*, related vnto them, what aduertiſement he had receiued from *Samos*, and made himſelfe the appeacher. For he adhered (as was ſaid) to *Tiſſaphernes* for his priuate lucre, both in this, and in diuers other matters, which was alſo the cauſe, that concerning the pay, when the abatement was made, hee was not ſo ſtout in oppoſing it, as hee ought to haue beene. Hereupon *Alcibiades* ſendeth Letters preſently to thoſe that were in office at *Samos*, accuſing *Phrynichus* B
of what hee had done, and requiring to haue him put to death. *Phrynichus* perplexed with this diſcouery, & brought into danger indeed, ſends againe to *Aſtyochus*, blaming what was paſt, as not well concealed and promiſed now, to be ready to deliuer vnto him the whole Armie at *Samos*, to be deſtroyed; writing from point to point (*Samos* being vnwalled) in what manner he would doe it, and ſaying, that ſince his life was brought in danger, they could not blame him, though he did this or any other thing, rather then be C
deſtroyed by his moſt deadly enemies. This alſo *Aſtyochus* reuealed vnto *Alcibiades*.

Aſtyochus appeacheth him to *Alcibiades*.

Phrynichus ſends to *Aſtyochus* againe, and offers to put the whole army into his hands.

But *Phrynichus* hauing had notice betimes how he abuſed him, and that Letters of this from *Alcibiades* were in a manner come, he anticipates the newes himſelfe, and tels the Armie, That whereas *Samos* was vnwalled, and the Gallies rid not all within, the Enemy meant to come and aſſault the Harbour; That hee had ſure intelligence hereof, and that they ought therefore with all ſpeed to raiſe a Wall about the Citie, and to put Garriſons into other pla- D
ces thereabouts. Now *Phrynichus* was Generall himſelfe, and it was in his owne power to ſee it done. They then fell to walling, wherby *Samos* (which they meant to haue done howſoeuer) was ſo much the ſooner walled in. Not long after came Letters from *Alcibiades*, that the Army was betrayed by *Phrynichus*, and that the Enemy purpoſed to inuade the Harbour where they lay. But now, they thought not *Alcibiades* worthy to be beleeued, but rather that hauing foreſeene the deſigne of the enemy, he went about out of malice, to faſten it vpon *Phrynichus*, as conſcious of it like- E
wiſe. So that he did him no hurt by telling it, but bare witneſſe

The deuice of *Phrynichus* to auoyd the danger.

A neſſe rather of that wch *Phrynichus* had told them of before.

After this *Alcibiades* endeuoured to encline and perſwade *Tiſſaphernes* to the friendſhip of the *Athenians*; for though *Tiſſaphernes* feared the *Peloponneſians*, becauſe their Fleete was greater then that of the *Athenians*, yet if hee had beene able, he had a good will to haue beene perſwaded by him; eſpecially in his anger againſt the *Peloponneſians*, after the diſſenſion at *Cnidus*, about the League made by *Theramenes*, (for they were already falne out, the *Peloponneſians* being about this time in *Rhodes*) wherein that which had
B beene before ſpoken by *Alcibiades*, how that the comming of the *Lacedæmonians* was to reſtore all the Cities to their liberty, was now verifyed by *Lichas*, in that he ſaid, it was an Article not to be ſuffered, that the *King* ſhould hold thoſe Cities, which he and his Anceſtors then or before had holden. *Alcibiades* therefore, as one that laboured for no trifle, with all his might applyed himſelfe to *Tiſſaphernes*.

Alcibiades endeoureth to turne *Tiſſaphernes* to the part of the *Athenians*.

The *Athenian* Ambaſſadours ſent from *Samos* with *Piſander*, being arriued at *Athens*, were making their propoſi-
C tions to the *People*. And related vnto them ſummarily the points of their buſineſſe, and principally this, *That if they would call home* Alcibiades, *and not ſuffer the Gouernment to remaine in the hands of the* People, *in ſuch manner as it did, they might haue the* King *for their Confederate, and get the victory of the* Peloponneſians. Now when many oppoſed that point touching the *Democracie*, and the enemies of *Alcibiades* clamoured withall, that it would bee a horrible thing hee ſhould return by forcing the Gouernmẽt, when the **Eumolpidæ*, and **Ceryces* bare witneſſe againſt him concerning the
D *Myſteries*, for which he fled, and prohibited his returne vnder their curſe. *Piſander*, at this great oppoſition and querimony, ſtood out, and going amongſt them, tooke out one by one thoſe that were againſt it, and asked them, *Whether, now that the* Peloponneſians *had as many Gallies at Sea to oppoſe them, as they themſelues had, and Confederate Cities, more then they, and were furniſhed with money by the* King *and* Tiſſaphernes, *the* Athenians *being without, they had any other hope to ſaue their State, but by perſwading the* King *to come about to their ſide?* And they that were asked hauing nothing to
E anſwer, then in plaine termes hee ſaid vnto them, *This you cannot now obtaine, except wee adminiſter the State*

Piſander getteth the *Athenians* to be content with the *Oligarchy*, and to giue him and others Commiſſion to treat with *Alcibiades*.

**Eumolpidæ, a Family deſcended from* Eumolpus, *the author at* Athens *of the* Myſteries *of* Ceres. *This Familie had the chiefe authority in matter that concerned thoſe Rites.*

**Ceryces, Heralds in War, Ambaſſadours in peace.* Suidas. *They pronounced all formall words in the Ceremonies of their Religion, and were a Family deſcended from* Ceryx *the ſonne of* Mercury.

with more moderation, and bring the power into the hands of a A
Few, *that the* King *may rely vpon vs. And wee deliberate at this time, not ſo much about the forme, as about the preſeruation of the State; for if you miſlike the forme, you may change it againe hereafter. And let vs recall* Alcibiades, *who is the onely man that can bring this to paſſe.*

The *People* hearing of the *Oligarchy*, tooke it very haynouſly at firſt; But when *Piſander* had proued euidently, that there was no other way of ſafety, in the end, partly for feare, and partly becauſe they hoped againe to change the Gouernment, they yeelded thereunto. So B
they ordered, that *Piſander*, and tenne others, ſhould goe, and treate, both with *Tiſſaphernes*, and with *Alcibiades* as to them ſhould ſeeme beſt, Withall, vpon the accuſation of *Piſander* againſt *Phrynichus*, they diſcharged both *Phrynichus*, and *Scironidas*, his fellow-Commiſsioner, of their Commaud, and made *Diomedon* and *Leon* Generals of the Fleet in their places.

Phrynichus accuſed by *Piſander*, and diſcharged of his command.

Now the cauſe why *Piſander* accuſed *Phrynichus*, and ſaid he had betrayed *Iaſus* and *Amorges*, was onely this, hee thought him a man vnfit for the buſineſſe now in hand C
with *Alcibiades*.

Piſander, after he had gone about to all thoſe *Combinations* (which were in the Citie before, for obtaining of places of *Iudicature*, and of *Command*) exhorting them to ſtand together, and aduiſe about depoſing the *Democracie*; and when he had diſpatched the reſt of his buſineſſe, ſo as there ſhould be no more cauſe for him to ſtay there, tooke Sea with thoſe other tenne, to goe to *Tiſſaphernes*.

Leon and *Diomedon* warre vpon the *Peloponneſian* Nauy at *Rhodes*.

Leon and *Diomedon* arriuing the ſame Winter at the *Athenian* Fleet, made a Voyage againſt *Rhodes*, and finding D
there the *Peloponneſian* Gallies drawne vp to Land, disbarked, and ouercame in battell ſuch of the *Rhodians* as made head; and then put to Sea againe, and went to *Chalce*. After this they made ſharper Warre vpon them from *Cos*. For from thence they could better obſerue the *Peloponneſian* Nauy, when it ſhould put off from the Land.

Chius diſtreſſed, and *Pedaritus* the Captaine ſlaine.

In this while, there arriued at *Rhodes*, *Xenophontidas* a *Laconian*, ſent out of *Chius* from *Pedaritus*, to aduertiſe them, that the Fortification of the *Athenians* there, was now finiſhed, and that vnleſſe they came and relieued them E
with their whole Fleeet, the State of *Chius* muſt vtterly be

A be loſt. And it was reſolued to relieue them. But *Pædaritus* in the meane time, with the whole power both of his owne auxiliar Forces, and of the *Chians*, made an aſſault vpon the Fortification which the *Athenians* had made about their Nauy, part whereof he wonne, and had gotten ſome Gallies that were drawne aland. But the *Athenians* iſſuing out vpon them, firſt put to flight the *Chians*, and then ouercame alſo the reſt of the Army about *Pædaritus*, and ſlew *Pædaritus* himſelfe, and tooke many of the *Chians* priſoners, and much Armour. After this the *Chi-*
B *ans* were beſieged both by Sea and Land more narrowly, and great famine was in the City.

Piſander, and the other *Athenian* Ambaſſadours that went with him, when they came to *Tiſſaphernes*, began to conferre about the agreement. But *Alcibiades* (for he was not ſure of *Tiſſaphernes*, becauſe he ſtood in feare too much of the *Peloponneſians*, and had a purpoſe beſides, as *Alcibiades* himſelfe had taught him, to weaken both ſides yet more) betooke himſelfe to this ſhift; that *Tiſſaphernes* ſhould breake off the Treaty, by making to the *Athenians*
C exorbitant demands. And it ſeemed that *Tiſſaphernes* and hee aymed at the ſame thing; *Tiſſaphernes* for feare; and *Alcibiades*, for that when he ſaw *Tiſſaphernes* not deſirous to agree, though the offers were neuer ſo great, he was vnwilling to haue the *Athenians* thinke hee could not perſwade him to it, but rather that he was already perſwaded and willing, and that the *Athenians* came not to him with ſufficient offers. For *Alcibiades* being the man that ſpake for *Tiſſaphernes*, though he were alſo preſent, made vnto them ſuch exceſſiue demands, that though the *Athenians*
D ſhould haue yeelded to the greateſt part of them, yet it muſt haue beene attributed to them, that the Treaty went not on. For they demanded firſt, *That all* Ionia *ſhould be rendred*. Then againe *The adiacent* Ilands *and other things*, which the *Athenians* ſtood not againſt. In fine, at the third meeting, when he feared now plainely to be found vnable to make good his word, he required; *That they ſhould ſuffer the* King *to build a Nauy, and ſayle vp and downe by their Coaſt, whereſoeuer, and with what number ſoeuer of Gallies hee himſelfe ſhould thinke good.*

E Vpon this, the *Athenians* would treate no longer, eſteeming the Conditions intolerable, and that *Alcibiades* had

Alcibiades vnable to make good his word, in bringing *Tiſſaphernes* to the *Athenians ſide*, demandeth exceſſiue conditions, to make the breach appeare to proceed from the *Athenians*, and to ſaue his own credit.

had abuſed them; and ſo went away in a chafe to *Samos*. A

Tiſſaphernes hearkeneth againe to the *Peloponneſians*.

Preſently after this the ſame Winter, *Tiſſaphernes* went to *Caunus*, with intent both to bring the *Peloponneſians* backe to *Miletus*, and alſo, (as ſoone as he ſhould haue agreed vnto new *Articles* ſuch as he could get) to giue the Fleet their pay; and not to fall directly out with them, for feare, leſt ſo many Gallies wanting maintenance, ſhould either bee forced by the *Athenians* to fight, and ſo bee ouercome, or empied of men, the buſineſſe might ſucceed with the *Athenians* according to their owne deſire, without him. Beſides, he was afraid, leſt looking out for maintenance, they ſhould make ſpoile in the Continent. In conſideration, and foreſight of all which things, he deſired to counterpoiſe the *Grecians*. And ſending for the *Peloponneſians*, hee gaue them their pay, and now made the third *League*, as followeth. B

The third League betweene *Tiſſaphernes* and the *Peloponneſians*.

In the thirteenth yeere of the raigne of Darius, Alexippidas *being* Ephore *in* Lacedæmon, *Agreement was made in the Plaine of* Mæander, *betweene the* Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates on one part, and* Tiſſaphernes, *and* Hieramenes, *and the ſonnes of* Pharnaces *on the other part; concerning the affaires of the* King, *and of the* Lacedæmonians, *and their Confederates.* C

That whatſoeuer Countrey in Aſia *belongeth to the* King, *ſhall be the* Kings *ſtill. And that concerning his owne Countries, it ſhall bee lawfull for the* King *to doe whatſoeuer hee ſhall thinke meete.*

That the Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates ſhall not inuade any the Territories of the* King, *to harme them; nor the* King, *the Territories of the* Lacedæmonians *or their Confederates.* D

If any of the Lacedæmonians *or their Confederates ſhall inuade the* Kings *Countrey to doe it hurt, the* Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates ſhall oppoſe it. And if any of the* Kings *Countrey ſhall inuade the* Lacedæmonians, *or their Confederates, to doe them hurt, the* King *ſhall oppoſe it.*

That Tiſſaphernes *ſhall, according to the rates agreed on, maintaine the preſent Fleet, till the* Kings *Fleet arriue.*

That when the Kings *Nauy ſhall become, the* Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates ſhall maintaine their owne Nauie themſelues,* E

A *ſelues, if they pleaſe; or if they will haue* Tiſſaphernes *to maintaine it, he ſhall doe it: And that the* Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates, at the end of the Warre, repay* Tiſſaphernes *what ſoeuer money they ſhall haue receiued of him.*

When the Kings *Gallies ſhall be arriued, both they, and the Gallies of the* Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates, ſhall make the Warre ioyntly, according as to* Tiſſaphernes, *and the* Lacedæmonians *and their Confederates ſhall ſeeme good. And if they will giue ouer the Warre againſt the* Athenians, *they ſhall giue it ouer in the ſame manner.*

B Such were the Articles.

After this *Tiſſaphernes* prepared for the fetching in of the *Phœnician* Fleet, according to the Agreement, and to doe whatſoeuer elſe hee had vndertaken, deſiring to haue it ſeene, at leaſt, that he went about it.

In the end of this Winter, the *Bœotians* tooke *Oropus* by Treaſon. It had in it a Garriſon of *Athenians*. They that plotted it, were certaine *Eretrians*, and ſome of *Oropus* it ſelfe, who were then contriuing the reuolt of *Eubœa*. For C the place being built to keepe *Eretria* in ſubiection, it was impoſsible, as long as the *Athenians* held it, but that it would much annoy both *Eretria*, and the reſt of *Eubœa*. Hauing *Oropus* in their hands already, they came to *Rhodes* to call the *Peloponneſians* into *Eubœa*. But the *Peloponneſians* had a greater inclination to relieue *Chius* now diſtreſſed, and putting to Sea, departed out of *Rhodes* with their whole Fleet. When they were come about *Triopium*, they diſcryed the *Athenian* Fleet in the maine Sea, going from *Chalce*. And neither ſide aſſaulting other, they put in, the one Fleet D at *Samos*, the other at *Miletus*. For the *Peloponeſians* ſaw they could not paſſe to relieue *Chius*, without a Battell. Thus ended this Winter, and the twentieth yeere of this Warre, written by *Thucydides*.

Oropus taken by Treaſon.

THE ONE AND TVVENTIETH YEERE.

The next Summer in the beginning of the Spring, *Dercylidas* a *Spartan*, was ſent by Land into *Helleſpont*, with a ſmall Army, to worke the reuolt of *Abydus*, a Colonie of the *Mileſians*. And the *Chians* at the ſame time, whileſt *Aſtyochus* was at a ſtand how to helpe them, were compelled by the preſſure of the Siege, to hazzard a Battell E by Sea.

The *Chians* fight againſt the *Athenians* that beſieged them.

Now whileſt *Aſtyochus* lay in *Rhodes*, they had receiued into

into the Citie of *Chius*, after the death of *Pædaritus*, one *Leon* a *Spartan*, that came along with *Antiſthenes* as a priuate Souldier, and with him twelue Gallies that lay at the guard of *Miletus*, whereof fiue were *Thurians*, foure *Syracuſians*, one of *Anæa*, one of *Miletus*, and one of *Leons* owne. whereupon the *Chians* iſſuing forth with the whole force of the City, ſeazed a certain place of ſtrength, and put forth thirty ſixe Gallies againſt thirty two of the *Athenians*, and fought. After a ſharpe fight, wherein the *Chians* and their aſſociates had not the worſt; and when it beganne to bee darke, they retired againe into the City.

Abydus and *Lampſacus* reuolt.

Preſently after this, *Dercylidas* being arriued now in *Helleſpont* from *Miletus*, by Land, *Abydus* reuolted, to him, and to *Pharnabazus*. And two dayes after, reuolted alſo *Lampſacus*.

Strombichides recouereth *Lampſacus*.

Strombichides hauing intelligence of this, made haſte thither from *Chius*, with foure and twenty Sayle of *Athenians*, (thoſe being alſo of that number, which tranſported his men of Armes.) And when hee had ouercome the *Lampſacens* that came out againſt him, and taken *Lampſacus*, being an open Towne, at the firſt ſhout of their voyces, and made Prize of all the goods they found, and of the Slaues, he placed the Free-men there againe, and went againſt *Abydus*. But when that Citie neither yeelded, nor could be taken by aſſault, he croſſed ouer from *Abydus* to the oppoſite ſhore, and in *Seſtus*, a Citie of *Cherſonneſus*, (poſſeſſed heretofore by the *Medes*) he placed a Garriſon, for the cuſtody of the whole *Helleſpont*.

In the meane time, not onely the *Chians* had the Sea at more command, but *Aſtyochus* alſo, and the Army at *Miletus*, hauing beene aduertiſed what paſt in the fight by Sea, and that *Strombichides* and thoſe Gallies with him were gone away, tooke heart. And *Aſtyochus* going to *Chius*, with two Gallies fetched away the Gallies that were there, and with the whole Fleet now together, went againſt *Samos*. But ſeeing they of *Samos*, by reaſon of their iealouſie one towards another, came not againſt him, hee went backe againe to *Miletus*. For it was about this time, that the *Democracie* was put downe at *Athens*.

The *Democracy* at *Athens* put downe by *Piſander* and his fellowes.

For after that *Piſander* and his fellow-Ambaſſadours that had beene with *Tiſſaphernes*, were come to *Samos*, they both aſſured their affaires yet better in the Army, and alſo pro-

A prouoked the principall men of the *Samians* to attempt with them the erecting of the *Oligarchy*; though there were then an inſurrection amongſt them againſt the *Oligarchy*. And withall the *Athenians* at *Samos*, in a conference amongſt themſelues, deliberated, how, ſince *Alcibiades* would not, to let him alone; (for indeed they thought him no fit man to come into an *Oligarchy*) but for themſelues, ſeeing they were already engaged in the danger, to take care, both to keepe the buſineſſe from a relapſe, and withall to ſuſtaine the Warre, and to contribute money, and whatſo-
B euer elſe was needfull, with alacrity, out of their priuate eſtates, and no more to toyle for other then themſelues. Hauing thus aduiſed, they ſent *Piſander* with halfe the Ambaſſadorus preſently home, to follow the buſineſſe there, with command to ſet vp the *Oligarchy* in all Cities they were to touch at by the way, the other halfe they ſent about, ſome to one part of the State, and ſome to another. And they ſent away *Diotrephes* to his Charge, who was now about *Chius*, choſen to goe Gouernour of the Cities vpon *Thrace*.

The authors of the *Oligarchy* reſolue to leaue out *Alcibiades*, and to gouerne the State with their priuate meanes for themſelues.

C Hee, when he came to *Thaſus*, depoſed the *People*. And within two moneths at moſt, after he was gone, the *Thaſians* fortified their Citie, as needing no longer an *Ariſtocracy* with the *Athenians*, but expecting liberty euery day by the helpe of the *Lacedæmonians*. For there were alſo certaine of them with the *Peloponneſians*, driuen out by the *Athenians*; and theſe practiſed with ſuch in the City as were for their purpoſe, to receiue Gallies into it, and to cauſe it to reuolt. So that it fell out for them iuſt as they would haue it, that that eſtate of theirs, was ſet vp without their dan-
D ger, and that the *People* was depoſed, that would haue withſtood it. Inſomuch as at *Thaſus* it fell out contrary to what thoſe *Athenians* thought, which erected the *Oligarchy*; and ſo, in my opinion, it did in many other places of their Dominion. For the Cities now growne wiſe, and withall reſolute in their proceedings, ſought a direct liberty, and preferred not before it, that outſide of a well-ordered Gouernment, introduced by the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* hauing ſet vp the *Oligarchy* in *Thaſus*, it preſently reuolteth from them.

They with *Piſander*, according to the order giuen
E them, entring into the Cities, as they went by, diſſolued the *Democracies*, & hauing in ſome places obtained alſo an

The proceeding of *Piſander* in ſetting vs the *Oligarchy*.

ayde of men of Armes, they came to *Athens*, and found the A
buſineſſe for the greateſt part diſpatched to their hands, by
their Complices, before their comming. For certaine
yong men combining themſelues, had not onely murdered
Androcles priuily, a principall Patron of the *Popular* go-
uernment, and one that had his hand the fartheſt in the
baniſhment of *Alcibiades*; whom they ſlew for two cau-
ſes: for the ſway hee bare amongſt the People, and to
gratifie *Alcibiades*, who they thought would returne, and
get them the friendſhip of *Tiſſaphernes*; but had alſo made
away diuers men vnfit for their Deſigne, in the ſame man- B
ner. They had withall an Oration ready made, which
they deliuered in publike, wherein they ſaid, *That there
ought none to receiue wages, but ſuch as ſerued in the Warres, nor
to participate of the Gouernment, more then* 5000, *and thoſe, ſuch
as by their purſes and perſons were beſt able to ſerue the Common-
Wealth.*

And this with the moſt carried a good ſhew, becauſe
they that would ſet forward the alteration of the State,
were to haue the mannaging of the ſame. Yet the *People* C
and the **Councell of the Beane*, met ſtill, but debated no-
thing, ſaue what the Conſpirators thought fit. Nay, all
that ſpake were of that number, and had conſidered before
what they were to ſay. Nor would any of the reſt ſpeake
againſt them, for feare, and becauſe they ſaw the Combi-
nation was great; and if any man did, he was quickly made
away by one conuenient meanes or other, and no enquirie
made after the deed doers, nor Iuſtice proſecuted againſt
any that was ſuſpected.

* *The Senate or Councell of 500.*

But the *People* were ſo quiet, and ſo afraid, that euery D
man thought it gaine to eſcape violence, though he ſaid
neuer a word. Their hearts failed them, becauſe they
thought the Conſpirators more then indeed they were:
and to learne their number, in reſpect of the greatneſſe of
the Citie, and for that they knew not one another, they
were vnable.

For the ſame cauſe alſo was it impoſsible for any man
that was angry at it, to bemone himſelfe, whereby to be re-
uenged on them that conſpired. For he muſt haue told his
mind, either to one he knew not, or to one he knew & truſt- E
ed not. For the *Populars* approached each other, euery one
with

A with iealonſie, as if they thought him of the plot. For indeed there were ſuch amongſt them, as no man would haue thought would euer haue turned to the *Oligarchy*; and thoſe were they that cauſed in the *Many* that diffidence, and by ſtrengthning the iealouſie of the *populars* one againſt another, conferred moſt to the ſecurity of the *Few*. During this opportunity, *Piſander*, and they that were with him comming in, fell in hand preſently with the remainder of the buſineſſe. And firſt they aſſembled the *People*, and deliuered their opinion, for tenne men to bee choſen
B with power abſolute, to make a draught of Lawes, and (hauing drawne them) to deliuer their opinion at a day appointed, before the *People*, touching the beſt forme of gouernment for the Citie.

Afterwards, when that day came, they ſummoned the Aſſembly to *Colonus*, (which is a place conſecrated to *Neptune*, without the City, about two Furlongs off) And they that were appointed to write the Lawes, preſented this, and onely this, *That it ſhould be lawfull for any* Athenian *to deliuer whatſoeuer opinion hee pleaſed*, impoſing of great
C puniſhments vpon whoſoeuer ſhould eyther accuſe any that ſo ſpake, of violating the Lawes, or otherwiſe do him hurt. Now here indeed it was in plaine termes propounded, *That not any Magiſtracy of the forme before vſed, might any longer be in force, nor any Fee belong vnto it, but that fiue* Prytanes *might be elected, and theſe fiue chooſe a hundred, and euery one of this hundred take vnto him three others. And theſe* 400 *entring into the Councell-houſe, might haue abſolute authority to gouerne the State as they thought beſt, and to ſummon the* 5000, *as oft as to them ſhould ſeeme good.* He that deliuered this opi-
D nion was *Piſander*, who was alſo otherwiſe, openly the forwardeſt to put downe the *Democracie*. But he that contriued the whole buſineſſe, how to bring it to this paſſe, and had long thought vpon it, was *Antiphon*, a man for vertue not inferiour to any *Athenian* of his time, and the ableſt of any man, both to deuiſe well, and alſo to expreſſe well, what he had deuiſed. And though he came not into the aſſemblies of the *People*, nor willingly to any other debatings, becauſe the *Multitude* had him in iealouſie for the opinion they had of the power of his eloquence, yet
E when any man that had occaſion of ſuite, eyther in the Courts of Iuſtice, or in the Aſſembly of the *People*,

The forme of the new *Oligarchy*.

Piſander a principall man of the *Oligarchals*.

Antiphon another ſetter vp of the *Few*.

The praiſe of *Antiphon*.

came to him for his counsell, this one man was able to help him most. The same man, when afterwards the gouernment of the Foure hundred went downe, and was vexed of the *People*, was heard pleade for himselfe, when his life was in question for that businesse, the best of any man to this day. A

Phrynichus another author of the *Oligarchy*.

Phrynichus also shewed himselfe an earnest man for the *Oligarchy*, and that more eminently then any other, because he feared *Alcibiades*, and knew him to be acquainted with all his practices at *Samos* with *Alyochus*; and thought in all probability, that he would neuer returne, to liue vnder the gouernment of the *Few*. And this man in any matter of weight, appeared the most sufficient to bee relyed on. B

Also *Theramenes* the sonne of *Agnon*, an able man both for elocution and vnderstanding, was another of the Principall of those that ouerthrew the *Democracie*. So that it it is no maruell if the businesse tooke effect, being by many and wise men conducted, though it were a hard one. For it went sore with the *Athenian People*, almost a hundred yeeres after the expulsion of the *Tyrants*, to be now depriued of their liberty, hauing not onely not beene subiect to any, but also for the halfe of this time, beene enured to dominion ouer others. C

The 400 enter vpon the Senate, and dismisse the Senate of 500, called the *Councell of the Beane*.

When the Assembly (after it had passed these things, no man contradicting) was dissolued, then afterwards they brought the Foure hundred into the Councell-house, in this manner. The *Athenians* were euermore partly on the Walles, and partly at their Armes in the Campe, in regard of the Enemie that lay at *Decelea*. Therefore on the day appointed, they suffered such as knew not their intent, to goe forth, as they were wont. But to such as were of the Conspiracy, they quietly gaue order, not to goe to the Campe it selfe, but to lagge behind at a certaine distance, and if any man should oppose what was in doing, to take Armes and keepe them backe. They to whom this charge was giuen, were the *Andrians*, *Tenians*, three hundred *Carystians*, and such of the Colonie of *Ægina* which the *Athenians* had sent thither to inhabite, as came on purpose to this action with their owne Armes. These things thus ordered, the Foure hundred, with euery man a secret Dagger, accompanyed with one hundred and twenty yong men D E

A men of *Greece*, (whom they vſed for occaſions of ſhedding bloud) came in vpon the **Counſellors of the Beane*, as they ſate in the *Counſell-houſe*, and commanded them to take their *Salary*, and be gone, which alſo they brought ready with them, for the whole time they were behind, and payed it to them as they went out. And the reſt of the Citizens mutined not, but reſted quiet.

* *The* Senate *or* Councell *of* 500 *made by lot, in which lot they vſed Beanes, white and blacke.*

The 400 being now entred into the *Counſell-houſe*, created * *Prytanes* amongſt themſelues by lot, and made their prayers and ſacrifices to the *Gods*, all that were be-
B fore vſuall at the entrance vpon the Gouernment. And afterwards, receding farre from that courſe, which in the adminiſtration of the State, was vſed by the *People*, ſauing that for *Alcibiades* his ſake, they recalled not the Outlawes, in other things they gouerned the Common-wealth imperiouſly. And not onely ſlew ſome, though not many, ſuch as they thought fit to be made away, and impriſoned ſome, and confined others to places abroad, but alſo ſent Heralds to *Agis*, King of the *Lacedæmonians*, who was then at *Decelea*, ſignifying that they would come to com-
C poſition with him, and that now he might better treat with them, then he might before with the vnconſtant *People*.

* *Theſe were preſidents in the Councell of the* 500, *in number* 50, *and in turnes moderated and put the queſtion in that Councell, and alſo in the Aſſemblies of the People.*

But he, not imagining that the Citie was yet in quiet, nor willing, ſo ſoone, to deliuer vp their ancient liberty, but rather, that, if they ſaw him approach with great forces, they would be in tumult, not yet beleeuing fully, but that ſome ſtirre or other would ariſe amongſt them, gaue no anſwer at all to thoſe that came from the *Fourehundred*, touching the compoſition; but hauing ſent for new, and
D great forces out of *Peloponneſus*, came downe himſelfe not long after, both with the Army at *Decelea*, and thoſe new commers, to the *Athenian* Walles. Hoping that they would fall into his hands according to his deſire, at leaſt the more eaſily for their confuſion, or perhaps at the very firſt ſhout of their voyces, in reſpect of the tumult that in all likelihood was to happen both within and without the Citie. For, as for the *Long-walles*, in regard of the few Defendants likely to be found vpon them, he thought he could not faile to take them. But when he came neere,
E and the *Athenians* were without any the leaſt alteration within, and had with their Horſemen which they ſent out,

Agis, in hope that the City was in ſedition, commeth to aſſault it, but is repulſed.

out, and a part of their men of Armes, and of their Light-armed, and of their Archers, ouerthrowne ſome of his men that approached too neere, and gotten ſome armes and bodies of the ſlaine; rectified thus, he with drew his Armie againe, and himſelfe, and ſuch as were with him before ſtayed in their place at *Decelea*; but, as for thoſe that came laſt, after they had ſtayed a while in the Countrey, he ſent them home againe. A

The 400. ſend to *Lacedæmon* to procure a *Peace*.

After this, the 400, notwithſtanding their former repulſe, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Agis* anew, and he now receiuing them better, by his aduice they ſent Ambaſſadours alſo to *Lacedæmon*, about an agreement, being deſirous of Peace. B

They ſent to *Samos*, to excuſe their doings to the army.

They likewiſe ſent 10 men to *Samos*, to ſatisfie the Army, and to tell them, *That the* Oligarchy *was not ſet vp, to any preiudice of the Citie, or Citizens, but for the ſafety of the whole State. And that they which had their hands in it, were* 5000, *and not* 400 *onely.* *Notwithſtanding that the* Athenians *by reaſon of warfare, and imployment abroad, neuer aſſembled, of how great conſequence ſoeuer was the matter to be handled, ſo frequent, as to be* 5000 *there at once.* And hauing in other things inſtructed them how to make the beſt of the matter, they ſent them away immediately after the gouernment was changed, fearing (as alſo it fell out) leſt the Seafaring multitude, would not onely not continue in this *Oligarchicall* forme themſelues, but (the miſchiefe beginning there) would depoſe them alſo. C

The *Oligarchy* aſſaulted at *Samos* by the *Populars*.

For in *Samos* there was a commotion about the *Oligarchy* already. And this that followeth, happened about the ſame time that the 400 were ſet vp in *Athens*. Thoſe *Samians* that had riſen againſt the *Nobility*, and were of the *Peoples* ſide, turning when *Piſander* came thither, at the perſwaſion of him and of thoſe *Athenians* in *Samos*, that were his Complices, conſpired together to the number of 300, and were to haue aſſaulted the reſt as *Populars*; and one *Hyperbolus*, a lewd fellow, who, not for any feare of his power, or for any dignity, but for wickedneſſe of life, and diſhonour he did the Citie, had beene baniſhed by *Oſtraciſme*, they ſlew; abetted therein both by *Charminus*, one of the Commanders, and by other *Athenians* that were amongſt them, who had giuen them their faith; and together with theſe they committed other facts of the ſame kind, and were fully bent to haue aſſaulted the *Popular* ſide, D E

A ſide, but they hauing gotten notice thereof, made knowne the deſigne both to the Generals, *Leon*, and *Diomedon*, (for theſe being honoured by the *People*, endured the *Oligarchy* vnwillingly) and alſo to *Thraſibulus*, and *Thraſillus*, whereof one was Captaine of a Gally, and the other Captaine of a Band of a men of Armes, and to ſuch others continually as they thought ſtood in greateſt oppoſition to the Conſpirators; and required of them, that they would not ſee them deſtroyed, and *Samos* alienated from the *Athenians*, by the only means of which their Dominion had till this time
B kept it ſelfe in the ſtate it is in. They hearing it, went to the Souldiers, and exhorted them one by one, not to ſuffer it, eſpecially to the *Paralians*, (who were all *Athenians* and Freemen, come thither in the Gally called *Paralus*, and had alwayes before been enemies to the *Oligarchy*. And *Leon*, and *Diomedon*, whenſoeuer they went forth any whither, left them certaine Gallies for their guard.) So that when the 300 aſſaulted them, the *Commons* of the *Samians*, with the helpe of all theſe, and eſpecially of the *Paralians*, had the vpper hand, and of the 300, ſlew 30. Three of the
C chiefe authors, they baniſhed, and burying in obliuion the fault of the reſt, gouerned the State from that time forward as a *Democratie*.

The *Paralus*, and it (*Chæreas the ſonne of Archeſtratus*, a man of *Athens*, one that had been forward in the making of this change, the *Samians*, and the Souldiers diſpatched preſently away to *Athens*, to aduertiſe them of what was done; for they knew not yet that the gouernment was in the hands of the 400. When they arriued, the 400 caſt ſome two or three of theſe of the *Paralus* into priſon; the
D reſt, after they had taken the Gally from them, and put them aboord another Military Gally, they commanded to keepe guard about *Eubœa*. But *Chæreas*, by ſome meanes or other, getting preſently away, ſeeing how things went, came backe to *Samos*, and related to the Army all that the *Athenians* had done, aggrauating it to the vtmoſt; *As that they puniſhed euery man with ſtripes, to the end that none ſhould contradict the doings of thoſe that bore rule; and that their wiues and children at home were abuſed; and that they had an in-*
E *tention further to take and impriſon all that were of kinne to any of the Army which was not of their faction, to the intent to kill them if they of* Samos *would not ſubmit to their authority.* And many

The Army ſend to *Athens* to ſignifie their doings againſt the *Oligarchy* at *Samos*, not knowing that the *Oligarchy* was then in authority at *Athens*.

many other things he told them, adding lyes of his owne. A

The *Democracy* re-eſtabliſhed in the army.

When they heard this, they were ready at firſt to haue fallen vpon the chiefe authors of the *Oligarchy*, and vpon ſuch of the reſt as were partakers of it. Yet afterwards, being hindred by ſuch as came betweene, and aduiſed them not to ouerthrow the State, the enemy lying ſo nere with their Gallies to aſſault them, they gaue it ouer. After this, *Thraſybulus the ſonne of Lycas*, and *Thraſyllus*, (for theſe were the principall authors of the change) determining now openly to reduce the State at *Samos* to a *Democracy*, tooke oathes of all the Souldiers, eſpecially of the *Oligarchicals*, the greateſt they could deuiſe, both *that they ſhould be ſubiect to the* Democracy, *and agree together, and alſo that they ſhould zealouſly proſecute the Warre againſt the* Peloponneſians, *and withall be enemies to the* 400, *and not haue to doe with them by Ambaſſadours.* The ſame oath was taken by all the *Samians* that were of age, and the *Athenian* Souldiers communicated with them their whole affaires, together with whatſoeuer ſhould ſucceed of their dangers. For whom and for themſelues, they made account there was no refuge of ſafety, but that if either the 400, or the enemy, at *Miletus*, ouercame them, they muſt needs periſh. B C

So there was a contention at this time, one ſide compelling the Citie to a *Democracy*; the other, the Army to an *Oligarchy*. And preſently there was an Aſſembly of the Souldiers called, wherein they depriued the former Commanders, and ſuch Captaines of Gallies as they had in ſuſpition, of their charge, and choſe others, both Captaines of Gallies, and Commanders in their places, of which *Thraſybulus* and *Thraſyllus* were two. And they ſtood vp and encouraged one another, both otherwiſe, and with this, D

The army encourageth it ſelfe againſt the City and State at home, by compariſon of their ſtrength.

That they had no cauſe to be deiected for the Cities reuolting from them; For they at Athens, *being the leſſer part, had forſaken them, who were not onely the greater part, but alſo euery way the better prouided. For they hauing the whole Nauy could compell the reſt of the cities ſubiect vnto them, to pay in their mony, as well now, as if they were to ſet out from* Athens *it ſelfe. And that they alſo had a Citie, namely* Samos, *no weake one, but euen ſuch a one, as when they were enemies, wanted little of taking the Dominion of the Sea from the* Athenians. *That the ſeat of the Warre, was the ſame it was before; and that they ſhould be better able to prouide themſelues of things neceſſary, hauing the Nauie, then they* E

ſhould

A *should be that were at home in the City. And that they at* Athens *were Masters of the entrance of* Piræus *both formerly by the fauour of them at* Samos, *and that now also, vnlesse they restore them the Gouernment, they shall againe bee brought to that passe, that those at* Samos *shall bee better able to barre them the vse of the Sea, then they shall bee to barre it them of* Samos. *That it was a trifle and worth nothing which was conferred to the ouercomming of the Enemy by the Citie, and a small matter it would be to lose it, seeing they had neither any more Siluer to send them (for the Souldiers shifted for themselues) nor yet good direction*
B *which is the thing for which the Citie hath the command of the Armies. Nay that in this point they erred which were at* Athens, *in that they had abrogated the Lawes of their Countrey, whereas they at* Samos *did both obserue the same themselues, and endeuour to constraine the other to doe so likewise. So that such of them in the Campe as should giue good councell, were as good as they in the Citie. And that* Alcibiades, *if they would decree his security and his returne, would with all his heart procure the* King *to bee their Confederate. And that which is the maine thing, if they fayled of all other helpes, yet with so great a Fleet, they could not faile*
C *of many places to retire to, in which they might finde both Citie and Territorie.*

When they had thus debated the matter in the Assembly, and encouraged one another, they made ready, as at other times, whatsoeuer was necessary for the Warre. And the tenne Ambassadours which were sent to *Samos* from the *Foure-hundred*, hearing of this by the way, at *Delos*, whither they were come already, stayed still there.

D About the same time also, the Souldiers of the *Peloponnesian* Fleet at *Miletus* murmured amongst themselues, that *Astyochus* and *Tissaphernes* ouerthrew the state of their Affaires. *Astyochus*, in refusing to fight, both before, when their owne Fleete was stronger, and that of the *Athenians* but small, and also now, whilest they were said to bee in sedition, and their Fleet diuided; and in expecting the *Phœnician* Fleet, in fame, not in fact to come from *Tissaphernes*; And *Tissaphernes*, in that hee not onely brought not in that Fleete of his,
E but also impaired theirs, by not giuing them their pay, neither fully nor continually: And that they therefore

Vpon the murmur of the Souldiers against *Astyochus*, he goeth to *Samos* to offer the *Athenians* battell, who refuse it.

ought no longer to delay time, but to hazard battell. This A
was vrged principally by the *Syracuſians*.

Aſtyochus and the Confederates, when they heard of the murmur, and had in Counſell reſolued to fight, eſpecially after they were informed that *Samos* was in a tumult, putting forth with their whole Fleet, to the number of 121 Sayle, with order giuen to the *Mileſians* to march by Land to the ſame place, went to *Mycale*. But the *Athenians* being come out from *Samos* with their Fleet of 82 Gallies, and riding now at *Glauce* of the Territory of *Mycale*, (for in this part toward *Mycale*, *Samos* is but a little B
way from the Continent) when they deſcryed the *Peloponneſian* Fleet comming againſt them, put in againe to *Samos* as not eſteeming themſelues a ſufficient number to hazard their whole fortune on the Battell. Beſides, they ſtayed for the comming of *Strombichides* from *Helleſpont* to their ayde, (for they ſaw that they of *Miletus* had a deſire to fight) with thoſe Gallies that went from *Chius* againſt *Abydus*; for they had ſent vnto him before. So theſe retired into *Samos*. And the *Peloponneſians* putting in at *Mycale*, there encamped, as alſo did the Land-forces of the *Mileſians*, and others of the Countrey thereabouts. The next C
day, when they meant to haue gone againſt *Samos*, they receiued newes that *Strombichides* with his Gallies was arriued out of *Helleſpont*, and thereupon returned preſently to *Miletus*. Then the *Athenians* on the other ſide, with the addition of theſe Gallies, went to *Miletus*, being now one hundred and eight Sayle, intending to fight: but when no body came out againſt them, they likewiſe went backe to *Samos*.

The *Abenians* offer battell to the *Peloponneſians* and they refuſe it.

Immediately after this, the ſame Summer, the *Peloponneſians*, who refuſed to come out againſt the Enemy, as D
holding themſelues with their whole Fleete too weake to giue them Battell, and were now at a ſtand how to get Money for the maintenance of ſo great a number of Gallies, ſent *Clearchus* the ſonne of *Rhamphias* with fortie Gallies (according to the order at firſt from *Peloponneſus*) to *Pharnabazus*. For not onely *Pharnabazus* himſelfe had ſent for, and promiſed to pay them, but they were aduertiſed beſides, by Ambaſſadours, that *Byzantium* had a purpoſe to reuolt. Hereupon theſe *Pelo-* E
ponneſian Gallies hauing put out into the maine Sea, to the

The *Peloponneſians* ſend part of their Fleet towards the *Helleſpont*, but there went through but onely tenne Gallies.

end

A end that they might not be ſeene as they paſſed by, and toſſed with Tempeſts, part of them (which were the greateſt number) and *Clearchus* with them, got into *Delos*, and came afterwards to *Miletus* againe: (but *Clearchus* went thence againe into the *Helleſpont* by Land, and had the command there,) and part vnder the charge of *Elixus* a *Megarean* (which were tenne Sayle, went ſafely through into the *Helleſpont*, and cauſed *Byzantium* to reuolt. And after this, when they of *Samos* heard of it, they ſent certaine Gallies into *Helleſpont*, to oppoſe them, and to be a guard to the Ci-
B ties thereabouts; and there followed a ſmall fight betweene them, of eight Gallies to eight, before *Byzantium*.

Alcibiades is recalled, and commeth to *Samos*.

In the meane time, they that were in authority at *Samos*, and eſpecially *Thraſybulus*, who after the forme of Gouernment changed, was ſtill of the minde to haue *Alcibiades* recalled, at length in an Aſſembly perſwaded the Souldiers to the ſame. And when they had decreed for *Alcibiades*, both his returne, and his ſecurity, he went to *Tiſſaphernes*, and fetched *Alcibiades* to *Samos*, accounting it
C their onely meanes of ſafety, to winne *Tiſſaphernes* from the *Peloponneſians* to themſelues. An Aſſembly being called, *Alcibiades* complained of, and lamented, the calamity of his owne exile, and ſpeaking much of the buſineſſe of the State, gaue them no ſmall hopes of the future time, hyperbolically magnifying his own power with *Tißapher-*
He manifeſteth his power with *Tiſſaphernes*.
nes, to the end that both they which held the *Oligarchy* at home, might the more feare him, and ſo the Conſpiracies diſſolue, and alſo thoſe at *Samos* the more honour him, and take better heart vnto themſelues: and with-
D all, that the Enemy might obiect the ſame to the vtmoſt to *Tißaphernes*, and fall from their preſent hopes. *Alcibiades* therefore, with the greateſt boaſt that could bee, affirmed that *Tiſſaphernes* had vndertaken to him, that as long as he had any thing left, if hee might but truſt the *Athenians*, they ſhould neuer want for maintenance, no, though hee ſhould bee conſtrained to make Money of his owne bed; and that he would fetch the *Phœnician* Fleet now at *Aſpendus*, not to the *Peloponneſians*, but to the *Athenians*. And that then onely hee would rely vpon the
E *Athenians*, when *Alcibiades* called home, ſhould vndertake for them.

Alcibiades Generall of the *Athenian* army.

Hearing this and much more, they choſe him preſently for Generall, together with thoſe that were before, and commited vnto them the whole gouernment of their affaires. And now there was not a man that would haue ſold his preſent hopes, both of ſubſiſting themſelues, and being reuenged of the *Foure-hundred*, for any good in the world; and were ready euen then, vpon thoſe words of his, contemning the Enemie there preſent, to ſet ſayle for *Piræus*. But he, though many preſſed it, by all meanes forbade their going againſt *Piræus*, being to leaue their Enemies ſo neere; but ſince they had choſen him Generall, he was, he ſaid, to goe to *Tiſſaphernes* firſt, and to diſpatch ſuch buſineſſe with him as concerned the Warre. And as ſoone as the Aſſembly brake vp, he tooke his iourney accordingly, to the end that he might ſeeme to communicate euery thing with him, and for that he deſired alſo to bee in more honour with him, and to ſhew that hee was Generall, and a man capable to doe him good or hurt. And it happened to *Alcibiades*, that he awed the *Athenians* with *Tiſſaphernes*, and *Tiſſaphernes* with the *Athenians*.

The *Peloponneſians* murmur againſt *Tiſſaphernes* and *Aſtyochus*.

When the *Peloponneſians* that were at *Miletus* heard that *Alcibiades* was gone home, whereas they miſtruſted *Tiſſaphernes* before, now they much more accuſed him. For it fell out; that when at the comming of the *Athenians* with their Fleet before *Miletus*, they refuſed to giue them Battell, *Tiſſaphernes* became therby a great deale ſlacker in his payment, & beſides that he was hated by them before this, for *Alcibiades* ſake, the Souldiers now, meeting in Companies apart, reckoned vp one to another, the ſame matters which they had noted before, and ſome alſo, men of value, and not the common Souldier alone, recounted this withall, how they had neuer had their full ſtipend, that the allowance was but ſmall, and yet not continually paid, and that vnleſſe they either fought, or went to ſome other place where they might haue maintenance, their men would abandon the Fleet, and that the cauſe of all this was in *Aſtyochus*, who for priuate lucre gaue way to the humour of *Tiſſaphernes*. Whileſt theſe were vpon this conſideration, there happened alſo a certaine tumult about *Aſtyochus*. For the Mariners of the *Syracuſians* and *Thurians*, by how much they were a multitude, that had greater liberty

A berty then the reſt, with ſo much the ſtouter importunity, they demaunded their pay. And he not onely gaue them ſomewhat an inſolent anſwer, but alſo threatned *Dorieus*, that amongſt the reſt ſpake for the Souldiers vnder himſelfe, and lift vp his ſtaffe againſt him. When the Souldiers ſaw that, they tooke vp a cry like Seamen indeed, all at once, and were running vpon *Aſtyochus*, to haue ſtricken him. But foreſeeing it, he fled to an Altar, and was not ſtricken, but they were parted againe.

Mutiny againſt *Aſtyochus*.

The *Mileſians* alſo tooke in, a certaine Fort in *Miletus*,
B built by *Tiſſaphernes*, hauing priuily aſſaulted it, and caſt out the Garriſon that was within it. Theſe things were by the reſt of the Confederates, and eſpecially by the *Syracuſians*, well approued of, but *Lichas* liked them not; ſaying, it behoued the *Mileſians*, and the reſt dwelling within the *Kings* Dominion, to haue obeyed *Tiſſaphernes* in all moderate things, and till ſuch time as the Warre ſhould haue been well diſpatched, to haue courted him. And the *Mileſians*, for this and other things of this kind were offended with *Lichas*, and afterwards when hee dyed of ſicke-
C neſſe, would not permit him to bee buried in that place, where the *Lacedæmonians* then preſent, would haue had him.

The *Mileſians* take in the Fort made in their City by *Tiſſaphernes*.

Whileſt they were quarrelling about their buſineſſe with *Aſtyochus* and *Tiſſaphernes*, *Mindarus* commeth in from *Lacedæmon* to ſucceed *Aſtyochus* in his charge of the Fleet. And as ſoone as he had taken the Command vpon him, *Aſtyochus* departed. But with him *Tiſſaphernes* ſent a *Carian*, named *Cauleites*, one that ſpake * both the Languages, both to accuſe the *Mileſians* about the Fort, and alſo to make
D an Apologie for himſelfe. Knowing that the *Mileſians* went principally to exclaime vpon him, and that *Hermocrates* went with them, and would bewray how *Tiſſaphernes* vndid the buſineſſe of the *Peloponneſians*, with *Alcibiades*, and dealt on both hands. For he was continually at enimity with him, about the payment of the Souldiers wages; and in the end, when *Hermocrates* was baniſhed from *Syracuſe*, and other Commanders of the *Syracuſian* Fleet, namely, *Potamis*, *Miſcon*, and *Demarchus*, were arriued at *Miletus*, *Tiſſaphernes* lay more heauy vpon him, being an Outlaw
E then before, and accuſed him amongſt other things, that he had asked him mony, and becauſe he could not haue it, became

Mindarus ſucceſſor to *Aſtyochus*, taketh charge of the Army, and *Aſtyochus* goeth home.

* *Both* Greeke *and* Perſian.

came his Enemie. So *Aſtyochus* and *Hermocrates* and the *Meleſians* went their way to *Lacedæmon*. A

The Ambaſſadours from the 400 to excuſe the change at Athens.

Alcibiades by this time was come backe from *Tiſſapherne*s, to *Samos*. And thoſe Ambaſſadours of the *Foure-hundred*, which had beene ſent out before to mollifie and to informe thoſe of *Samos*, came from *Delos*, now, whileſt *Alcibiades* was preſent.

An Aſſembly being called, they were offering to ſpeake, but the Souldiers at firſt would not heare them, but cryed out to haue them put to death, for that they had depoſed the *People*; yet afterwards with much adoe they were B calmed, and gaue them hearing. They declared, *That the change had beene made for the preſeruation of the City, not to deſtroy it, nor to deliuer it to the Enemy; for they could haue done that before now, when the Enemy during their gouernment aſſaulted it. That euery one of the 5000 was to participate of the Gouernment in their turnes. And their friends were not (as* Chæreas *had laid to their charge) abuſed, nor had any wrong at all, but remained euery one quietly vpon his owne.*

Though they deliuered this and much more, yet the C Souldiers beleeued them not, but raged ſtill, and declared their opinions, ſome in one ſort, ſome in another, moſt agreeing in this to goe againſt *Piraeus*. And now *Alcibiades* appeared to be the firſt and principall man in doing ſeruice to the Common-wealth. For when the *Athenians* at *Samos* were carried headlong to inuade themſelues, (in which caſe moſt manifeſtly the Enemy had preſently poſſeſſed himſelfe of *Ionia* and *Helleſpont*) it was thought that hee was the man that kept them from it. Nor was there any man at that time able to haue held in the Multitude, D but himſelfe. He both made them to deſiſt from the voyage, and rated off from the Ambaſſadors, thoſe that were in their owne particular incenſed againſt them; whom alſo he ſent away, giuing them their anſwer himſelfe: *That he oppoſed not the gouernment of the 5000, but willed them to remoue the 400, and to eſtabliſh the Councell that was before of 500. That if they had frugally cut off any expence, ſo that ſuch as were employed in the Warres might be the better maintained, he did much commend them for it.* And withall hee exhorted them *to* ſtand out, *and giue no ground to their Enemies; for that as long as* E *the City held out, there was great hope for them to compound; but*

Alcibiades ſaueth the Athenian State.

if

A *if eyther part miſcarry once, eyther this at* Samos, *or the other at* Athens, *there would none be left for the Enemy to compound withall.*

There chanced to be preſent alſo the Ambaſſadors of the *Argiues*, ſent vnto the Popular faction of the *Athenians* in *Samos*, to aſsiſt them. Theſe *Alcibiades* commended, and appointed to be ready when they ſhould be called for, and ſo diſmiſſed them. Theſe *Argiues* came in with thoſe of the *Paralus*, that had beene beſtowed formerly in the military Gally by the *Foure-hundred*, to goe about *Eubœa*, and
B to conuoy *Leſpodias*, *Ariſtophon*, and *Meleſias*, Ambaſſadors from the *Foure-hundred*, to *Lacedæmon*. Theſe as they ſayled by *Argos*, ſeazed on the Ambaſſadours, and deliuered them as principall men in depoſing of the *People*, to the *Argiues*, and returned no more to *Athens*, but came with the Gallie they then were in, to *Samos*, and brought with them theſe Ambaſſadours from the *Argiues*.

Tiſſaphernes goeth to the *Phœnician* Fleet at *Aſpendus*.

The ſame Summer, *Tiſſaphernes*, at the time that the *Peloponneſians* were offended with him moſt, both for the going home of *Alcibiades*, and diuers other things, as now
C manifeſtly *Atticizing*, with purpoſe, as indeed it ſeeemed, to cleere himſelfe to them, concerning his accuſations, made ready for his iourney to *Aſpendus* for the *Phœnician* Fleet, and willed *Lichas* to goe along with him; ſaying that he would ſubſtitute *Tamos* his Deputy Lieutenant ouer the Army, to pay the Fleet whileſt himſelfe was abſent.

This matter is diuerſly reported, and it is hard to know with what purpoſe he went to *Aſpendus*, and yet brought not the Fleet away with him. For it is knowne that 147
D Sayle of *Phœnicians* were come forward as far as *Aſpendus*, but why thy came not thorow, the coniectures are various. Some thinke it was vpon deſigne (as hee formerly intended) to weare out the *Peloponneſian* Forces, (for which cauſe alſo, *Tamos*, who had that chatge, made no better, but rather worſe payment then himſelfe.) Others, that hauing brought the *Phœnicians* as far as *Aſpendus*, he might diſmiſſe them for money; (for he neuer meant to vſe their ſeruice.) Some againe ſaid, it was becauſe they exclaimed ſo againſt it at *Lacedæmon*, and that it might not bee
E ſaid he abuſed them, but that hee went openly to a Fleete really ſet out.

Coniectures of diuers vpon his going.

For

The opinion of the Author.

For my owne part, I thinke it moſt cleare, that it was A
to the end to conſume, and to ballance the *Grecians*, that he
brought not thoſe Gallies in. Conſuming them, in that
he went thither, and delayed the time; and equalizing
them, in that bringing them to neither, he made neither
party the ſtronger. For if he had had a mind to end the
Warre, it is manifeſt hee might haue beene ſure to haue
done it. For if he had brought them to the *Lacedæmoni-*
ans, in all reaſon he had giuen them the victory, who had
a Nauie already, rather equall then inferiour to that of their
Enemies. B

But that which hurt them moſt, was the pretence hee
alledged for not bringing the Fleet in, for he ſaid they
were not ſo many ſayle as the *King* had ordained to be got-
ten together. But ſure he might haue ingratiated himſelfe
more in this buſineſſe, by diſpatching it with leſſe of the
Kings Money, then by ſpending more. But whatſoeuer was
his purpoſe, *Tiſſaphernes* went to *Aſpendus*, and was with
the *Phœnicians*, and by his owne appointment, the *Pelopon-*
neſians ſent *Philip* a *Lacedæmonian* with him with two Gal-
lies, as to take charge of the Fleet. C

Alcibiades, knowing that *Tiſſaphernes* would neuer bring on the Fleet, goeth after him, to make the *Peloponneſians* thinke, the Fleet was ſtaid for his & the *Athenians* ſakes.

Alcibiades, when he heard that *Tiſſaphernes* was gone to
Aſpendus, goes after him with thirteene Gallies, promi-
ſing to thoſe at *Samos*, a ſafe and great benefit, which was,
that he would either bring thoſe *Phœnician* Gallies to the
ſeruice of the *Athenians*, or at leaſt hinder their comming
to the *Peloponneſians*; knowing, as is likely, the minde of
Tiſſaphernes by long acquaintance, that hee meant not to
bring them on, and deſiring, as much as he could, to pro-
cure him the ill will of the *Peloponneſians*, for the friendſhip
ſhewne to himſelfe and to the *Athenians*, that hee might D
thereby the better engage him to take their part. So hee
preſently put to Sea, holding his courſe for *Phaſelis* and
Caunus vpwards.

Sedition at *Athens*, about the change of the *Oligarchy* into *Democracy* againe.

The Ambaſſadours of the *Foure-hundred* being returned
from *Samos* to *Athens*, and hauing related what they had
in charge from *Alcibiades*, how *that he exhorted them to hold*
out, and not giue ground to the Enemy, and that he had great hopes
to reconcile them to the army, and to ouercome the Peloponneſi-
ans; whereas many of the ſharers in the *Oligarchy*, were
formerly diſcontented, and would gladly, if they could E
haue done it ſafely, haue quitted the buſineſſe, they were
now

A now a great deale more confirmed in that minde. And already they had their meetings apart, and did caſt aſperſions on the Gouernment, and had for their ring-leaders, ſome of the heads of the *Oligarchicals*, and ſuch as bare Office amongſt them, as *Theramenes* the ſonne of *Agnon*, and *Ariſtocrates* the ſonne of *Sicelias*, and others, who though they were partakers with the foremoſt in the affaires of State, yet feared, as they ſaid, *Alcibiades*, and the Armie at *Samos*; and ioyned in the ſending of Ambaſſadours to *Lacedæmon*, becauſe they were loth, by ſingling themſelues
B from the greater number, to hurt the State, not that they diſmiſſed the State into the hands of a very few. But ſaid, that the 5000 ought in fact to be aſsigned, and not in voice onely, and the Gouernment to be reduced to a greater equality. And this was indeede the forme pretended in words by the 400. But the moſt of them, through priuate ambition, fell vpon that, by which an *Oligarchy* made out of a *Democracy*, is chiefly ouerthrowne. For at once they claymed euery one, not to be equall, but to bee farre the
C chiefe. Whereas in a *Democracie*, when election is made, becauſe a man is not ouercome by his equals, he can better brooke it. But the great power of *Alcibiades* at *Samos*, and the opinion they had that the *Oligarchy* was not like to laſt, was it that moſt euidently encouraged them; and therevpon they euery one contended, who ſhould moſt eminently become the Patron of the *People*.

Ambition of the *Oligarchicals* amongſt themſelues, ouerthroweth their Gouernment.

But thoſe of the *Foure-hundred* that were moſt oppoſite to ſuch a forme of Gouernment, and the principall of them, both *Phrynichus*, (who had beene Generall at *Samos*, and was euer ſince at difference with *Alcibiades*) and *Ari-*
D *ſtarchus*, a man that had beene an aduerſary to the *People*, both in the greateſt manner, and for the longeſt time; and *Piſander* and *Antiphon*, and others of the greateſt power, not onely formerly, as ſoone as they entred into authority, and afterward when the State at *Samos* reuolted to the *People*, ſent Ambaſſadours to *Lacedæmon*, and beſtirred themſelues for the *Oligarchy*, and built a wal in the place called *Eetioneia*, but much more afterwards, when their Ambaſſadours were come from *Samos*, and that they ſaw not onely the *Populars*, but alſo ſome others of their own party, thought
E truſty before, to bee now changed. And to *Lacedæmon* they ſent *Antiphon* and *Phrynichus*, with tenne others, with

The Oligarchals fortifie the mouth of the Hauen of Peiraeum.

all posible speed, as fearing their aduersaries, both at home and at *Samos*, with Commission to make a Peace with the *Lacedæmonians*, on any tolerable conditions whatsoeuer, or howsoeuer, and in this time went on with the building of the Wall in *Eetioneia* with greater diligence then before. The scope they had in this Wall, as it was giuen out by *Theramenes* the sonne of *Agnon* was not so much to keepe out those of *Samos*, in case they should attempt by force to enter into *Piræus*, as at their pleasure to be able to let in both the Gallies, and the Land-forces of the Enemies. For this *Eetionea* is the Peere of the *Piræus*, close vnto which is the mouth of the Hauen; and therefore they built this Wall, so to another Wall, that was built before to the Continent, that a few men lying within it, might command the entrance. For the end of each Wall was brought to the Tower vpon the very mouth of the Hauen, as well of the old Wall towards the Continent, as of the new which was built within it to the water. They built also an open *ground-gallery, an exceeding great one, and close to their new Wall within *Piræus*, and were Masters of it, and constrained all men as well to bring thither their corne, which they had already come in, as to vnload there whatsoeuer should come in afterward, and to take & sell it from thence.

*Vide.

Theramenes murmureth against their fortifying in *Eetioneia*.

These things *Theramenes* murmured at long before, and when the Ambassadours returned from *Lacedæmon*, without compounding for them all in generall; he gaue out, that this Wall would endanger the vndoing of the Citie. For at this very instant, there hapned to be riding on the Coast of *Laconia*, 42 Gallies, (amongst which were some of *Tarentum*, some of *Locri*, some *Italians*, and some *Sicilians*) set out from *Peloponnesus*, at the instance of the *Eubœans*, bound for *Eubœa*, and commanded by *Hegesandridas the sonne of Hegesander*, a *Spartan*. And these *Theramenes* said were comming, not so much towards *Eubœa*, as towards those that fortified in *Eetioneia*, and that if they were not looked to, they would surprize the City. Now some matter might indeed be gathered also from those that were accused, so that it was not a meere slander. For their principall designe was to retaine the *Oligarchy*, with dominion ouer their Confederates; but if they failed of that, yet being masters of the Gallies and of the fortification, to haue subsisted free themselues; If barred of that, then, rather then

The scope of the *Oligarchicals*.

A then to bee the onely men to ſuffer death vnder the reſtored *Democracie*, to let in the Enemy, and without either Nauy or Fortification, to haue let what would haue become of the City, and to haue compounded for the ſafety of their owne perſons.

Therefore they went diligently on with the Fortification, wherein were Wickets and Entries, and backewayes for the Enemy, and deſired to haue it finiſhed in time. And though theſe things were ſpoken but amongſt a few before, and in ſecret, yet when *Phrynichus*, after his
B returne from his *Lacedæmonian* Ambaſſage, was by a certaine Watchman wounded trecherouſly in the Market-place, when it was full, as he went from the Councell-houſe, and not farre from it, fell inſtantly dead, and the murtherer gone; and that one of his Complices, an *Argiue*, taken by the *Foure-hundred*, and put to the torture, would confeſſe no man of thoſe named to him, nor any thing elſe, ſauing this, that many men vſed to aſſemble at the houſe of the Captaine of the Watch, and at other houſes; then at length, becauſe this accident bred no alteration,
C *Theramenes*, and *Ariſtocrates*, and as many other, either of the 400, or out of that number, as were of the ſame faction, proceeded more boldly to aſſault the Gouernment. For now alſo the Fleet being come about from *Laconia*, and lying vpon the Coaſt of *Epidaurus*, had made incurſions vpon *Ægina*. And *Theramenes* thereupon alledged, that it was improbable that thoſe Gallies holding their courſe for *Eubœa*, would haue put in at *Ægina*, and then haue gone backe againe to lye at *Epidaurus*, vnleſſe they had beene ſent for by ſuch men as he had euer accuſed of the
D ſame; and that therefore there was no reaſon any longer to ſit ſtill. And in the end, after many ſeditious and ſuſpitious ſpeeches, they fell vpon the State in good earneſt. For the Souldiers that were in *Piræus*, employed in fortifying *Eetioneia*, (amongſt whom was alſo *Ariſtocrates*, Captaine of a Band of men, and his Band with him) ſeazed on *Alexicles*, principall Commander of the Souldiers vnder the *Foure-hundred*, an eminent man of the other ſide, and carrying him into a houſe, kept him in hold. As ſoone as the newes heereof was brought vnto the
E *Foure-hundred*, (who chanced at the ſame time to be ſitting in the Councel-houſe) they were ready al of them preſently

Phrynichus murthered.

Theramenes and his Faction ſet themſelues againſt the reſt of the 400.

to haue taken Armes; threatning *Theramenes* and his Faction. A

He to purge himselfe was ready to goe with them, and to helpe to rescue *Alexicles*, and taking with him one of the Commanders, who was also of his Faction, went downe into *Pireus*. To helpe him went also *Aristarchus*, and certaine Horse-men of the yonger sort.

Great and terrible was the tumult. For in the Citie they thouhht *Piræus* was already taken, and him that was laid in hold, slaine. And in *Piræus* they expected euery B houre the power of the City to come vpon them. At last the ancient men, stopping them that ranne vp and downe the City to arme themselues, and *Thucydides* of *Pharsalus*, the Cities * Host, being then there, going boldly and close vp to euery one he met, and crying out vnto them, not to destroy their Countrey, when the Enemy lay so neere waiting for an aduantage, with much adoe quieted them, and held their hands from spilling their owne blood. *Theramenes* comming into *Piræus*, for he also had command ouer the Souldiers, made a shew by his exclaiming, of beeing C angry with them; but *Aristarchus* and those that were of the contrary side, were extremely angry in good earnest. Neuertheless the Souldiers went on with their busines, and repented not a iot of what they had done. Then they asked *Theramenes*, if hee thought this Fortification were made to any good end, and whether it were not better to haue it demolished. And he answered, that if they thought good to demolish it, he also thought the same. At which word they presently got vp, both the Souldiers, and also many others, of *Piræus*, and fell a digging downe of the D Wall.

Now the prouocation that they vsed to the Multitude, was in these words: *That whosoeuer desired that the Soueraignety should be in the* 5000 *instead of the* 400, *ought also to set himselfe to the worke in hand.* For notwithstanding all this, they thought fit as yet to vayle the *Democracie* with the name of the *Fiue-thousand*, and not to say plainely, *Whosoeuer will haue the Soueraignety in the* People, lest the 5000. should haue bin extant indeed, and so a man by speaking to some or other of them, might doe hurt to the busines, E through ignorance. And for this cause it was, that the

Foure-

* ξένον. *He that lodged the Athenians, when any of them came to* Pharsalus.

The souldiers pull downe the Wall they had built in *Eetionia*.

A *Foure-hundred* would neither let the *Fiue-thouſand* bee extant, nor yet let it bee knowne that they were not. For to make ſo many participant of the affaires of State, they thought was a direct *Democracie*, but to haue it doubtfull, would make them afraid of one another. The next day, the *Foure-hundred*, though out of order, yet met together in the *Councell-houſe*, and the Souldiers in *Piræus* hauing enlarged *Alexicles*, whom they had before impriſoned, and quite razed the Fortification, came into the Theater of *Bacchus*, neere to *Munychia*, and there ſate downe with their
B Armes, and preſently, according as they had reſolued in an Aſſembly then holden, marched into the City, and there ſate downe againe in the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. To this place came vnto them certaine men elected by the *Foure-hundred*, and man to man reaſoned and perſwaded with ſuch as they ſaw to be of the mildeſt temper, both to be quiet themſelues, & to reſtraine the reſt; ſaying, that not onely the *Fiue-thouſand* ſhould be made knowne who they were, but that out of theſe, ſuch ſhould be choſen in turnes, to be of the *Foure-hundred*, as the *Fiue-thouſand* ſhould
C thinke good; and entreating them by all meanes, that they would not in the meane time ouerthrow the City, and force it into the hand of the Enemy. Hereupon the whole number of the men of Armes, after many reaſons, alledged to many men, grew calmer, and feared moſt the loſſe of the whole City. And it was agreed betwixt them, that an Aſſembly ſhould be held, for making of accord, in the Temple of *Bacchus* at a day aſsigned.

A day appointed for an aſſembly, wherein to treat of agreement.

When they came to the Temple of *Bacchus*, and wan-
D ted but a little of a full Aſſembly, came newes that *Hegeſandridas* with his 42 Gallies, came from *Megara* along the Coaſt towards *Salamis*. And now there was not a Souldier, but thought it the very ſame thing that *Theramenes* and his party had before told them, *That thoſe Gallies were to come to the Fortification, and that it was now demoliſhed to good purpoſe*. But *Hegeſandridas*, perhaps vpon appointment, houered vpon the Coaſt of *Epidaurus*, and thereabouts; but it is likely, that in reſpect of the ſedition of the *Athenians*, he ſtaid in thoſe parts, with hope to take hold of
E ſome good aduantage. Howſoeuer it was, the *Athenians*, as ſoone as it was told them, ran preſently with all the power

wer of the City, downe to *Piræus*; leſſe eſteeming their do- A
meſtique Warre, then that of the Common Enemy, which was not now farre off, but euen in the Hauen. And ſome went aboord the Gallies that were then ready, ſome lanched the reſt, and others ranne to defend the Walles, and mouth of the Hauen.

The battell between the *Athenians* and the Fleet of *Hegeſandridas* at *Eretria*.

But the *Peloponneſian* Gallies being now gone by, and gotten about the Promontory of *Sunium*; caſt Anchor betweene *Thoricus* and *Praſiæ*, and put in afterwards at *Oropus*. The *Athenians* with all ſpeede, conſtrained to make vſe of tumultuary Forces, ſuch as a Citie in time B
ſedition might afford, and deſirous with all haſte to make good their greateſt ſtake, (for *Eubœa*, ſince they were ſhut out of *Attica*, was all they had) ſent a Fleet vnder the command of *Timocharis*, to *Eretria*. Which arriuing. with thoſe Gallies that were in *Eubœa* before, made vp the number of ſixe and thirty Sayle; and they were preſently conſtrained to hazard Battell. For *Hegeſandridas* brought out his Gallies from *Oropus*, when hee had firſt there dined.

Now *Oropus* is from *Eretria* about threeſcore Fur- C
longs of Sea. Whereupon the *Athenians* alſo, as the Enemy came towards them, beganne to embarke, ſuppoſing that their Souldiers had beene ſome where neere vnto the Gallies; but it fell out, that they were gone abroad to get their dinner, not in the Market (for by ſet purpoſe of the *Eretrians*, to the end that the Enemy might fall vpon the *Athenians* that embarked ſlowly, before they were ready, and force them to come out and fight nothing was there to bee ſold) but in the vtmoſt Houſes of the Citie. There was beſides a ſigne ſet vp at *Eretria*, to D
giue them notice at *Oropus*, at what time to ſet forward.

The *Athenians* drawne out by this deuice, and fighting before the Hauen of *Eretria*, made reſiſtance neuertheleſſe for a while, but afterwards they turned their backes, and were chaſed aſhore. Such as fled to the City of the *Eretrians*, taking it for their friend, were handled moſt cruelly, and ſlaughtered by them of the Towne; but ſuch as got to the Fort in *Eretria*, holden by the *Athenians*, ſaued themſelues: And ſo did ſo many of their Gallies as got E
to *Chalcis*.

The *Athenians* defeated.

The

A The *Peloponneſians*, after they had taken twelue *Athenian* Gallies with the men, whereof ſome they ſlew, and ſome they tooke priſoners, erected a Trophie; and not long after, hauing cauſed all *Eubœa* to reuolt, ſaue onely *Oreus* (which the *Athenians* held with their owne forces) they ſettled the reſt of their buſineſſe there.

Eubœa reuolteth.

When the newes of that which had hapned in *Eubœa*, was brought to *Athens*, it put the *Athenians* into the greateſt aſtoniſhment that euer they had beene in before. For neither did their loſſe in *Sicily*, though then thought great, B nor any other at any time ſo much affright them, as this. For now when the Army at *Samos* was in rebellion, when they had no more Gallies, nor men to put aboord, when they were in Sedition amonſt themſelues, and in continuall expectation of falling together by the eares, then in the necke of all, arriued this great Calamity; wherein they not onely loſt their Gallies, but alſo, which was worſt of all, *Eubœa*, by which they had receiued more Commodity then by *Attica*. How then could they chooſe but be deiected? But moſt of all they were trou- C bled, and that for the neereneſſe, with a feare leaſt vpon this victory, the enemy ſhould take courage, and come immediately into *Piræus*, now empty of Shipping, of which they thought nothing wanting, but that they were not there already. And had they beene any thing aduenturous, they might eaſily haue done it, and then, had they ſtayed there and beſieged them, they had not onely encreaſed the Sedition, but alſo compelled the Fleet to come away from *Ionia*, to the ayde of their kinred and of the whole City, though Enemies to the *Oligarchy*; and D in the meane time gotten, the *Helleſpont*, *Ionia*, the *Ilands* and all places euen to *Eubœa*, and as one may ſay, the whole *Athenian* Empire into their power. But the *Lacedæmonians* not onely in this, but in many other things were moſt commodious enemies to the *Athenians* to Warre withall. For being of moſt different humours, the one ſwift, the other ſlow, the one aduenturous, the other timerous, the *Lacedæmonians* gaue them great aduantage, eſpecially when their greatneſſe was by Sea. This was euident in the *Syracuſians*, who being in condition like vn- E to them, warred beſt againſt them.

The loſſe of *Eubœa*.

The lamentable eſtate of the *Athenians* vpon the loſſe of *Eubœa*.

The *Lacedæmonians* let ſlip the aduantage which they might haue had, if in proſecution of the victory, they had come to *Piræus*.

The *Lacedæmonians* commodious enemies to the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* vpon this newes, made ready notwithſtanding

The *Athenians* ſettle their Gouernment, and put an end to the Sedition, by depoſing the 400, & ſetting vp the 5000.

ſtanding twenty Gallies, and called an Aſſembly, one then preſently in the place called *Pnyx*, where they were wont to aſſemble at other times, in which hauing depoſed the *Foure-hundred*, they decreed *the Soueraignety to the Fiue-thouſand, of which number were all ſuch to bee, as were charged with Armes*; and from that time forward *to Salariate no man for Magiſtracy*, with a *penalty* on the *Magiſtrate* receiuing the *Salary*, *to be held for an execrable perſon*. There were alſo diuers other Aſſemblies held afterwards, wherein they elected Law-makers, and enacted other things concerning the Gouernment. And now firſt, (at leaſt in my time) the *Athenians* ſeeme to haue ordered their State aright; which conſiſted now of a moderate temper, both of the *Few*, and of the *Many*. And this was the firſt thing, that after ſo many misfortunes paſt, made the City againe to raiſe her head.

They recall *Alcibiades*.

They decreed alſo the recalling of *Alcibiades*, and thoſe that were in exile with him; and ſending to him, and to the Army at *Samos*, willed them to fall in hand with their buſineſſe.

Moſt of the *Oligarchicals* fly to the enemy.

In this change, *Piſander* and *Alexirles*, and ſuch as were with them, and they that had beene principall in the *Oligarchy*, immediately withdrew themſelues to *Decelea*. Onely *Ariſtarchus* (for it chanced that hee had charge of the Souldiers) tooke with him certaine Archers, of the moſt Barbarous, and went with all ſpeede to *Oenoe*. This was a Fort of the *Athenians* in the Confines of *Bœotia*, and (for the loſſe that the *Corinthians* had receiued by the Garriſon of *Oenoe*,) was, by voluntary *Corinthians*, and by ſome *Bœotians* by them called in to ayde them, now beſieged. *Ariſtarchus* therefore hauing treated with theſe, deceiued thoſe in *Oenoe*, and told them, that the City of *Athens* had compounded with the *Lacædæmonians*, and that they were to render vp the place to the *Bœotians*, for that it was ſo conditioned in the Agreement. Whereupon, beleeuing him, as one that had authority ouer the Souldiery, and knowing nothing becauſe beſieged, vpon ſecurity for their paſſe, they gaue vp the Fort. So the *Bœotians* receiue *Oenoe*; and the *Oligarchy* and Sedition at *Athens* ceaſe.

Ariſtarchus betrayeth *Oenoe*.

About

A About the same time of this Summer, when none of those, whom *Tissaphernes*, at his going to *Aspendus*, had substituted to pay the *Peloponnesian* Nauie, at *Miletus*, did it; and seeing neither the *Phœnician* Fleet, nor *Tissaphernes* came to them; and seeing *Philip*, that was sent along with him, and also another, one *Hippocrates* a *Spartan*, that was lying in *Phaselis*, had written to *Mindarus* the Generall, That the Fleete was not to come at all, and in euery thing *Tissaphernes* abused them; seeing also that *Pharnabazus* had sent
B for them, and was willing, vpon the comming to him of their Fleete, for his owne part also, as well as *Tissaphernes*, to cause the rest of the Cities within his owne Prouince to reuolt from the *Athenians*; Then at length, *Mindarus* hoping for benefit by him, with good order, and sudden warning, that the *Athenians* at *Samos* might not bee aware of their setting foorth, went into the *Hellespont* with seauenty three Gallies, besides sixteene, which the same Summer were gone into the *Hellespont* before, and had
C ouer-runne part of *Chersonesus*. But tossed with the Winds, hee was forced to put in at *Icarus*, and after hee had staid there through ill weather some fiue or sixe dayes, he arriued at *Chios*.

Mindarus with the *Peloponnesian* Fleet, seeing *Tissaphernes* and he *Phœnician* Fleet came not, resolues to goe to *Pharnabazus* in the *Hellespont*.

Thrasyllus, hauing beene aduertised of his departure from *Miletus*, hee also puts to Sea from *Samos*, with fiue and fifty Sayle, hasting to bee in the *Hellespont* before him. But hearing that hee was in *Chios*, and
D conceiuing that hee would stay there, hee appointed Spyes, to lye in *Lesbos*, and in the Continent ouer against it, that the Fleet of the Enemy might not remoue without his knowledge; and hee himselfe going to *Methymna*, commanded prouision to bee made of Meale, and other necessaries, intending, if they stayed there long, to goe from *Lesbos*, and inuade them in *Chios*.

Mindarus stayeth by the way at *Chius*, *Thrasyllus* in the meane time out-goes him, and watches for his going by at *Lesbos*.

Withall, because *Eressus* was reuolted from *Lesbos*, he
E purposed to goe thither with his Fleet, if hee could, to take it in. For the most potent of the *Methymnæan* Exiles had gotten into their society, about fifty men of

Armes, out of *Cyme*, and hired others out of the Continent, and with their whole number, in all three hundred, hauing for their Leader *Anaxarchus* a *Theban*, choſen in reſpect of their deſcent from the *Thebans*, firſt aſſaulted *Methymna*, but beaten in the attempt, by the *Athenian* Garriſon that came againſt them from *Mitylene*, and againe in a Skirmiſh without the Citie, driuen quite away, they paſſed by the way of the Mountaine to *Ereſſus*, and cauſed it to reuolt. *Thraſyllus* therefore intended to goe thither with his Gallies, and to aſſault it. At his comming, hee found *Thraſybulus* there alſo before him, with fiue Gallies from *Samos*: For hee had beene aduertiſed of the Out-lawes comming ouer; but beeing too late to preuent them, hee went to *Ereſſus*, and lay before it at Anchor. Hither alſo came two Gallies of *Methymna*, that were going home from the *Helleſpont*; ſo that they were in all threeſcore and ſeuen Sayle, out of which they made an Armie, intending with Engines, or any other way they could, to take *Ereſſus* by aſſault. A B

Mindarus and his fleete ſteale by into the *Helleſpont* vnſeen of thoſe that watched their going, in *Leſbos*.

In the meane time, *Mindarus*, and the *Peloponneſian* Fleet that was at *Chios*, when they had ſpent two dayes in victualling their Gallies, and had receiued of the *Chians* three *Chian* **Teſſaracoſtes* a man, on the third day put ſpeedily off from *Chius*; and kept farre from the ſhore, that they might not fall amongſt the Gallies at *Ereſſus*. And leauing *Lesbos* on the left hand, went to the Continent ſide, and putting in at a Hauen in *Craterei*, belonging to the Territory of *Phocæa*, and there dining, paſſed along the Territory of *Cyme*, and came to *Arginuſæ* in the Continent, ouer againſt *Mitylene*, where they ſupped. From thence they put forth late in the night, and came to *Harmatus*, a place in the Continent ouer againſt *Methymna*, and after dinner going a great pace by *Lectus*, *Lariſſa*, *Hamaxitus*, and other the Townes in thoſe parts, came before midnight to *Rhœtium*; this now is in *Helleſpont*. But ſome of his Gallies put in at *Sigeum*, and other places thereabouts. C D

* a Teſſaracoſte, *ſeemeth to haue bene a cyme amongſt the* Chians *and the fortieth part of ſome other greater cayne*.

The *Athenians* at *Seſtus* with 18 Gallies ſteale out of the *Helleſpont*, but are met by *Mindarus*, and 4 of them taken.

The *Athenians* that lay with eighteene Gallies at *Seſtus*, knew that the *Peloponneſians* were entring into the *Helleſpont*, by the Fires, both thoſe which their owne Watchmen put vp, & by the many which appeared on the Enemies ſhore, and therefore the ſame night, in all haſte, as they were, kept the ſhore of *Cherſonneſus*, towards *Elæus*, deſiring E

A deſiring to get out into the wide Sea, and to decline the Fleete of the Enemie; and went out vnſeene of thoſe ſixteene Gallies that lay at *Abydus*, (though theſe had warning before from the Fleete of their friends that came on, to watch them narrowly, that they went not out) but in the morning, beeing in ſight of the Fleete with *Mindarus*, and chaſed by him, they could not all eſcape, but the moſt of them got to the Continent, and into *Lemnos*; onely foure of the hindmoſt were taken neere *Elæus*; whereof the *Pelo-*
B *ponneſians* tooke one with the men in her, that had run her ſelfe a-ground at the Temple of *Proteſilaus*, and two other without the men, and ſet fire on a fourth, abandoned vpon the ſhoare of *Imbrus*.

After this they beſieged *Elæus* the ſame day, with thoſe Gallies of *Abydus*, which were with them, and with the reſt, being now all together foureſcore and ſixe Sayle. But ſeeing it would not yeeld, they went away to *Abydus*.

C The *Athenians*, who had beene deceiued by their Spyes, and not imagining that the Enemies Fleete could haue gone by without their knowledge, and attended at leaſure the aſſault of *Ereſſus*, when now they knew they were gone, immediately left *Ereſſus*, and haſted to the defence of *Helleſpont*. By the way they tooke two Gallies of the *Peloponneſians*, that hauing ventured into the Maine more boldly in following the Enemy, then the reſt had done, chanced to light vpon the Flett of the *Athenians*.

The *Athenians* haſt from *Lesbos* after the *Peloponneſians* into *Helleſpont*.

D The next day they came to *Elæus*, and ſtayed, and thither, from *Imbrus*, came vnto them thoſe other Gallies that had eſcaped from the Enemy. Heere they ſpent fiue dayes in preparation for a Battell. After this, they fought in this manner. The *Athenians* went by the ſhore, ordering their Gallies one by one, towards *Seſtus*. The *Peloponneſians* alſo, when they ſaw this, brought out their Fleet againſt them from *Abydus*.

Beeing ſure to fight, they drew out their Fleets in
E length, the *Athenians* along the ſhoare of *Cherſonneſus*, beginning at *Idacus*, and reaching as farre as *Arrhianæ*,

The *Athenians* and *Peloponneſians* fight, and the *Athenians* get the victory.

threescore and sixe Gallies. And the *Peloponnesians*, from *Abydus* to *Dardanus*, foureſcore and ſixe Gallies. In the right Wing of the *Peloponnesians*, were the *Syracusians*; in the other, *Mindarus* himſelfe, and thoſe Gallies that were nimbleſt. Amongſt the *Athenians*, *Thraſyllus* had the left Wing, and *Thraſybulus* the right, and the reſt of the Commanders, euery one the place aſsigned him.

Now the *Peloponnesians* laboured to giue the firſt onſet, and with their left Wing to ouer-reach the right Wing of the *Athenians*, and keepe them from going out, and to driue thoſe in the middle, to the ſhore which was neere. The *Athenians*, who perceiued it, where the Enemy went about to cut off their way out, put foorth the ſame way that they did, and out-went them.

The left Wing of the *Athenians* was alſo gone forward by this time, beyond the point called * *Cynos-ſema*, by meanes whereof that part of the Fleet which was in the middeſt, became both weake and diuided, eſpecially when theirs was the leſſe Fleet; and the ſharpe and angular figure of the place about *Cynos-ſema* tooke away the ſight of what paſſed there, from thoſe that were on the other ſide.

* *The Sepulcher of* Hecuba. Eurip.

The *Peloponnesians* therefore charging this middle part, both draue their Gallies to the dry Land, and beeing farre ſuperiour in fight, went out after them, and aſſaulted them vpon the ſhore. And to helpe them, neither was *Thraſibulus* able, who was in the right Wing, for the multitude of the Enemies that preſſed him; nor *Thraſyllus* in the left Wing, both becauſe hee could not ſee what was done for the Promontory of *Cynos-ſema*, and becauſe alſo hee was kept from it by the *Syracuſians* and others, lying vpon his hands, no fewer in number then themſelues. Till at laſt the *Peloponnesians*, bold vpon their victory, chaſing ſome one Gally, ſome another, fell into ſome diſorder, in a part of their Armie. And then thoſe about *Thraſybulus*, hauing obſerued that the oppoſite Gallies ſought now no more to go beyond them, turned vpon them, and fighting, put them preſently to flight. And hauing alſo cut off from the reſt of the Fleet, ſuch Gallies of the *Peloponnesians*, of that part

that

A that had the victory, as were ſcattered abroad, ſome they aſſaulted, but the greateſt number they put into affright vnfoughten. The *Syracuſians* alſo, whom thoſe about *Thraſyllus* had already cauſed to ſhrinke, when they ſaw the reſt fly, fled out-right.

This defeat being giuen, and the *Peloponneſians* hauing for the moſt part eſcaped, firſt to the Riuer *Pydius*, and afterwards to *Abydus*; though the *Athenians* tooke but few of their Gallies, (for the narrowneſſe of the B *Helleſpont* afforded to the Enemy a ſhort retreat) yet the Victory was the moſt ſeaſonable to them that could be. For hauing till this day ſtood in feare of the *Peloponneſian* Nauie, both for the loſſe which they had receiued by little and little, and alſo for their great loſſe in *Sicily*, they now ceaſed eyther to accuſe themſelues, or to thinke highly any longer of the Nauall power of their Enemies. The Gallies they tooke were theſe; eight of *Chios*, fiue of *Corinth*, of *Ambracia* two, of *Leucas*, *Laconia*, *Syracuſe*, and *Pellene*, one apiece. Of their owne C they loſt fifteene.

The courage of the *Athenians* erected with this victory.

When they had ſet vp a Trophie in the Promontory of *Cynos-ſema*, and taken vp the wreckes, and giuen truce to the Enemies to fecth away the bodies of their dead, they preſently ſent away a Gally with a Meſſenger, to carry newes of the Victory to *Athens*. The *Athenians*, vpon the comming in of this Gally, hearing of their vnexpected good fortune, were encouraged much, after their loſſe in *Eubœa*, and after their ſedition, and conceiued that their eſtate might yet keepe vp, if they ply-D ed the buſineſſe couragiouſly.

The fourth day after this Battell, the *Athenians* that were in *Seſtus*, hauing haſtily prepared their Fleet, went to *Cyzicus* which was reuolted, and eſpying as they paſt by, the eight Gallies come from *Byzantium*, riding vnder *Harpagium* and *Priapus*, ſet vpon them, and hauing alſo ouercome thoſe that came to their ayde from the Land, tooke them. Then comming to *Cyzicus*, being an open Towne, they brought it againe into their owne power, E and leauied a ſumme of Money amongſt them.

The *Athenians* recouer *Cyzicus*, and take 8 Gallies of the *Peloponneſians*.

The

The *Peloponnesians* recouer some of their Gallies taken, at *Elæus*.

The *Peloponnesians* in the meane time going from *Abydus* to *Elæus*, recouered as many of their Gallies formerly taken, as remained whole. The rest, the *Eleusians* had burnt. They also sent *Hippocrates* and *Epicles* into *Eubœa*, to fetch away the Fleet that was there. A

They send for the Fleet with *Hegesandridas* out of *Eubœa*.

Alcibiades returneth from *Aspendus* to *Samos*.

About the same time also, returned *Alcibiades* to *Samos*, with his thirteene Gallies from *Caunus* and *Phaselis*, reporting that he had diuerted the *Phœnician* Fleete from comming to the *Peloponnesians*, and that hee had inclined *Tissaphernes* to the friendship of the *Athenians*, more then hee was before. Thence manning out nine Gallies more, hee exacted a great summe of money of the *Halicarnassians*, and fortified *Cos*. Being now almost Autumne, hee returned to *Samos* B

He fortifieth *Cos*.

The *Antandrians* put out the Garrison of *Tissaphernes* out of their Cittadell.

The *Peloponnesians* being now in *Hellespont*, the *Antandrians* (who are *Æolians*) receiued into the City men of Armes from *Abydus* by Land through Mount *Ida*, vpon iniury that had beene done them by *Arsaces*, a Deputy Lieutenant of *Tissaphernes*. This *Arsaces* hauing fained a certaine Warre, not declared against whom, had formerly called out the chiefest of the *Delians*, (the which in hallowing of *Delos* by the *Athenians* were turned out, and had planted themselues in *Adramyttium*) to goe with him to this War. And when vnder colour of amity and confederacy hee had drawne them out, he obserued a time when they were at dinner, and hauing hemmed them in with his owne Souldiers murdered them with darts. And therefore, for this acts sake, fearing lest hee might doe some vnlawfull pranke against them also, and for that hee had otherwise done them iniury, they cast his Garrison out of their Cittadell. C D

Tissaphernes goeth toward *Hellespont*, to recouer the fauour of the *Peloponnesians*.

Tissaphernes hearing of this, (being the act of the *Peloponnesians*, as well as that at *Miletus*, or that at *Cnidus*, for in those Cities his Garrisons had also beene cast out in the same manner) and conceiuing that hee was deepely charged to them, and fearing lest they should doe him some other hurt; and withall not enduring that *Pharnabazus* should receiue them, and with lesse time and cost, speed better against the *Athenians* then hee had done, resolued to make a iourney to them in the *Hellespont*, both to E

com-

A complaine of what was done at *Antandrus*, and to cleere himſelfe of his accuſations, the beſt he could, as well concerning the *Phœnician* Fleet, as other matters. And firſt he put in at *Epheſus*, and offered Sacrifice to *Diana*.

The end of the one and twentieth Summer.

When the Winter following, this Summer ſhall bee ended, the one and twentieth yeere [of this Warre] ſhall bee compleat.

* * *

FINIS.

A complaint of what was done at Amathus, and to cleere
himselfe of his accusations the best he could, as well con-
cerning the Phœnician Fleet, as other matters. And first
he put in at Ephesus, and offered Sacrifice to Diana.
When the Winter following, this Summer-Warre
ended, the one and twentieth yeere of this
Warre shall here complete.

* * *

FINIS.

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Crane
Araxus prom
Dyme
Cyllene
Elis
Olenus
Pharæ
Tritæa
Phenæ
Pellene
Phlius
Cleonæ
Ornææ
Nemea
ACHAIA
ARGIA
Mycenæ
Halieis
Argos
Lerna
Asine
Hermione
Zacynthus
Strophades ins
Pylus
Prophthasia
Orthopagia
Methydrium
Caryæ
Sinuinthus
Clitor
Nonacris
Mantinea
ARCADIA
ELIS
PONNESUS
Olympia
Phea
Samia
Scirus
Sellasia
Sinus Argolicus
Sinus Messenicus
Sinus Laconicus
Lacedæmon
Cyphanta
Zarex
Epidaurus limera
Helos
Gythium
Asopus
Corbyta
Aphrodisia
Onugnathus
Cythera
Cape Malea
Thyrides
Coryphasium prom
Sphacteria
Pylus
Corone
Cardamyle
Leuctrum
Taygetus M
Cranæ
Prasiæ
Thuria
Messenia
LACONIA
Melii
Sperchius flu
Heraclea Thermopylæ
Calle
Anticyra
Lamia
Phthiotis
Larissa Cremaste
Pegasæa
Sinus Pegasæus
Iolcus
Magnesia
Pelion mons
Sepias prom
Sepiadus
Ossa
Olympus
Tempe
Pieria
Pimplea
Pierius
Dium
Pharycodactia
Thessaliotis
Azorus
Gyrton
Doliche
Perrhœbi
Phacium
Larissa
Pelasgiotis
Pharsalus
Cranon
Pheræ
Arne
Gomphi
Atrax
Penæus flu
Pindus M
Aous flu
Thyamus flu
Acheron flu
Cestrine
Thesprotia
Acherusia lacus
Ambracia
Ambracius sinus
Corcyra
Leucimne prom
Sybota
Chimerium prom
Phytia
Corcyra
Istone mons
Idomene
Argos
Amphilochicus
Olpæ
Medeon
Ephyra
Crene
Stratus
Agræi
Athamanes
Amphilochia
Ambracia
Anactorium
Actium
Leucas
Nericus
Nerithum
Ellomenus
Ithaca
Same
Prænæ
Pale
Cephalenia
Araxus prom
Dyme
Cyllene
Elis
Thelpusa
Zacynthus
Strophades ins
Pylus
Corypharium prom
Sphacteria
Messenia
Cranæ
Prasiæ
Thuria
Asine
Cythera
Cape Malea
Thyrides
Onugnathus
Sinus Laconicus
Sinus Argolicus
Sinus Toronæus
Pallene
Scione
Canastræum
Potidæa
Aphytis
Mendis
Posidium
Sermylia
Torone
Mecyberne
Singus
Acanthus
Stagirus
Olynthus
Spartolus
Bolbe lacus
Arnæa
Therme
Sinus Thermaicus
Pydna
Methone
Pella
Bottiæa
Lydias flu
Berhoea
Aliacmon flu
Elymæa
Æmathia
Pieria
Dium
Pharycodactia
Pimplea
Pierius
Magnesia
Olympus M
Ossa
Tempe
Sepias prom
Sepiadus
Pegasæa
Sinus Pegasæus
Iolcus
Pelion mons
Thessaliotis
Pharsalus
Larissa Cremaste
Phthiotis
Melibœa
Othrys M
Echinus
Sinus Melliacus
Heraclea Thermopylæ
Calle
Anticyra
Lamia
Oeta M
Thermopylæ
Ceneum prom
Cenæum prom
Orobiæ
Aulis
Chalcis
Eubœa
Carystus
Geræstus
Cenæum prom
Andros
Tenos
Myconos
Naxos
Paros
Delos
Rhenæa
Cynthus M
Scyros
Sciathus
Peparethus
Halonnesus
Scopelos
Sciathus
Peparethus
Thessalia
Magnesia
Pelasgiotis
Perrhœbi
Dolopes
Athamanes
Agræi
Amphilochia
Ambracia
Acarnania
Aetolia
Ophioneis
Doris
Locri Opuntii
Locri Ozolæ
Phocis
Boeotia
Attica
Megaris
Corinthia
Argia
Arcadia
Elis
Messenia
Laconia
Achaia
Pelasgia
Epirus
Thesprotia
Molossi
Chaonia
Orestis
Elymiotæ
Lynus
Eordi
Almopia
Pelagonia
Pæonia
Mygdonia
Edonis
Odomantica
Bisaltia
Crestonia
Mœsia
Thracia
Propontis
Hellespontus
Sinus Singiticus
Sinus Toronæus
Sinus Thermaicus
Sinus Strymonicus
Sinus Melliacus
Sinus Pegasæus
Sinus Argolicus
Sinus Messenicus
Sinus Laconicus
Mare Ionium
Mare Ægæum
Mare Creticum
Mare Myrtoum
Mare Icarium
Mare Carpathium
Mare Libycum
Mare Siculum
Mare Adriaticum
Mare Tyrrhenum
Mare Ligusticum
Mare Balearicum
Mare Cretense
Mare Africum
Mare Atlanticum
Mare Cantabricum
Mare Britannicum
Mare Germanicum
Mare Balticum
Mare Caspium
Mare Rubrum
Mare Mediterraneum
Mare Nostrum
Mare Internum
Mare Magnum
Mare Occidentale
Mare Orientale
Mare Septentrionale
Mare Meridionale
Mare Album
Mare Nigrum
Mare Rubrum
Mare Caspium
Mare Balticum
Mare Germanicum
Mare Britannicum
Mare Cantabricum
Mare Africum
Mare Atlanticum
Mare Cretense
Mare Balearicum
Mare Ligusticum
Mare Tyrrhenum
Mare Adriaticum
Mare Siculum
Mare Libycum
Mare Carpathium
Mare Icarium
Mare Myrtoum
Mare Creticum
Mare Ægæum
Mare Ionium
Mare Mediterraneum
Mare Nostrum
Mare Internum
Mare Magnum
Mare Occidentale
Mare Orientale
Mare Septentrionale
Mare Meridionale
Mare Album
Mare Nigrum
The MAPPE of Antient GREECE
Expressinge especially the Places mentioned in THVCYDIDES
by THO: HOBBES

SEP: 51 TENTRIO 52 53 54 55 56 57 58
THRACIÆ PARS
PROPONTIS
ASIA
MARE ÆGÆUM
EVBOEA
CYCLADES
SPORADES
DORIS
IONIA
AEOLIA
MYSIA
LYDIA
PARS CARIÆ
PARS DIÆ
Pangæum M
Sinus
Eidonia
Pierius
Cerdylium M
Argilus
Aulon
Myrtinus
Sinus Strymonicus
Thasus
Acrothon
Singiticus
Sinus
Scione
Canastræa prom
Ampelus prom
Nympharum prom
Strymon fl
Nestus fl
Lissus fl
Melas fl
Agora
Sala
Æmus
Samothrace
Imbros
Lemnos
Hephæstia
Tenedus
Sigeum prom
Rhœteum
Dardanus
Abydus
Sestos
Cynossema
Madyt
Elæus
Pactya
Ægos flu
Cardia
Paria
Priapus
Lampsacus
Colonæ
Zeleia
Scamander
Simois fl
Scepsis
Ilium
Achæum
Larissa
Colonæ
Hamaxitis
Harmatus
Lectus prom
Antandrus
Sigrium prom
Abissa
Gargara
Adramyttium
Pyrrha prom
Atarneus
Caicus flu
Pitane
Pergamus
Elæa
Cane
Cyme
Phocæa
Hermus flu
Pactolus flu
Sardes
Tmolus Mons
Smyrna
Pohichna
Clazomenæ
Hesa
Ieberdus
Clarus
Colophon
Coressus
Notium
Ephesus
Caystrus flu
Magnesia
Myus
Priene
Myccale Mons
Samos
Icarus
Trogilium prom
Posidium prom
Corassiæ
Patmos
Miletus
Heroclea
Latmus M
Branchidæ
Potideum prom
Teichiussa
Astypalæa
Jasius
Halicarnassus
Termerium prom
Physcus
Cos
Standarium prom
Halicerna
Drepanum prom
Lacter prom
Triopium prom
Cnidus
Cerasus
Rhodus
Carpathos
Chalce
Syme
Tenos
Myconus
Delos
Rhenea
Naxus
Paros
Olearus
Prepesinthus
Amorgos
Syphnus
Seriphus
Cythnus
Gyarus
Scyllæum prom
Calauria
Methone
Sinus Saronicus
Athenæ
Helena
Thericus
Prasiæ
Gerastus prom
Braurom
Decelea
Oropus
Rhamnus
Marathon
Andros
Caphareus portus
Ochæ M
Styra
Carystus
Eubœa
Chalcis
Erythræ
Aulis
Delphinium
Chius
Phanæ
Pontinum
Arginum prom
Psyra Ins
Melæna pr
Oenussæ
Carda
Embatus
Mimas mons
Erythræ
Corycus
Lebedus
Myonnesus
Notium
Lacus
Lagusa
Ios
Pholegandros
Sicinus
Thera
Therasia
Anaphe
Astypalæa
Melos
Cythera
Scandea
Cythera
Malea prom
Craterri portus
Mulea prom
Mill.
Stad.
10 20 30 40 50 60 70 80 90 100
100 200 300 400 500 600 700 800 900 1000
MERI 51 DIES 52 53 54 55 56 57
ORI 43 42 41 40 39 ENS 38 37 36 35